



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



LC 38.130



HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY



1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

Clarendon Press Series

475-14

C I C E R O

J. R. KING.

Londini



APVD

ALEXANDRVM MACMILLAN

Clarendon Press Series

THE
PHILIPPIC ORATIONS,
OF
Lucius
M. TULLIUS CICERO

WITH ENGLISH NOTES

BY THE
REV. JOHN RICHARD KING, M.A.

LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD

 Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

M.DCCC.LXVIII.

[All Rights reserved]

7-500000



9020
51

P R E F A C E.

HAVING been asked by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press to undertake the editing of a portion of Cicero's orations, I was induced to choose the series delivered against Antony, partly from finding that as a matter of fact they had become to be more read by Students in this University than any other portion of his works; but even more because I was convinced of their especial value, both as bringing out most strongly Cicero's power as an orator, and his importance in the State at what was perhaps really the most honourable portion of his life, and also as illustrating a period of history concerning which we have so little contemporary information. From these considerations I had for some years past selected them as a subject for lectures with my own pupils; my experience in which both laid the foundation of this edition and convinced me that some new commentary was required. Indeed the Philippic orations of Cicero appear of late years to have sunk into an obscurity which contrasts strongly with the high esteem in which they were held by ancient writers, and the attention which was paid to them by early commentators. For more than forty years no separate edition of them, with explanatory notes, has been published either in England or on the continent; and the only English commentary on the whole series which has appeared is that of Mr. Long, which embraces all the orations of Cicero. The first and second orations have been carefully edited, with short German notes, by Karl Halm, the colleague of J. G. Baiter in completing the second edition of Orelli's text of the whole works of Cicero; and Halm's notes on the second oration have been translated and expanded, with his usual exhaustive carefulness, by Mr. J. E. B. Mayor. From the notes in Halm's edition I have derived much assistance, and to Mr. Mayor's additional notes I have been occasionally indebted for useful information.

The only other edition which has helped me much in the explanation of the orations is that of Wernsdorf, which, though ill-arranged and deficient in accuracy, is yet valuable as containing the notes of many of the earlier commentators; the most important being those of Abrammi on the first two orations, of Manutius, and of Garatonius. The last of these do not appear to be preserved in any other form.

I must gratefully acknowledge the assistance which I have received from Professor Conington, who looked over the sheets of this edition as they passed through the press, and improved it by many valuable suggestions; and also from the Rev. A. Watson, of Brasenose College, who most kindly placed at my disposal his own notes on the orations. These have been especially useful in illustrating the historical allusions.

The text is mainly taken from that of Halm, in the second edition of Orelli's text. The deviations from it are mostly in the direction of a return to the authority of the Vatican MS., and are noted where they occur; with the exception of a few variations from his orthography, either for the sake of uniformity, or in deference to the wishes of the Delegates of the Press, that unusual mode of spelling should, so far as possible, be avoided.

Besides the more usual historical and critical authorities, I have gained considerable assistance from Mr. Forsyth's *Life of Cicero*; from the recent excellent edition of the text of Cicero's works, by Baiter and Kayser; and from various articles by Madvig, both as collected in his *Opuscula*, and as scattered through the various German classical periodicals. From these I have also gained some useful hints by other scholars. The Chronological Table of Cicero's life is founded on that of Schütz and Uster in Orelli's *Onomasticon Tullianum*. The grammars of Madvig, Zumpt, and Donaldson I have quoted simply by their authors' names.

Great pains have been taken to secure accuracy of reference. Every quotation has been verified, and the passages for the most part quoted at length, so far as they bore upon the point at issue. The references to Cicero have been given both to the chapters and the smaller sections, - but it should be noted that the smaller sections, except in the letters, are a collateral, not a subordinate division, to the larger chapters.

A list of the chief MSS. of these orations, and of the editions and commentaries to which I have referred, is appended.

MSS.

Of these the Vatican (commonly quoted as V) is the most important. It is preserved in the archives of the Basilica of St. Peter at Rome, and is commonly referred to the eighth or ninth century. It was first collated by Gabriel Faerni in 1561, subsequently by Muretus and Garatonius, and more recently a special collation was made for Halm's large edition.

Four MSS., commonly quoted collectively as D, individually as a b g t, hold the next place. They are of different dates, a and b belonging to the thirteenth, t to the eleventh century; but they are all manifestly derived from the same older MS., while their discrepancies show them to be independent copies: b and t are the most carefully written of the four. They are preserved at Bamberg, Berne, Wolfenbüttel, and Tegernsee respectively.

An Italian MS. of the fifteenth century, now in a private library in Ireland, has been used by Halm in parts where either the Vatican or the other MSS. have failed. It is quoted by him as i.

For the fourteenth oration he also consulted an old Italian MS., quoted as v in the Vatican library; but it is apparently of very inferior authority.

EDITIONS QUOTED.

(The editions and commentaries marked * are quoted from Wernsdorf's edition of the Philippic orations.)

* M. Tullii Ciceronis opera omnia, ex recensione Io. Aug. Ernesti. Halis Saxonum. 1774-1777.

M. Tullii Ciceronis opera quae supersunt omnia, edidit Io. Casp. Orellius. Turici. 1831-1838.

M. Tullii Ciceronis opera omnia, editio auctor et emendatior. Opus morte Orellii interruptum continuaverunt J. G. Baiterus et Car. Halmius. Turici. 1845-1862. This may be said to be as great an improvement on the former edition as that was on all which had preceded it.

M. Tullii Ciceronis opera supersunt omnia, ediderunt J. G. Baiter, C. L. Kayser. Lipsiae. 1860-1867. A very convenient, accurate, and at the same time cheap edition of Cicero's complete works, issued from the press of Bernhard Tauchnitz.

* Ciceronis Orationes. Venetiis. 1519. This was the work of Andr. Naugerius: and is stated by Orelli to be the foundation of all subsequent editions.

* M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationes, ed. Graevii. Amst. 1699.
Ciceros sämtliche Reden. Klotz. Leipzig. 1839.

- M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationes, with a commentary by George Long. London. 1851-1858.
- * Ciceronis Philippicae Orationes, a Caelio Secundo Curione emendatae et illustratae. Basiliae. 1551.
- * Ciceronis Philippicae Orationes, a M. Antonio Mureto emendatae et illustratae. Parisiis. 1562.
- * Ciceronis Orationes Philippicae, etc., ex antiquissimo libro a Gabriele Faerno illustratae. Romae. 1563.
- M. T. Ciceronis Orationes Philippicae, notis variorum instruxit G. G. Wernsdorf. Lipsiae. 1821-1822.
- Ciceros erste und zweite Philippische Rede, von Karl Halm. Zweite Auflage. Berlin. 1858.
- M. T. Ciceronis Oratio Philippica II., emendata et in usum scholarum edita ab Carolo Henr. Frotschero. Lipsiae. 1833.
- Cicero's Second Philippic, with an introduction and notes, translated from the German of Karl Halm. Edited, with corrections and additions, by John E. B. Mayor, M.A. Cambridge and London. 1861.

COMMENTARIES QUOTED.

- * Abrami, Nicol., commentarius in tertium volumen orationum Ciceronis. Lutet. Paris. 1631.
- * Ferrarii, Hieron., ad Paulum Manutium emendationes in Philippicas Ciceronis. Venetiis. 1542.
- * Gaspar Garatoni, a native of Ravenna, began to publish a complete edition of Cicero's works at Naples in 1777, but being prevented from completing it, he sent his notes on the Philippic orations to Wernsdorf, who incorporated them in his editions.
- * Heumann, Chrp. Aug., emendatio locorum singularium Ciceronis; in Misc. Lips. 8. 82 foll. Early in the 18th century.
- * Heusinger, Io. Mich. Notae in Philippicam secundam. About the middle of the 18th century.
- Jentzen, F. G. über des Cicero vierte Philipp. Rede. Lübek. 1820.
- Krause, Aug. über Ciceros vierte Philippische Rede. Neu Stettin. 1847.
- Madvig, Io. Nicol. See above, p. vi.
- * Manutii, Pauli, in Ciceronis orationes commentarius. Venetiis. 1578-1579.
- Rau, S. I. variarum lectionum liber ad Ciceronis orationes pertinens. Lugd. Bat. 1834.
- * Ursini, Fulvii, in omnia opera Ciceronis notae. Antverpiae. 1581.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE FIRST ORATION.

To understand the bearing of the Philippic orations of Cicero, it is necessary shortly to review the course of events at Rome, consequent on the assassination of Julius Caesar, March 15th, 44 B.C. On the evening of the same day, finding it impossible to gain the confidence or the sympathy of the mass of the citizens, the conspirators, at the instigation of Decimus Brutus, repaired to the Capitol, where they were joined by Cicero and other nobles; while Lepidus, the Master of the Horse, occupied the Forum with an armed force, and sent an assurance of support to Antony. In the meantime the body of Caesar was carried home, and something like quiet was restored. During the ensuing night Antony opened negotiations with Lepidus, securing his support by the promise of the vacant office of pontifex maximus: while his own position was strengthened by his receiving from Calpurnia, Caesar's widow, all the dictator's private papers, and treasure to the amount of 4000 talents.

The next day the liberators, encouraged by the avowed support of Dolabella, who claimed the consulship which Caesar's death left vacant, and to which he had been already nominated as his successor, resolved again to appeal to the people, and made M. Brutus their spokesman. He was coldly received, and they were obliged to return to the Capitol, while Antony took the opportunity of seizing the public treasure in the temple of Ops, amounting to seven hundred millions of sesterces (somewhat more than 6,000,000*l.*). The next day (March 17), on the invitation of the conspirators, he summoned the senate to meet in the temple of Tellus, near his own house in the

Carinae. To add to his security he filled the Forum with troops, an excuse for the precaution being afforded by the violence which the mob had offered to the praetor, Cornelius Cinna, when he appeared among them in his official robes. The result of a very stormy debate was a resolution that no investigation should be made into Caesar's murder; but that all the ordinances and arrangements which he had made, 'acta Caesaris,' should be ratified. This policy was supported by Cicero, as a necessary compromise, and was acquiesced in by the liberators, though it was manifest that it left the whole power in the hands of Antony. A public funeral was further decreed to Caesar, on the motion of his father-in-law, L. Calpurnius Piso. These measures were confirmed by the people, assembled in the Forum; and the conspirators were invited to come down from the Capitol, Antony sending his own son as a hostage for their security. On the following day another meeting of the senate was held, and the distribution of the provinces, as arranged by Caesar, was again confirmed. By this assignment M. Brutus received Macedonia, and C. Cassius Syria, though they could not properly enter into possession of them till the expiration of their office of praetor. Decimus Brutus succeeded to Cisalpine Gaul, Cimber to Bithynia, and Trebonius to Asia.

The next event was the funeral of Caesar, which Antony artfully employed as a means of stirring up the fury of the people against his murderers. Entitled, by his position as Consul, to pronounce the funeral oration over his colleague, as the body lay in the Forum, previously to its being carried to the pyre prepared for it in the Campus Martius, he roused their feelings by recounting the honours of the dictator, which were reflected on the whole Roman people, and the violated oath whereby his murderers had sworn to defend him. Excited to frenzy by his speech, and yet more by hearing the tenour of Caesar's will, and his munificent bequests to the Roman people, the crowd refused to allow the body to be removed without the city walls, and burned it on a hastily raised pyre in the midst of the Forum itself. The excitement rapidly spread. The houses of the liberators were attacked; Helvius Cinna, an adherent of Caesar, was torn in pieces in mistake for the praetor L. Cornelius Cinna, and the tumult did not cease till the people were convinced that the principal conspirators had fled, and were for the present beyond their reach.

The advantage which Antony had gained by the course of events at Caesar's funeral he further secured by the moderation of his subsequent conduct. He did not attempt to extend the amnesty to any of the political exiles, with the single exception of Sextus Clodius, a

cient and chief agent of the notorious Publius Clodius, whose widow Fulvia Antony had married as his third wife. He declared that no exemptions from tribute had been granted to any cities. He consented to the proposal of Sulpicius that no further 'acts' of Caesar should be ratified. His popularity culminated when he proposed that the office of dictator should be abolished for ever. In the beginning of April he did good service to the state by crushing a disturbance raised by one Herophilus, who pretended to be a grandson of Marius, and whom he put to death without a trial (1. 2, 5). Emboldened by his success, he began to make unscrupulous use of Caesar's papers, urging the pleasure of the dictator for every measure or appointment which might suit his purpose, and not hesitating to forge supposititious memoranda, when no convenient documents could be found among the genuine 'acta Caesaris.' In addition to the favour which he thus acquired, both among citizens and provinces on whom he conferred benefits, he presently added to his personal security by the usual tyrant's resource of a body-guard of 6000 soldiers, which he persuaded the senate to allow him, and sought for popularity among the veterans by a new assignment of lands to them in Campania, whither he himself proceeded to superintend in person the execution of his measure.

Dolabella took this opportunity of thwarting the policy of Antony in the city; overthrowing all the memorials of Caesar which existed within its walls, even the altar raised in his honour in the Forum, and the marble pillar which marked the place of his tumultuous funeral. He repressed every popular demonstration of the Caesarian party, and aided the cause of the patriots in a manner that called forth the warmest eulogies from Cicero himself, Att. 14. 15, 2.

At this crisis Octavius appeared upon the scene. He had received the news of his great-uncle's murder in Epirus, where he was completing his military education in the camp at Apollonia. Urged by his mother Atia to return to Rome at once, he crossed the sea without delay, and landing near Lupiae in Calabria, he remained there till the receipt of a copy of Caesar's will emboldened him to advance to Brundisium, and present himself to the garrison in that place as C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus, the dictator's adopted son. He was warmly received by the veterans, and encouraged to send a formal notification of his claims to the senate and the leaders of the two parties. Following this up by a cautious advance towards Rome, at Naples he met Cicero, who gladly welcomed a new rival to Antony. About the beginning of May he entered Rome, where he had already made a favourable impression by undertaking the expense of certain shows exhibited in honour of Caesar at the festival

of the Parilia, on the 21st of April. This impression he confirmed by paying assiduous court to the individual senators, and by undertaking to pay the bequests of Caesar to the people. Antony was absent from Rome, but hearing of Octavius' growing popularity, he hastened back to the city, and about the middle of the month he had an interview with Octavius, in which the latter claimed the money of the dictator which Antony had appropriated. Antony refused to refund it, on the ground that it was public treasure, when Octavius took upon himself the payment of the legacies, as well as the exhibition of shows at the dedication of the temple which Caesar had built in honour of Venus Genitrix.

Meanwhile M. Brutus and Cassius had retired from the city to Lanuvium, probably at the time of the disturbances caused by the Pseudo-Marius. Decimus Brutus, in defiance of the Consul, assumed the government of Cisalpine Gaul, and Trebonius and Cimber took possession of their respective provinces of Asia and Bithynia. In the absence of the liberator, Antony persuaded the senate to alter the distribution of the provinces, so far as to transfer Syria and Macedonia from Cassius and Brutus to Dolabella and himself. In compensation they were offered the privilege of supplying the city with corn from Sicily and Asia. This they were unwilling to accept, and made the necessity of preparing for it an excuse for lingering in Italy, till they had made one more unsuccessful attempt to conciliate popular favour by the magnificence of the 'Ludi Apollinares,' exhibited at the expense of Brutus as city praetor. The failure of this effort induced them at length to abandon hopes of remaining longer in Italy, and Cicero, feeling that the prospects of the republican party were for the present crushed, and that he himself was not wholly free from danger, determined to avail himself of a 'legatio' which Dolabella had given him, and to go to Greece till the beginning of the next year, when he hoped for more success under the administration of the new Consuls, Hirtius and Pansa. He spent a single day among his friends in Sicily, and thence set sail for Greece on the 2nd of August, but was driven back to Leucopetra, whither tidings were brought him that a change had come over the face of affairs; that the senate had been summoned for the 1st of August; and that rumours were rife that Brutus and Cassius were likely to come to an understanding with Antony. This news changed his plans once more; he resolved to go at once to Rome, and was not even deterred by an interview with Brutus and Cassius at Velia, in which they told him of the defeat of the republican party in the meeting of the 1st of August from which they had hoped so much. He entered Rome on the 31st of August, and found that

Antony had summoned the senate for the following day. Cicero, after some hesitation, resolved not to attend, pleading fatigue and sickness to the Consuls, while to his friends he urged the impossibility of his appearing as a witness of the honours which were to be proposed to Caesar. His real reason appears to have been an unwillingness to take the initiative in the contest between himself and Antony which was now inevitable. In his absence the Consul uttered the most violent invective against him, upbraiding him with cowardice in staying away, and even threatening the demolition of his house. He then retired to his villa at Tibur; but Dolabella summoned the senate to meet on the following day in the temple of Concord, when Cicero delivered his first Philippic oration against Antony. The tone of it is moderate, compared with that of those which follow. He seems unwilling to close every door of peace between himself and his antagonist; and though he attacks his public policy unsparingly, he abstains as yet from any personal abuse, such as is conspicuous in all the rest of these orations.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN

M. ANTONIUM

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM LIBRI XIV.

LIBER PRIMUS.

1 ANTE quam de re publica, patres conscripti, dicam ea, quae
dicenda hoc tempore arbitror, exponam vobis breviter consilium
et profectionis et reversionis meae. Ego cum sperarem ali-
quando ad vestrum consilium auctoritatemque rem publicam esse
revocatam, manendum mihi statuebam quasi in vigilia quadam 5

cc. 1, 2. *Before entering on the main topic of his speech, Cicero thinks it right to explain why he left the city, and why he returned without accomplishing his contemplated journey to Greece. He had derived great hopes from the amnesty which followed the dictator's death; from the moderation and constitutional policy of Antony; and, above all, from the abolition of the dictatorship. These hopes were confirmed by the strong and orderly administration, both of Antony and Dolabella: but they were rudely dashed to the ground by the events of the 1st of June. Then the senate was terrified into inaction; the populace was excited into revolutionary acts; the veterans were urged to look for booty; and Cicero, despairing of any present sphere of usefulness, left the city till the new year should open a prospect of better things.*

1. Patres Conscripti. Livy 2. 1 tells us that on the expulsion of the kings, in order to fill up the number of the senate, diminished by the massacres of Tarquinius, Brutus admitted the principal knights to the rank of senators, under the title of 'Conscripti'; and that this was the origin of the double title of the senate, 'ut in senatum vocarentur, qui Patres, quique conscripti essent. Con-

scriptos videlicet, in novum senatum adpellabant lectos.' The term 'Patres Conscripti' therefore is condensed for 'Patres et Conscripti,' like 'Populus Romanus Quirites,' 'lis vindiciae,' &c. It had however so completely come to be used as a single expression for 'Senators,' that Cicero even uses the singular 'Pater Conscriptus,' of an individual senator, Phil. 13. 13, 28.

3. Reversionis. Manutius gives as the distinction between 'reversio' and 'reditus,' that the latter is used of a man who has attained the object of his journey, and so returns in accordance with his original plan: the former of a man who turns back before reaching his proposed destination. He supports this by the expression of Cicero about this very expedition, Att. 16. 7, 5 'Quam valde ille reditu, vel potius reversione mea laetatus!' but as he also uses the term 'reditus' in reference to it, without correction, in the same Epistle, and in Phil. 2. 30, 76 'Exposui nuper, patres conscripti, causam reditus mei,' it seems probable that 'reditus' is the word of general application, 'reversio' the word more peculiarly appropriate to turning back prematurely.

consulari ac senatoria. Nec vero usquam discedebam nec a re publica deiiciebam oculos ex eo die, quo in aedem Telluris convocati sumus. In quo templo, quantum in me fuit, ieci fundamenta pacis Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum; Graecum etiam
 5 verbum usurpavi, quo tum in sedandis discordiis usa erat civitas illa, atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui. Praeclara tum oratio M. Antonii, egregia etiam voluntas; pax denique per eum et per liberos eius cum praestantissimis civibus confirmata est. Atque his principiis reliqua
 10 sentiebant. Ad deliberationes eas, quas habebat domi de re publica, principes civitatis adhibebat; ad hunc ordinem res optimas deferebat; nihil tum, nisi quod erat notum omnibus, in C. Caesaris commentariis reperiebatur, summa constantia ad ea quae quaesita erant, respondebat. Num qui exsules restituti? Unum aiebat,
 15 praeterea neminem. Num immunitates datae? Nullae, respon-

2. Ex eo die: the 17th of March, two days after Caesar's murder. The temple of Tellus was in the Carinae, on the site of the house of Sp. Cassius, which was pulled down and confiscated on his condemnation in 485 B.C. The exact situation of it is very uncertain, but it probably lay in the valley at the foot of the western slopes of the Esquiline, and so conveniently near the house of Pompey in the Carinae, which Antony himself occupied.

4. Atheniensium. On the restoration of the exiles under Thrasybulus, in 403 B.C., when a general amnesty was proclaimed, and the people swore *μη μνησικατέειν*. The term *ἀμνηστία*, which Cicero is said to have used on this occasion, is not found in any Greek author before the time of Plutarch; the classical word being *ἀδεια*. Dion Cassius, 44. 23-33, professes to give the speech of Cicero in favour of the amnesty, together with that which Antony delivered over the body of Caesar.

8. Per liberos. The conspirators, even after the amnesty had been proclaimed, did not venture to come down from the Capitol till Antony and Lepidus each sent a son to them, to be kept as hostages for their safety. That 'liberos' is a mere rhetorical inaccuracy for 'filium' is clear from c. 13, 31, and 2. 36, 90, from the latter of which passages we learn that Antony's hostage was one of his sons by Fulvia, the daughter of M. Fulvius, nicknamed Bambalio. On receiving the hostages, Brutus and Cassius descended from their stronghold, and supped

the same evening, Brutus with Lepidus, Cassius with Antony. Plut. Brut. 19.

11. Deferebat. 'Deferre res ad senatum' is to make an announcement to the senate on a matter over which they have no control; whence it is used of the augurs reporting the auspices, and here of Antony reporting to the senate the purport of documents which they had already ratified: 'referre ad senatum' is the term used of the Consuls, bringing a question formally before the senate for their decision.

12. In C. Caesaris commentariis, 'in Caesar's papers,' 'commentarii' being notes for future expansion and use; as Cicero, Brut. 75, 262, tells us that Caesar called his histories 'Commentarios,' because they were 'nudi, recti et venusti, omni ornatu orationis tamquam veste detracta,' written from the wish 'alios habere parata, unde sumerent, qui vellent scribere historiam.'

14. Unum. This was Sex. Clodius, a client of P. Clodius, and the chief agent of his lawlessness, who had been condemned and sent into exile in 52 B.C., after Milo's trial, on the accusation of Caesennius Philo and M. Aufidius. Cicero, Att. 14. 13, 6, says he consented to his recall by Antony, though convinced that Caesar had never expressed any wish for it: 'quae enim Caesar numquam neque fecisset neque passus esset, ea nunc ex falsis eius commentariis proferuntur.'

15. Immunitates, *ἀνέλεαι*, exemptions from taxation, which we find frequently granted, especially by the emperors, both

debat. Assentiri etiam nos Ser. Sulpicio, clarissimo viro, voluit, ne qua tabula post Idus Martias ullius decreti Caesaris aut benefici figeretur. Multa praetereo eaque praeclara; ad singulare enim M. Antonii factum festinat oratio. Dictaturam, quae iam vim regiae potestatis obsederat, funditus ex re publica sustulit, de qua ne sententias quidem diximus; scriptum senatus consultum, quod fieri vellet, attulit, quo recitato auctoritatem eius summo studio secuti sumus eique amplissimis verbis per senatus consultum 2 gratias egimus. Lux quaedam videbatur oblata, non modo regno, 4 quod pertuleramus, sed etiam regni timore sublato; magnumque 10 pignus ab eo rei publicae datum, se liberam civitatem esse velle, cum dictatoris nomen, quod saepe iustum fuisset, propter perpetuae dictaturae recentem memoriam funditus ex re publica sustulisset. 5 Liberatus periculo caedis (paucis post diebus) senatus; uncus impactus est fugitivo illi, qui in Marii nomen invaserat. Atque haec omnia 15 communiter cum collega: alia porro propria Dolabellae, quae, nisi collega afuisset, credo iis futura fuisse communia. Nam cum

to individuals and states. It appears from a letter of Cicero, *Fam.* 12. 1. 1, written about the end of the previous May, that such grants of exemption were among the evils immediately consequent on the death of Caesar: and in the second Philippic we find that Antony soon proceeded to make them by wholesale: 'neque solum singulis veniant immunitates sed etiam populis universis,' 2. 36, 92; cp. 38, 97.

1. Servius Sulpicius, the famous lawyer, in favour of erecting a statue to whom Cicero delivered the ninth Philippic oration. See *Introd.* to *Phil.* 9.

2. Ne qua tabula figeretur, 'that no law should be published,' the custom being that any new law was engraved on a brazen tablet, and hung up for seventeen days in public, before being finally deposited in the 'aerarium.'

6. Ne sententias quidem diximus, 'we passed a silent vote,' without debate, and therefore without a division. See on 3. 9, 24.

12. Iustum: so long as the dictatorship was held only for a definite time, 'ad tempus sumebatur,' *Tac. Ann.* 1. 1, and to meet a special emergency. Sulla was the first to make himself perpetual dictator, in 82 B.C., reviving the office after a lapse of 120 years, when its old spirit, as well as the necessity for it, had completely died away. At the time therefore when Antony abolished the dictatorship, there were no feelings of old

association attached to it which could counterbalance the dislike which the despotism of Sulla and of Caesar had inspired.

14. Uncus. The hook by which the bodies of criminals were dragged, after execution, to the 'scalae Gemoniae,' on the brink of the Aventine, and thence thrown into the Tiber. Cp. *Juv.* 10. 66 'Seianus ducitur unco,' *Suet. Vit.* 17 'Apud Gemonias minutissimis ictibus excarnificatus atque confectus est, et inde unco tractus in Tiberim.'

15. Fugitivo. This was Herophilus, a horse-doctor or oculist, 'equarius' or 'ocularius,' who, according to *Val. Max.* 9. 15, 2, exchanged his Greek name for the Roman one of Amatius. He assumed to be the grandson of Marius, and having attempted to raise a disturbance after the death of Caesar, was put to death without a trial by Antony; an illegal act, for which the senate granted him indemnity.

16. Cum collega: P. Cornelius Dolabella, who had been nominated by Caesar to succeed him in the consulship for the latter part of the year 44 B.C., after he himself should have started on his Parthian expedition. Cp. 2. 32, 80 and 81.

17. Afuisset: on that progress through Campania, in the latter half of April and the beginning of May, in order to superintend the distribution of lands to the veterans, with which Cicero taunts him in the second Philippic, §§ 100 foll.

serperet in urbem infinitum malum idque manaret in dies lati
idemque bustum in foro facerent, qui illam insepultam sepultura
effecerant, et quotidie magis magisque perdit homines cum :
similibus servis tectis ac templis urbis minitarentur, talis ani
5 adversio fuit Dolabellae cum in audaces sceleratosque servos, tu
in impuros et nefarios liberos, talisque eversio illius execrat
columnae, ut mihi mirum videatur tam valde reliquum temp
ab illo uno die dissensisse. Ecce enim Kalendis Iuniis, quib
ut adessemus edixerant, mutata omnia: nihil per senatum, mul
10 et magna per populum, et absente populo et invito. Consul
designati negabant se audere in senatum venire; patriae liber
tores urbe carebant ea, cuius a cervicibus iugum servile deiecerant
quos tamen ipsi consules in contionibus et in omni sermone
laudabant; veterani qui appellabantur, quibus hic ordo diliger

1. Infinitum malum, 'an evil of which no one could foresee the end.'

2. Bustum: alluding to a column which the lower orders of the people raised in Caesar's honour on the site of his funeral pyre, with the inscription 'PARENTI PATRIAE.' This column Dolabella threw down during the absence of Antony, finding that the honours paid to it were made a pretext for tumult and sedition. He also put the ringleaders in the disturbances to death, crucifying the slaves, and throwing the freemen from the Tarpeian rock.

Insepultam sepulturam, 'that burial so little worthy of the name;' probably with reference to the tumultuous and irregular nature of the proceedings. The body, contrary to the general custom at Rome, was burnt in the very heart of the city, in the Forum. See Legg. 2. 23, 58 'Hominem mortuum, inquit lex in xii tabulis, in urbe ne sepelito neve urito.' The oxymoron appears to be an imitation of such Greek expressions as *νόμῳ ἀνυπόμῳ*, *παρθέον τ' ἀνάρπαστον* Eur. Hec. 612. Ferrarius compares a line quoted by Cicero de Orat. 3. 58, 219

'Qua tempestate Paris Helenam innuptis iunxit nuptiis.'

8. Kalendis Iuniis. Cicero tells us in the second Philippic, 42, 109, that the senate was too much alarmed to obey the summons convening it for the 1st of June; and gives a detailed account of the unconstitutional proceedings of Antony on that day: proceedings nominally sanctioned by the people, though in reality they were wholly devoid

of such a sanction, as the assembly consisted only of an excited, tumultuous rabble, none of the respectable citizens being present. He draws the same distinction in the speech De Domo sua, 33, 89 'An tu populum Romanum esse putas illum, qui constat ex illis qui mercede conducuntur? qui impellunt ut vim afferant magistratibus? ut obsideant senatum? optent quotidie caedem, incendii rapinas?'

10. Consules designati, C. Vibius Pansa, and Aul. Hirtius, who had been nominated by Caesar as Consuls for the year 43 B.C.

13. Quos tamen &c. 'and that though the Consuls themselves were always speaking of them in the highest terms.' Cp. 2. 3, 'Quos tu clarissimos viros soles appellare, and 12, 30 'Brutus, quem ego honoris causa nomino.'

14. Veterani qui appellabantur. Graevius takes this to mean 'the veterans to whom Antony appealed;' but it seems more probable that it signifies 'those who claimed the name of veterans:' the imperfect being used rather than the present, because it is not Cicero's object to define the term 'veterani,' but he is wishing to intimate either that he thought those who had aided Caesar against the state to be unworthy of the name, or that many of them had not yet served the number of campaigns which entitled them to it. Hence the reading 'appellantur,' which is found in two MSS., would destroy the meaning of the passage, which would then merely be 'the veterans, as they are called.'

tissime caverat, non ad conservationem earum rerum, quas habebant, sed ad spem novarum praedarum incitabantur. Quae cum audire malletm quam videre, haberemque ius legationis liberum, ea mente discessi, ut adessem Kalendis Ianuariis, quod initium senatus cogendi fore videbatur.

3 Exposui, patres conscripti, profectionis consilium: nunc reversionis, quae plus admirationis habet, breviter exponam. Cum Brundisium iterque illud, quod tritum in Graeciam est, non sine causa vitavissem, Kalendis Sextilibus veni Syracusas, quod ab ea urbe transmissio in Graeciam laudabatur: quae tamen urbs mihi coniunctissima plus una me nocte cupiens retinere non potuit. Veritus sum ne meus repentinus ad meos necessarios

1. Caverat: by assigning lands to them after the expiration of their term of military service.

3. Ius legationis liberum. Cicero gives an account of this 'legatio' in one of his letters to Atticus, 15. 11, saying that Dolabella had appointed him his 'legatus,' with the special privilege, usually confined to 'liberae legationes,' of being allowed to enter and leave Rome at his will; and had extended the time within which he might avail himself of it to five years. He says that with these additions to the usual rights of a 'legatus,' this commission suits him better than a 'libera legatio,' since the time of the latter could not be extended. These 'liberae legationes' were a species of honorary commissions, granted to senators who wished to travel in the provinces, and investing them with all the privileges of 'legati.' Seeing the abuses to which they led, Cicero endeavoured, in his consulship, to abolish them, but only succeeded in limiting their duration to one year, Legg. 3. 8, 18. Further regulations, the exact nature of which is unknown, were made about them by a 'Lex Iulia.'

cc. 3, 4. Cicero had scarcely left Italy, when the fortunate accident of a storm drove him back in time to hear of the speech of Antony, and the farewell edict of Brutus and Cassius; together with the news that the senate was to meet on the 1st of August, and that Antony once more promised to obey the constitution. And although at Velia he heard from Brutus that these promises had not been fulfilled, and that L. Piso alone had dared to raise his voice in support of the authority of the senate, yet he determined still to return, and to make a solemn protest against the encroachments of Antony.

7. Plus admirationis habet, 'has more in it to excite astonishment.' Cp. Off. 2. 5, 17 'Cum hic locus nihil habeat dubitationis.' Halm attributes this sense of 'admirationem habet' to a kind of passive meaning of the substantive, as though it signified 'the capacity for being admired,' as well as 'the act of admiring:' but it seems rather to arise from a vague use of the verb 'habeo,' like the Greek ἔχει, in the sense of 'carries with it,' 'admits of,' 'necessarily associates with itself.' cp. Aristot. Eth. 1. 3, 2 τὸ δίκαιον ... τοσαύτην ἔχει διαφορὰν καὶ πλάτην ὥστε δοκεῖν νόμον μόνον εἶναι, Thuc. 2. 61, 2 τὸ μὲν λυπεῖν ἔχει ἥδη τὴν αἰσθησιν ἐκείνην.

8. Non sine causa. In a letter to Atticus, 16. 4, 4, he explains this cause to be the expected arrival of certain legions, probably those from Macedonia, at Brundisium; and says that he entertains the idea of waiting to sail with Brutus. In the next letter he tells Atticus that this scheme fell through, owing to Brutus' anxiety to see how things turned out in Italy.

10. Tamen refers, not to what precedes, but to the desire of the Syracusans expressed in the same clause by the participle 'cupiens:'—'which city, in spite of its eagerness to do so, yet could not detain me more than a single night.' Halm compares Pro Sestio, 67, 140 'Hunc tamen flagrantem invidia ... ipse populus Romanus periculo liberavit.' It is somewhat like the use of ὄμω in such passages as Soph. O. C. 957 ἐρημία με, καὶ δίκαι' ὄμωι λέγω, συμκρόν τιθησι.

11. Coniunctissima: owing to the integrity of his conduct as quaestor in the island, and his zeal in their behalf in the prosecution of Verres.

adventus suspicionis aliquid afferret, si essem commoratus. Cui autem me ex Sicilia ad Leucopetram, quod est promontorium agri Regini venti detulissent, ab eo loco conscendi ut transmitterem; nec ita multum provectus reiectus austro sum in eius ipsum locum, unde conscenderam. Cumque intempesta nox esset mansissemque in villa P. Valerii, comitis et familiaris mihi postridieque apud eundem ventum exspectans manerem, municipii Regini complures ad me venerunt, ex iis quidam Romam recentem a quibus primum accipio M. Antonii contionem, quae mihi in placuit, ut ea lecta de reversione primum coeperim cogitare. Nunc ita multo post edictum Bruti affertur et Cassii, quod quidem mihi fortasse quod eos plus etiam rei publicae quam familiaritatis gratia diligo, plenum aequitatis videbatur. Addebant praeterea: fit enim plerumque ut ii, qui boni quid volunt afferre, affingant aliquid; quo faciant id quod nuntiant laetius—rem conventuram; Kalendis senatum frequentem fore; Antonium, repudiat malis suasoribus, remissis provinciis Galliis, ad auctoritatem

3. Conscendi. This verb appears in Cicero to have everywhere the meaning of 'embarking,' whether it is used absolutely, as here, or with the addition of 'navem,' as in Fam. 3. 10, 3 'Conscendens iam navem, Epheso Laodiceam revertit.'

5. Nox intempesta, 'the dead of night,' 'quae non habet idoneum tempus rebus gerendis' Macrobi. Sat. 1. 3, sub fin. Cp. Varr. L. L. 7. 72 'Nox intempesta dicta ab tempestate; tempestas ab tempore; nox intempesta quo tempore nihil agitur.' We may compare with it the Greek expression *νυκτὸς δαίτη*, Theocr. 11. 40. The same indefiniteness pervades both expressions, Macrobius l. c. making 'nox intempesta' succeed 'concupia'; while Varro 6. 7 identifies it with 'concupium,' and also with 'silentium noctis.' Cp. Virg. G. 1. 247 'Intempesta silet nox.'

9. Contionem. Of the purport or occasion of this speech we know nothing, except that we may gather from this passage that it referred to the restoration of tranquillity in the state. It was a common practice to have such speeches taken down by shorthand writers, 'notarii,' and copies distributed among those interested in the proceedings.

10. Coeperim, the perfect subjunctive, instead of the pluperfect, to bring the picture more vividly before the minds of the hearers, on the same principle as the use of the present indicative in historic narration.

11. Edictum Bruti et Cassii. This was probably the farewell edict which the published when on the point of leaving Italy in which they declared themselves willing, it were necessary for the peace of the state to live in perpetual exile. It is mentioned by Velleius, 2. 62, 3; and is alluded to in the letter of Brutus and Cassius to Antony, Cic. Fam. 11. 3, if indeed that letter be not itself the 'edictum' in question.

15. Rem conventuram, 'that an arrangement would be made;' cp. Att. 9. 6, 'Rem conventuram putamus.' Lit. 'that the matter would result in unanimity.'

16. Kalendis. In the MSS. we find 'Kalendis Sextilibus,' an obvious mistake, since Cicero came to Syracuse on the 1st of August. Halm thinks there is a confusion between 'Sext.' and 'Sept.' but it seems more probable that the month was not named by Cicero, and that some copyist has repeated the word 'Sextilibus' from the previous section. See Madvig, Opusc. I. p. 163.

17. Provinciis Galliis. By the disposition of Caesar, Transalpine Gaul had been assigned to L. Munatius Plancus, and Cisalpine Gaul to Decimus Brutus. Antony prevailed on the people, notwithstanding this arrangement, to grant him the latter province; but on proceeding in November to take possession of it, he was resisted by Brutus, who threw himself into Mutina, and there maintained himself till the siege was raised by

4 senatus esse rediturum. Tum vero tanta sum cupiditate incensus
 9 ad reditum, ut mihi nulli neque remi neque venti satis facerent,
 non quo me ad tempus occurrurum non putarem, sed ne tardius
 quam cuperem rei publicae gratularer. Atque ego celeriter Veliam
 14 devectus Brutum vidi: quanto meo dolore, non dico. Turpe 5
 mihi ipsi videbatur in eam urbem me audere reverti, ex qua
 Brutus cederet, et ibi velle tuto esse, ubi ille non posset. Neque
 vero illum similiter atque ipse eram commotum esse vidi: erectus
 enim maximi ac pulcherrimi facti sui conscientia nihil de suo
 10 casu, multa de vestro querebatur. Exque eo primum cognovi 10
 quae Kalendis Sextilibus in senatu fuisset L. Pisonis oratio:
 qui quamquam parum erat—id enim ipsum a Bruto audieram—
 a quibus debuerat adiutus, tamen et Bruti testimonio—quo quid
 potest esse gravius?—et omnium praedicatione, quos postea vidi,
 magnam mihi videbatur gloriam consecutus. Hunc igitur ut 15
 sequeretur properavi, quem praesentes non sunt secuti, non ut
 proficerem aliquid—nec enim sperabam id nec praestare pote-
 ram,—sed ut, si quid mihi humanitus accidisset—multa autem

the new Consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, who both were killed in the battle. Antony was driven across the Alps, and Brutus remained in undisputed command of the province.

3. Non quo... non putarem, 'not that I had any fears of being too late.' The subjunctive with such expressions appears to be used when the proposition they introduce is in itself a mere hypothesis of the writer or speaker, which is not only declared not to be the reason of the phenomenon under investigation, but is also asserted to be in itself untrue. Accordingly, when the supposed cause is in itself a real fact, and it is merely denied that it is the cause of the phenomenon, the indicative is used with 'quia' or 'quoniam,' as in Tac. Hist. 3. 4 'Non quia industria Flaviani egebat,' 'not influenced by the desire, which he yet felt, to avail himself of the zeal of Flavianus,' 'sed ut consulare nomen surgentibus...praetenderetur' and Livy 33. 27 'Non quia satis dignos eos esse credebat,' 'not from the conviction which he entertained of their worthiness.'

7. Tuto esse. A similar use of 'esse' with 'tuto' instead of a predicative noun is found, Fam. 14. 3. 3 'Ut tuto sim;' Att. 8. 1. 1 'Nusquam eris tutius;' ib. 2 'Non quaerere, ubi tutissimo essem.' So also with other

adverbs; Att. 14. 16. 4 'De Attica pergratum mihi fecisti, quod curasti ut ante scirem recte esse quam non belle fuisse.'

10. De vestro, i.e. their loss of real power, owing to Antony assuming to take everything into his own hands.

11. L. Pisonis, Caesar's father-in-law, and formerly the bitter personal and political enemy of Cicero, who attacked him in the senate with the greatest virulence in his speeches De Provinciis Consularibus, and In Pisonem, 55 B. C., accusing him, with apparent justice, of every kind of maladministration in his province of Macedonia during the two preceding years. Piso's opposition to Antony was only short-lived, as when the latter went to Mutina to attack Dec. Brutus, Piso remained as the principal supporter of his views in Rome. He was one of the envoys to Antony in the beginning of the following year. At present Cicero was ready to follow him as the most appropriate leader of the constitutional party.

18. Si quid mihi humanitus, &c. 'if any of the accidents to which man is liable should have befallen me—and many do appear to be hanging over me contrary at once to the course of nature and to my destined lot;'—'fatum' being apparently the natural tenour of the life which destiny had

impendēre videntur praeter naturam etiam praeterque fatum,—huius tamen diei vocem testem rei publicae relinquerem meae perpetuae erga se voluntatis.

Quoniam utriusque consilii causam, patres conscripti, probatam 1
5 vobis esse confido, prius quam de re publica dicere incipio, pauca querar de hesterna M. Antonii iniuria: cui sum amicus, idque me non nullo eius officio debere esse prae me semper tuli. Quid 5

marked out for him, liable however to be overthrown by rash interference on the part of himself or others. It seems to be rightly explained by Abrami: 'Illa praeter naturam praeterque fatum, quae nec a principiis naturae intrinsicis, nec a causis externis agendi necessitate constrictis, sed ab hominis libertate dependet, ut cum quis sibi vel mortem consciscit, vel alterius scelere occiditur.' He compares Virg. Ae. 4. 696 foll.

'Nam quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,

Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore,

Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem

Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.'

and Demosth. de Cor. p. 296, 19 τὸν τῆς εὐμαρτίας καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον: from which latter passage Gellius, 13. 1, tells us that Cicero probably derived the expression. The same idea occurs frequently in Homer; cp. Od. 1. 33 [βροταί] σφῆσιν ἀνασθαλίῃσιν ὑπέρμορον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν, Il. 2. 155 ἔνθα κεν Ἀργεῖοισιν ὑπέρμορα νόστος ἐτύχθη: though the supremacy of fate was generally vindicated, even by supernatural interference, if necessary, when external causes were on the point of breaking through it. Cp. Il. 17. 321; 20. 30 and 336. See also Professor Conington's note on Virgil, 1. c.

2. Tamen is omitted in some MSS., but it is commonly found in the apodosis after a protasis introduced by a concessive 'si.' 'I might at any rate leave my voice in testimony,' &c. Cp. 2. 32, 78 'Si minus fortem, at tamen strenuum.'

3. Erga se rather than 'erga eam,' because 'res publica' is virtually the subject of the sentence; 'that the state might still have my voice this day as a witness to my loyalty.'

6. Hesterna Antonii iniuria, the threats which Antony had used, when Cicero, on the plea of illness, absented him-

self from the senate on the 1st of September. Nominally, every senator was bound to be present at all meetings of the senate; cp. Legg. 3. 4, 11 'Senatori, qui nec aderit, aut causa aut culpa esto;' and absence was liable to be punished by a fine, which might be enforced by a 'pignoris capio.' This was the technical term for the process whereby the praetor allowed the goods of a person, who was in contempt of court, to be taken, and sold, unless the contempt was purged within a given time. Cp. Livy 3. 38 'Postquam citati non conveniebant, dimissi circa domos adparitores simul ad pignora capienda, sciscitandumque, num consulto detrectarent.' On such an occasion however as the proposal of a 'supplicatio,' or solemn holiday in honour of a general who had gained an important victory, it was supposed that the friends of the person thus honoured would be certain to attend in sufficient numbers to ensure a full house, and therefore it was generally left open to the senators to be present or not as they pleased. The irregularity of the present 'supplicatio' is pointed out by Cicero in this speech, c. 6, 13.

7. Non nullo eius officio: in sparing him at Brundisium, when on his return from Pharsalus, Antony was instructed by Caesar to prevent any of Pompey's party from landing in Italy. For Cicero's later estimate of this service, see 2. 3, 5; 24. 59.

cc. 5, 6. Cicero complains of the personal animosity displayed towards him by Antony, in endeavouring to force him to attend the meeting of the senate on the previous day, when he was weary with his journey, and in threatening violent measures towards him in consequence of his non-appearance. He declares the impossibility of his taking part in any such unconstitutional proceedings as the ordinance of a 'supplicatio' in honour of a dead man; and regrets that absence had prevented him from supporting L. Piso in his patriotic opposition to Antony on the 1st of August.

tandem erat causae cur in senatum hesterno die tam acerbè
cogerer? Solusne aberam? an non saepe minus frequentes fuistis?
an ea res agebatur, ut etiam aegrotos deferri oporteret? Hannibal,
credo, erat ad portas, aut de Pyrrhi pace agebatur, ad quam causam
etiam Appium illum, et caecum et senem, delatum esse memoriae 5
12 proditum est. De supplicationibus referebatur, quo in genere sena-
tores deesse non solent. Coguntur enim non pignoribus, sed
eorum, de quorum honore agitur, gratia; quod idem fit, cum de
triumpho refertur. Ita sine curâ consules sunt, ut paene liberum
sit senatori non adesse. Qui cum mihi mos notus esset cumque 10
e via languerem et mihimet displicerem, nisi pro amicitia qui
hoc ei diceret. At ille vobis audientibus cum fabris se domum
meam venturum esse dixit. Nimis iracunde hoc quidem et valde
intemperanter. Cuius enim maleficii tanta ista poena est, ut
dicere in hoc ordine auderet se publicis operis disturbaturum 15
publice ex senatus sententiâ aedificatam domum? Quis autem
umquam tanto damno senatorem coëgit? aut quid est ultra pignus
aut multam? Quod si scisset quam sententiam dicturus essem,
6 remisisset aliquid profecto de severitate cogendi. An me censetis,
12 patres conscripti, quod vos inviti secuti estis, decreturum fuisse, 20
ut parentalia cum supplicationibus miscerentur? ut inexpiabiles

4. De Pyrrhi pace agebatur. The allusion is to the mission of Cineas, after the battle of Heraclea, 280 B. C., when the terms of peace that Pyrrhus offered were on the point of being accepted, till Appius Claudius Caecus persuaded the senate to reject them. The speech which he delivered on the occasion was still extant in Cicero's time. Cic. Brut. 16, 62.

11. E via languerem. Ferrarius, on the authority of three MSS., urges the reading 'de via,' comparing Acad. Post. 1. 1, 1 'Nisi de via fessus esset;' Somn. Scip. 1, 2 (Rep. 6. 10, 10) 'Me, et de via, et qui ad multam noctem vigilassem, artior quam solebat somnus complexus est;' and Plant. Pseud. 2. 2, 66 'Ut lassus veni de via, me volo curare.' The actual expression 'de via languere,' however, does not seem to occur elsewhere, and the majority of editors, following the Vatican MS., here retain 'e via.'

Mihimet displicerem, 'was indisposed.' So of mental trouble, 'Displiceo mihi nec sine multo scribo dolore,' Cic. Att. 2. 18, 3.

12. Cum fabris. Cp. 5. 7, 19 'Huc etiam nisi venirem Kal. Sept. etiam fabros se missurum et domum meam disturbaturum esse dixit.' Cicero's house had been pulled down during his exile in 58 B. C., and rebuilt on his return in the following year, out of funds granted him by the state, in spite of the violent opposition of P. Clodius.

15. Publicis operis. This use of 'operae,' for the concrete 'operarii,' is not infrequent in Cicero; cp. c. 9, 22 'Ut ipse ad operas mercennarias statim protrahatur;' Att. 4. 3, 3 'Facile operas aditu prohibuerunt.' So Hor. S. 2. 7, 118 'Accedes opera agro nona Sabino.'

21. Parentalia. In the end of February, Cic. Legg. 2. 21, 54, the Romans celebrated a festival in honour of the dead, 'Feralia,' at which offerings were brought to their tombs, and panegyrics pronounced in their praise. Cp. Varro, L. L. 6. 13 'Feralia ab inferis et ferendo, quod ferunt tum epulas ad sepulcrum, quibus ius ibi parentare.' Cicero's argument here is, that Antony is mixing up two inconsistent kinds of religious ceremony; the 'Parentalia,' addressed directly to the dead;

religiones in rem publicam inducerentur? ut decernerentur supplicationes mortuo? Nihil dico cui. Fuerit ille Brutus, qui et in dominatu regio rem publicam liberavit et ad similem virtutem simile factum stirpem iam prope in quingentesimum annum propagavit: adduci tamen non possem, ut quemquam mortuum coniungerem cum immortalium religione, ut, cuius sepulchrum inquam exstet ubi parentetur, ei publice supplicetur. Ego vero ea sententiam dixissem, ut me adversus populum Romanum, si quod accidisset gravior rei publicae casus, si bellum, si morbus, si fame
 10 facile possem defendere; quae partim iam sunt, partim timeo impendeant. Sed hoc ignoscant di immortales velim et populo Romano, qui id non probat, et huic ordini, qui decrevit invitum Quid? de reliquis rei publicae malis licetne dicere? Mihi vel licet et semper licebit dignitatem tueri, mortem contemner
 15 Potestas modo veniendi in hunc locum sit: dicendi periculum non recuso. Atque utinam, patres conscripti, Kalendis Sextilibus adesse potuissem! non quo profici potuerit aliquid, sed ne uno modo consularis, quod tum accidit, dignus illo honore, dignus in publica inveniretur. Quam quidem ex re magnum accipio dolorem

and the 'Supplicatio,' a solemn service in honour indeed of some general, but addressed to the gods, and therefore incapable of being celebrated after the death of the general without the risk of confusing thanksgiving for his success with worship to himself, and so incurring the guilt of impiety.

2. *Fuerit ille*, 'suppose that he was,' &c. Cp. § 15 '*Fuerit* quaedam necessaria.'

4. *Stirpem propagavit*. The identity of the families of L. Iunius Brutus, the first consul, and M. Brutus, the tyrannicide, is upheld also by Plutarch Brut. 1, who says, on the authority of Posidonius, that L. Brutus had a third son, who was only a child when his father put his elder brothers to death. The connection is, however, improbable in itself; and the story of Posidonius would naturally be invented to reconcile its difficulties. The objection that the later Bruti were plebeians, while L. Brutus was a patrician, even if we admit the latter fact as certain, would not be fatal, as there are many instances of families passing from the one order to the other.

6. *Usquam*. The reading of the Vatican and some other MSS. is '*nusquam*,' which is supported on the ground that as the column which marked the place where Caesar's body

was burned had been overthrown by Dolus bella, it could not be said that any tomb of his did now exist. This interpretation, however, is contrary to the general argument of the passage, in which Cicero is maintaining that as Caesar was dead, and buried, like any other man, he could not be made an exception to the general rule of never performing a '*supplicatio*' in honour of the dead. See Madvig, *Opusc. I.* p. 202.

7. *Supplicetur*. The tense is to be explained by reference to the idea in Cicero's mind ('*numquam adducar ut contingam*') the change from the imperfect being aided by the tenses in the intervening relative clause.

8. *Si qui gravior casus*, 'if any more serious kind of disaster.' The reading of the old editions, supported by two MSS. is '*si quis*:' but the usual distinction seems to apply here, that '*si qui casus*' means 'if any kind of disaster'; '*si quis casus*,' 'if any individual disaster.' Cicero is giving the reason why he was so urgent in expressing his opinion on the subject, in order that, whatever might be the result, he at least should be free from blame.

17. *Unus modo consularis*, L. Piso, See on § 10.

- homines amplissimis populi Romani beneficiis usos L. Pisonem ducem optimae sententiae non secutos. Idcircone nos populus Romanus consules fecit, ut in altissimo gradu dignitatis locati rem publicam pro nihilo haberemus? Non modo voce, nemo
 15 L. Pisoni consularis, sed ne vultu quidem assensus est. Quae, 5 malum! est ista voluntaria servitus? Fuerit quaedam necessaria: neque ego hoc ab omnibus iis desidero, qui sententiam consulari loco dicunt. Alia causa est eorum, quorum silentio ignosco, alia eorum, quorum vocem requiro. Quos quidem doleo in suspicionem populo Romano venire non modo metus, quod ip- 10 sum esset turpe, sed alium alia de causa deesse dignitati suae.
- 7 Quare primum maximas gratias et ago et habeo Pisoni, qui non quid efficere posset in re publica cogitavit, sed quid facere ipse deberet: deinde a vobis, patres conscripti, peto ut, etiam si sequi minus audebitis orationem atque auctoritatem meam, be- 15 nigne me tamen, ut adhuc fecistis, audiat.
- 16 Primum igitur acta Caesaris servanda censeo, non quo probem

1. Amplissimis beneficiis usos: in being made Consuls and praetors. Among those of consular rank, the most conspicuous were L. Piso, Servius Sulpicius, C. Marcellus, Q. Fufius Calenus, P. Servilius Isauricus, P. Vatinius, and L. Caesar, the uncle of Antony, to whom Cicero is probably especially referring in saying that he can pardon the silence of some of them.—Abrami.

6. Quae, malum, 'what, the plague?' Cp. 10. 9, 18 'Quae, malum! est ista ratio?' and Verr. Act. 2. 1. 20, 54 'Quae, malum! est ista tanta audacia?' This interjectional use of 'malum' is most common in the comedians.

7. Hoc, i.e. the assertion of freedom under all circumstances. The obscurity in the connection of ideas has led some recent editors to suppose that some such words as 'repellenda est voluntaria' have been lost: but this seems hardly necessary; and there is no trace of such omission in any of the MSS. The train of thought appears to be, 'Grant that all could not avoid such slavery; this is a degree of patriotism whose absence I must needs forgive in some who speak as consulars; but yet we must distinguish between those whose silence is pardonable, and those who are absolutely bound to speak.' Cp. 10. 9, 19.

Sententiam consulari loco dicunt. The privilege of speaking 'consulari' or 'praetorio loco' was often granted

as a special honour to persons who had not filled the office of Consul or praetor. Thus we find a decree in favour of Octavius, Phil. 5. 17, 46 'Senatui placere, C. Caesarem, C. f., pontificem, pro praetore, senatorem esse, sententiamque loco praetorio dicere.'

10. Suspicionem .. alium .. deesse. 'Suspicio' is occasionally found with the accusative and the infinitive; as in Cic. Att. 8. 11 D, 1 'Suspicionem nullam habebam, te reipublicae causa mare transiturum;' Brut. 11. 43 'Fuisse suspicionem veneno sibi conscivisse mortem:' but here there is the especial awkwardness of the clause depending on another infinitive of which the persons suspected are themselves the subject.

cc. 7, 8. Turning to the main subject of his speech, as containing the reasons for his vote, Cicero declares his opinion that the 'acts' of Caesar ought to be ratified: meaning thereby, not all the memoranda and notes, genuine or forged, which Antony quoted from the dictator's private papers; but his formal and completed acts, as embodied in his laws, such as that limiting the terms of provinces; or that abolishing the third *decuria* of 'iudices,' which Antony proposed to nullify by establishing a new third *decuria*, composed of centurions and of privates of the legion *Alauda*.

17. Primum igitur...censeo. With this begins the formal declaration of Cicero's resolution and vote, to which all that went before was prefatory. See on 3. 9, 24.

—quis enim id quidem potest?—sed quia rationem habend
maxime arbitror pacis atque otii. Vellem adesset M. Antoni
modo sine advocatis—sed, ut opinor, licet ei minus valere, qu
mihi heri per illum non licuit:—doceret me vel potius vos, pat
5 conscripti, quem ad modum ipse Caesaris acta defenderet.
in commentariolis et chirographis et libellis se uno auctore p
latis, ne prolatis quidem, sed tantum modo dictis, acta Caesa
firma erunt: quae ille in aes incidit, in quo populi iussa p
petuasque leges esse voluit, pro nihilo habebuntur? Equid
10 existimo nihil tam esse in actis Caesaris quam leges Caesa
An, si cui quid ille promisit, id erit fixum, quod idem non fac
potuit? ut multis multa promissa non fecit: quae tamen mu
plura illo mortuo reperta sunt, quam a vivo beneficia per om
annos tributa et data. Sed ea non muto, non moveo: sum
15 studio illius praeclara acta defendo. Pecunia utinam ad O
maneret! cruenta illa quidem, sed his temporibus, quoniam
quorum est, non redditur, necessaria. Quamquam ea quoque
effusa, si ita in actis fuit. Equid est quod tam proprie d
possit actum eius, qui togatus in re publica cum potest

3. *Sine advocatis.* 'Advocatus' was the name commonly applied to any one who by his presence gave aid or countenance to a person pleading his cause in the senate or law-courts; and especially to the 'iurisconsultus' who supplied him with advice on points of law. Antony's 'advocati,' whose presence Cicero deprecates, were the armed soldiers with whom he had beset the entrances of the 'Cella Concordiae' on the previous day.

6. *Se uno auctore.* This use of the reflexive pronoun is justified by the fact that Antony's views are the prominent thought in Cicero's mind, so that he is the *logical* subject of the sentence: 'Does he think to secure the ratification of those acts of Caesar, of whose existence we have no evidence except in the various note-books of the dictator, which he, and he alone, produces, or rather simply quotes: and that meanwhile all that Caesar caused to be engraved on brass, signifying thereby that they should be permanent laws, should go for nothing?'

8. *In aes incidit:* see on c. 1, 3.

11. *An si cui, &c.* Cicero goes on to prove the absurdity of ratifying all these supposed 'acta,' by showing that it would pledge the people to a much more rigid ful-

filment of the promises, and even the expressed intentions of the dictator, he either could or would have carried himself. Cp. Att. 14. 10, 1 'Ut omnia fi scripta, dicta, promissa, cogitata Ca plus valerent, quam si ipse viveret.'

15. *Pecunia utinam ad Opis neret.* Sc. the seven hundred million terces which Antony had seized on evening of the dictator's murder. See Int. and 2. 37, 93. The remains of the temp Ops are still visible in the Forum, adjoin the temple of Saturn. Cicero calls the m 'cruenta,' and 'funesta,' 2. 1. c., as being result of the tyranny and bloodshed of dictator, especially in the confiscation of property belonging to the party of Pompey.

18. *Effusa sit,* 'let us acquiesce in having been expended.'

§ 18. introduces, somewhat irregularly, opposition to what precedes. The nat antithesis to 'id erit fixum' would have l 'leges eius fixae non erunt,' instead of w Cicero proceeds to prove that Caesar's l were especially 'acta Caesaris,' and le his hearers to draw the inference.

19. *Qui togatus, &c.,* 'who in tim peace was invested with supreme civil military authority in the state.' 'Imperi is defined by Cicero, Phil. 5. 16, 45, as

imperioque versatus sit, quam lex? Quaere acta Gracchi; leges Semproniae proferentur: quaere Sullae; Corneliae. Quid? Pompei tertius consulatus in quibus actis constitit? nempe in legibus. De Caesarē ipso si quaereres, quidnam egisset in urbe et in togā, leges multas responderet se et praeclaras tulisse, chirographa vero aut mutaret aut non daret, aut, si dedisset, non istas res in actis suis duceret. Sed haec ipsa concedo, quibusdam etiam in rebus conniveo; in maximis vero rebus, id est legibus, acta Caesaris dissolvi ferendum non puto. Quae lex melior, utilior, optima etiam re publica saepius flagitata, quam ne praetoriae provinciae plus quam annum neve plus quam biennium consulares obtinerentur? Hac lege sublata videntur vobis posse Caesaris acta servari? Quid? lege, quae promulgata est de tertia decuria nonne omnes iudicariae leges Caesaris dissolvuntur? Et vos acta Caesaris defenditis, qui leges eius evertitis? nisi forte, si quid memoriae causa rettulit in libellum, id numerabitur in actis et, quamvis iniquum et inutile sit, defendetur: quod ad populum centuriatis comitiis tulit, id in actis Caesaris non habebitur. At quae ista tertia decuria?—Centurionum inquit.—Quid? isti ordini iudicatus lege Iulia, etiam ante Pompeia, Aurelia non patebat? —Census praefinebatur, inquit.—Non centurioni quidem solum, sed equiti etiam Romano: itaque viri fortissimi atque honestis-

power 'sine quo res militaris administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri non potest.' As it was an established principle that a Consul could not exercise the authority of a general within the city walls, this 'imperium togati' was the especial characteristic of a dictator.

3. Tertius consulatus. In 52 B.C., when Pompey, being elected sole Consul, passed the laws 'de Vi,' 'de Ambitu,' and 'de Sodalitiis,' which proved the means of delivering the city from the disturbances of Milo and his party.

10. Ne praetoriae provinciae, &c. Cp. 5. 3, 7; 8. 9, 28 'Ipse autem ut quinquennium, inquit Antonius, obtineam provinciam. At istud vetat lex Caesaris, et tu acta Caesaris defendis.' Before the passing of this 'Lex Iulia,' the tenure of a province was not limited in time; and Dion Cassius, 43. 35, says that Caesar was led to propose it by feeling how much both his desire for empire, and his power of acquiring it, were increased by his own long government in the province of Gaul.

13. De tertia decuria. The addition

of the word 'iudicum,' which is wanting in the Vatican MS., bears evident traces of being a gloss. The third decuria of the 'tribuni aerarii,' to whom a share in the iudicium had been given by the 'Lex Aurelia' in 70 B.C., was abolished by a 'Lex Iudiciaria' of Julius Caesar passed in 46 B.C. Cp. Suet. Caes. 41 'Iudicia ad duo genera iudicum redegit, equestris ordinis ac senatorii: tribunos aerarios, quod erat tertium, sustulit.' Antony proposed to add another third decuria, consisting of centurions 'qui ordines duxerunt,' and of private soldiers of the legion Alauda. Cp. 5. 5, 12.

19. Quae ista tertia decuria? So the Vatican MS., as in 2. 19, 48 'quae autem domus?' Some MSS. insert 'est,' which is retained as a doubtful reading by Halm.

20. Pompeia; passed 55 B.C., confirming the provisions of the 'Lex Aurelia,' with regard to the three decuriae, but imposing a property qualification. Cicero therefore shows that the bill of Antony did more to lower the dignity of the judicial bench than any of those which had preceded it.

simi, qui ordines duxerunt, res et iudicant et iudicaverunt.—N quaero, inquit, istos: quicumque ordinem duxit iudicet.— si ferretis, quicumque equo meruisset, quod est lautius, nem probaretis; in iudice enim spectari et fortuna debet et dignitas. —Non quaero, inquit, ista: addo etiam iudices manipularis legione Alaudarum; aliter enim nostri negant posse se sal esse.—O contumeliosum honorem iis, quos ad iudicandum opinantes vocatis! hic enim est legis index, ut ii res in tē decuriā iudicent, qui libere iudicare non audeant. In quo quan
10 error est, di immortales! eorum, qui istam legem excogitaverunt. Ut enim quisque sordidissimus videbitur, ita libentissime seve tate iudicandi sordes suas elcet laborabitque ut honestis decuri potius dignus videatur quam in turpem iure coniectus. Aliter promulgata lex est, ut et de vi et maiestatis damnati ad populu

3. Quicumque equo meruisset, i.e. 'equo publico,' with a horse furnished by the state (cp. 6. 5, 13 'Ab equitibus Romanis, equo publico'), since there was another class of equites at Rome, who served with their own horses, and were not reckoned among the eighteen centuries. See Livy 5. 7. An eques received half as much pay again as a centurion, and ranked proportionately higher, so that if rank alone, 'dignitas,' were taken into consideration, without a property qualification, 'fortuna,' the knight would have a claim to be admitted more freely to the 'iudicatus' than the centurion.

Quod est lautius, 'a more honourable service.' Some MSS. read 'laudatius.'

6. Alaudarum, 'the legion Alauda,' (so called, apparently, from a plume on their helmets like a lark's crest, Pliny H. N. 11. 37, 44,) had been raised by Caesar among the natives of Transalpine Gaul, about 55 B.C., so that the admission of its soldiers to the 'iudicatus' was the first opening of the judicial bench to barbarians. On this point Cicero expresses himself strongly in a later oration, 6. 5. According to him, the avowed motive of Antony in giving them this privilege was to have some devoted partisans among the 'iudices.' They had already been invested with the franchise by Caesar. Suet. Caes. 24.

Aliter, 'without this admixture of obsequious adherents.'

8. Legis index, 'the whole gist of the law,' 'index' being used not merely for 'the title' of a book, but also for a summary of its contents, and being hence applied to an

abstract of any work, or the subject-matter of any science: cp. Varr. R. R. 1. 1. 'Scribam tibi tres libros indices, ad quos revertare, si qua in re quaeres, quemadmodum quidque te in colendo oporteat facere.'

9. In quo quantus, &c. Cicero argues that Antony's scheme will defeat its own object; for these legionary 'iudices,' from the very fact of their being admitted on insulting terms to the judicial bench, to use as his tools, will be led to discharge their duty with greater sternness, if not even show bias against his followers, in order to exhibit their independence and impartiality and to prove that they were worthy of receiving admission in more creditable fashion; and of being enrolled in honourable 'decursae,' instead of being hustled into one which was nothing but a disgrace.

cc. 9, 10. As for the proposed law allowing those who were found guilty of riot or treason to appeal to the people, it is a simple abolition of all laws whatsoever reducing any trials for such crimes to matters of questions of violence and corruption, so there was not even any one whose favour Antony might thus conciliate. He was using Caesar's name to nullify the very laws which Caesar, when alive, attached the most importance; the power of the dead dictator was ruining the commonwealth; and though in virtue of its constitution, the state had means of guarding against evil consequences even from the worst of laws, the present reign of terrorism turned the ancient force of law into a farce, and neutralised all its salutary checks.

14. Maiestatis. This is the amendment

provocent, si velint. Haec utrum tandem lex est an legum omnium dissolutio? Quis est enim hodie, cuius intersit istam legem † manere? Nemo reus est legibus illis, nemo, quem futurum putemus: armis enim gesta numquam profecto in iudicium vocabuntur. At res popularis. Utinam quidem aliquid velletis esse populare! omnes enim iam cives de rei publicae salute una et mente et voce consentiunt. Quae est igitur ista cupiditas legis eius ferendae, quae turpitudinem summam habeat, gratiam nullam? Quid enim turpius quam qui maiestatem populi Romani minuerit per vim, eum damnatum iudicio ad eam ipsam vim reverti, propter 10
22 quam sit iure damnatus? Sed quid plura de lege disputo? quasi

of Orelli for the unintelligible reading of the Vatican MS. 'maiestates,' here and in § 22. Other MSS., and the majority of editors before Orelli, read 'de maiestate.' Cp. however pro Cluent. 35. 97 'Bulbus est condemnatus; adde maiestatis' where the testimony of MSS. is unanimous. The crime of 'maiestas' is defined by Cicero, de Invent. 2. 17. 53, as 'De dignitate aut amplitudine aut potestate populi, aut eorum, quibus populus potestatem dedit, derogare.' The right of appeal to the people from the decision of any magistrate, to which we find so much value attached in early Roman history, apparently did not exist in the case of 'quaestiones perpetuae,' permanent judicial commissions, which were first introduced by L. Calpurnius Piso, 149 B.C., to try cases of extortion in the provinces. Afterwards they were extended, probably by C. Gracchus, to the investigation of those public crimes which most frequently gave occasion to capital sentences, such as poisoning and assassination; and by Sulla to all criminal causes. The practical effect of this was the abolition of capital punishment, as the power of life and death rested with the people only. See Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, vol. 3. pp. 112, 372, 373, Eng. Trans. The appeal of C. Rabirius, supported by an extant speech of Cicero, was from the 'Duumviri perduellionis,' exceptionally appointed for that occasion, and not from the regular criminal tribunal, pro Rab. 4. 12. It is obvious that as the working of the law courts became more settled, and more deserving of the confidence of the people, and more especially as the jealousies between patricians and plebeians died away, the 'Provocatio ad Populum,' which was rendered so necessary by the tyranny of kings and decemvirs, and the oppression of a dominant class, would tend to become

both unnecessary and pernicious.

3. Manere can only mean 'should be rendered permanent,' an unusual if not unparalleled sense of the word. Garatonius argues that a law may as well be said 'manere,' after promulgation, by being passed, as by being left unchallenged when it has come into force. He compares the use of 'maneant' as parallel to 'fixum sit' in the speech pro Rab. 9. 25 'Illud maneant et fixum sit, quod neque moveri neque mutari potest.' Madvig, Opusc. 1. p. 203, denies the possibility of this meaning for 'manere,' and considers the passage to be corrupt. If it is genuine, it would seem as though Cicero were looking forward beyond the actual passing of the law: 'Suppose you pass the law, who will be interested in its remaining in operation?' F. Ulrichs, in 'Eos' for 1865, p. 203, suggests 'avere,' the 'm' of 'manere' having been introduced from the end of the preceding 'legem.' Another reading is 'venire,' which gives no sense.

Legibus illis. Under the existing laws there were no prisoners for trial, so where was the need of a change by which none would benefit? It was a law for which no one would thank him, 'quae gratiam nullam habeat.' The common reading 'istis legibus' loses all the distinction between the present state of things, in which as a matter of fact no offenders existed, and the result of Antony's proposal, whereby any future criminals would secure indemnity: 'id fertur, ne quis omnino *umquam* istis legibus reus fiat.'

5. At res popularis, 'but, you will say, it is a matter which public opinion has already settled.'

10. Ad eam ipsam vim. Because it reduces the matter to a contest between the loyal and the partakers of his treason.

11. Quasi vero, &c., 'just as though the object were that any single person should

vero id agatur ut quisquam provocet: id agitur, id fertur, ne quomodo omnino umquam istis legibus reus fiat. Quis enim aut accusatus tam amens reperietur, qui reo condemnato obiicere se multitudinibus conductae velit, aut iudex, qui reum damnare audeat, ut ipse ad operas mercenarias statim protrahatur? Non igitur provocatus ista lege datur, sed duae maxime salutares leges quaestionesque tolluntur. Quid est aliud hortari adolescentes, ut turbulentius, seditiosi, ut perniciosi cives velint esse? Quam autem ad pestiferum furor tribunicius impelli non poterit his duabus quaestionibus? ¹⁰ vi et maiestatis sublatis? Quid, quod obrogatur legibus Caesaribus quae iubent ei, qui de vi, itemque ei, qui maiestatis damnatus sit, aqua et igni interdici? quibus cum provocatio datur, non retracta Caesaris rescinduntur? Quae quidem ego, patres conscripti, qui illa numquam probavi, tamen ita conservanda concordiae ¹⁵ causa arbitratus sum, ut non modo, quas vivus leges Caesar tulisse infirmandas hoc tempore non putarem, sed ne illas quidem, qui post mortem Caesaris prolatas esse et fixas videtis. De exsiliis reducti a mortuo, civitas data non solum singulis, sed nationibus et provinciis universis a mortuo, immunitatibus infinitis sublatis ²⁰ vectigalia a mortuo. Ergo haec uno, verum optimo auctore domo prolata defendimus: eas leges, quas ipse nobis inspectantibus

appeal.' 'Quisquam' is here used on account of the negative notion really inherent in the clause: 'the object being that no one should appeal.' Cp. in Vat. 3. 7 'Quasi vero quisquam vir excellenti animo... optabilis quisquam arbitretur quam se a suis civibus rei publicae causa diligere.'

2. Quis enim, &c., 'for where will you find either a prosecutor so mad as willingly to expose himself to the mercy of a hired crowd by convicting his opponent; or a jurymen so rash as to condemn a prisoner knowing that he himself will thereupon be dragged before a mob of mercenary labourers?'

5. Operas. See on c. 5. 12.

7. Quid est aliud, 'what else were it to exhort the youths,' &c. Some MSS. insert 'quam,' or 'nisi,' as in 5. 8, 21 'Quid erat aliud nisi denuntiare servitutem?' but cp. 2. 4, 7 'Quid est aliud tollere ex vita vitae societatem?' So also 5. 2, 5; 10. 2, 5. We may compare the two Greek expressions ἄλλο τι ἤ, and ἄλλο τι.

10. Obrogatur: 'obrogare legi est legis prioris infirmandae causa legem aliam ferre:

abrogare legem, penitus tollere' Ferrar. Festo. Cp. Cic. Rep. 3. 22, 33 'Huic legi neque obrogari fas est, neque derogari ex hac aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest.'

14. Illa numquam probavi, 'never approved of their being carried; not so much because of any fault he had to find with the measures themselves, as on account of the unconstitutional manner in which they were passed.'

17. De exsilio... immunitatibus See on § 3.

18. Nationibus, to the Sicilians, among others. Cp. Att. 14. 12, 1 'Antonius accepit grandi pecunia fixit legem a dictatore committis latam, qua Siculi cives Romani: cui rei vivo illo mentio nulla.'

20. Uno verum optimo auctor 'on the unsupported testimony of a single man, however excellent he may be.' Vulg. 'uno viro optimo,' a reading which loses the irony expressed by the prominence given to 'optimus' in the reading of the text.

Domo prolata appears to be opposed to the publicity and regularity of the proceeding in the other case.

recitavit, pronuntiavit, tulit, quibus latis gloriabatur, eisque legibus rem publicam contineri putabat, de provinciis, de iudiciis, eas, inquam, Caesaris leges nos, qui defendimus acta Caesaris, eventas putamus? Ac de his tamen legibus, quae promulgatae sunt, saltem queri possumus: de iis, quae iam latae dicuntur, ne illud quidem licuit; illae enim sine ulla promulgatione latae sunt ante quam scriptae. Quaero autem, quid sit cur aut ego aut quisquam vestrum, patres conscripti, bonis tribunis plebi leges malas metuat. Paratos habemus qui intercedant, paratos qui rem publicam religione defendant; vacui metu esse debemus.— Quas tu mihi, inquit, intercessionem? quas religiones?—Eas scilicet, quibus rei publicae salus continetur.—Negligimus ista et nimis antiqua ac stulta ducimus: forum saepietur, omnes clauduntur aditus, armati in praesidiis multis locis collocabuntur.— Quid tum? Quod ita erit gestum, id lex erit? et in aes incidi iubebitis, credo, illa legitima: 'consules populum iure rogaverunt'—hocine a maioribus accepimus ius rogandi?—'populusque iure scivit.' Qui populus? isne, qui exclusus est? Quo iure? an eo, quod vi et armis omne sublatum est? Atque

1. Recitavit, pronuntiavit, appear both of them to express the public reading of the laws by the crier, before they were proposed; tulit the formal proposal of them before the people.

Eisque legibus, &c., 'thinking that the safety of the state depended on them.' Cp. § 25 'Quibus reipublicae salus continetur.' The change from the relative to the demonstrative, for the sake of simplicity, is common both in Greek and Latin. Cp. Fin. 2. 2, 5 'Finem definiebas id esse, quo omnia, quae recta fierent, referrentur, neque id ipsum usquam referretur.' Plat. Rep. p. 505 E δ δὲ δίδκει πᾶσα ψυχὴ καὶ τοῦτου ἕνεκα πάντα πράττει.

4. De his tamen legibus, 'as regards these laws which come under our cognizance by being promulgated.' So far Antony had only used Caesar's authority in support of laws which he brought forward and passed in regular course, so that men might canvass, though they dared not reject them: but besides this, he introduced certain supposititious laws, which he declared to have been actually passed by Caesar, so that men were forced to accept them, without even the opportunity of discussing them. And though constitutionally the tribunes of the commons, by interposing their veto, or by 'ob-

nuntiatio' (see on 2. 32, 81), ought to have been able to overcome all fear of bad laws being passed or acted on to the injury of the state, yet Antony got over this difficulty by the simple process of preventing them by force.

13. Antiqua et stulta, 'folies of a bygone age.' Cp. pro Rosc. Amer. 9. 26 'Homines antiqui, qui ex sua natura ceteros fingerent.' So ἀρχαῖος, Aesch. Prom. 317 ἀρχαῖ ἴσως σοι φαίνομαι λέγειν τὰδε. Cp. Soph. O. T. 290 κατὰ καὶ παλαιὰ ἔτη.

16. Credo. Muretus reads 'cedo illa legitima,' but besides its MS. authority, 'credo' seems also to have more force in keeping up the irony of the clause. 'What is thus carried must needs be law: and the provisions so made law, I presume, you will order to be inscribed on brass.' Cicero then changes from irony into direct invective, while he shows the hollowness of meaning in the ancient formula of laws, when used to introduce measures passed under absolute compulsion.

19. De futuris. He passes over all that is irrevocable, and speaks only of the laws which had been promulgated, and were in due course awaiting the vote of the people, who could yet decide upon them as they would ('de quibus est integrum vobis'); and

- haec dico de futuris; quod est amicorum ante dicere ea, qui vitari possint: quae si facta non erunt, refelleitur oratio mea. Loquor de legibus promulgatis, de quibus est integrum vobis: demonstrando vitia; tollite! denuntio vim, arma; removete!
- 8 Irasci quidem vos mihi, Dolabella, pro re publica dicenti non oportebit. Quamquam te quidem id facturum non arbitror—non facilitatem tuam—: collegam tuum aiunt in hac sua fortuna, qui bona ipse videtur—mihi, ne gravius quippiam dicam, avorum avunculi sui consulatum si imitaretur, fortunatior videretur—: si
- 10 eum iracundum audio esse factum. Video autem quam sit odiosum habere eundem iratum et armatum, cum tanta praesertim gladium sit impunitas: sed proponam ius, ut opinor, aequum, quod M. Antonium non arbitror repudiaturum. Ego, si quid in vita eius aut in mores cum contumelia dixero, quo minus mihi inimicissimus sit, non recusabo: sin consuetudinem meam tenuerid est, si libere quae sentiam de re publica dixero, primum deprecor ne irascatur, deinde, si hoc non impetro, peto ut s

herein, he says, he is acting the part of a friend even towards Antony and Dolabella; for he is warning them of the neglect of religion and order which he foresees will render their acts really invalid, and they need only give heed to his warnings, and abandon their unconstitutional proceedings, if they wish to prove his forebodings false. If he were blaming them for what is past, he argues, they might reasonably be angry with him, but with his friendly advice they have no ground of quarrel.

cc. 11, 12. Turning directly to address the Consuls, Cicero deprecates the notion that he is actuated by hostility towards them; he even courts their opposition, so long as they confine themselves within the bounds of fair antagonism; and while lamenting that a false conception of glory had lately misled them, he compliments Dolabella on the vigour which he displayed in putting down the riots occasioned by the erection of a monument to Caesar.

§ 27. With this section begins the second division of Cicero's speech, in which he points out the dangers and the evils of the course the Consuls were pursuing. See on § 16.

7. Facilitatem, 'how placable your temper is': 'facilitas' being distinguished from 'clementia,' with which it is often joined, as 'readiness to forgive' from 'un-

willingness to take offence.'

8. Avorum. These were M. Anton the orator, Consul in 99 B.C., a strenuous opponent of the democratic party, and Julius Caesar, Consul in 90 B.C., and aul of the 'Lex Iulia de civitate sociis danc. They both were put to death by Mar and Cinna when they obtained possess of the city in 87 B.C. Cp. de Orat. 3. 3. 'Iam M. Antonii in iis ipsis Rostris, in quib ille rempublicam constantissime consul fenderat, quaeque censor imperatoris mabilis ornat, positum caput illud fuit, a c erant multorum civium capita servata; nec vero longe ab eo C. Iulii caput hosp Etrusci scelere proditum cum L. Iulii p capite iacuit.'

The uncle referred to was L. Julius Caesar Consul in 64 B.C., the year before Cic himself, and his firm supporter in suppress the conspiracy of Catiline.

9. Sed eum. After the long par thesis, the thread of the sentence is resumed with 'sed,' in a manner not unfrequent Cicero. Cp. 2. 2, 5 'Sed quo benefici ib. 4, 8; 32, 80.

12. Ius aequum, 'I will make a position which seems to me so fair, that I think Antony will not refuse to entertain. The manifest equity of the proposal entitles Cicero afterwards to term it 'postulat See on 2. 29, 72.

irascatur ut civi. Armis utatur, si ita necesse est, ut dicit, sui defendendi causa: iis, qui pro re publica quae ipsis visa erunt dixerint, ista arma ne noceant. Quid hac postulatione dici potest
 28 aequius? Quod si, ut mihi a quibusdam eius familiaribus dictum est, omnis cum quae habetur contra voluntatem eius oratio graviter 5 offendit, etiam si nulla inest contumelia, feremus amici naturam. Sed idem illi ita mecum locuntur: 'non idem tibi, adversario Caesaris, licebit, quod Pisoni socero,' et simul admonent quiddam, quod cavebimus: nec erit iustior in senatum non veniendi morbi
 12 causa quam mortis. Sed per deos immortales!—te enim intuens, 10
 20 Dolabella, [qui es mihi carissimus,] non possum utriusque vestrum errorem reticere—: credo enim vos, nobiles homines, magna quaedam spectantes, non pecuniam, ut quidam nimis creduli suspicantur, quae semper ab amplissimo quoque clarissimoque contempta est, non opes violentas et populo Romano minime ferendam 15 potentiam, sed caritatem civium et gloriam concupivisse. Est

1. Ut civi, 'without violent and illegal use of arms.'

Sui defendendi causa. The usual pretext of all tyrants for obtaining a body-guard. So Peisistratus, *τραπεζίτας ἐαυτοῦ ἰδίῳ τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινὸς σπῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ κορήσου* Hdt. 1. 59, 5. Cp. Phil. 2. 8, 19 'Quid est dementius, quam, cum rei publicae perniciose arma ipse ceperis, obicere alteri salutaria?'

6. Feremus amici naturam, 'we will not quarrel with the humour of a friend,' rather than (with Mr. Long) 'we will bear with his humour like friends,' which does not harmonize with the resumption of 'familiares' in 'idem illi.'

7. Locuntur. So the Vatican MS. Halm reads 'loquuntur,' but the Romans appear to have avoided with especial care the concurrence of 'un.' See Mr. Munro's Lucretius, vol. 2. p. 27.

9. Nec erit iustior, &c. In his large edition Halm places these words within inverted commas, as though they were part of the warning given by Antony's associates, 'nor will you find death a less valid excuse than sickness for not coming into the senate.' To this it is objected by Prof. Rauchenstein (Jahn's Jahrbücher for 1857, p. 382) that Cicero had not pleaded illness, but weariness ('cum e via languerem et mihi met displicerem,' c. 5, 12), and that the warning of his foes ends with the words 'admonent quiddam,' the clause 'nec erit iustior,' &c., containing the exposition of Cicero's intended caution,

and meaning, 'if sickness is, as all allow, a valid excuse for absence from the senate, surely the danger of death is at least as valid, and I shall be fully justified, if these threats continue, in refusing to expose myself to obvious peril of my life.' In his second school edition (1858), Halm adopts this explanation.

10. Sed, per Deos immortales! The sentence, interrupted after this exclamation, is virtually though not formally resumed in § 30, with the words 'recordare, quaeso, Dolabella,' &c. Cicero, being as yet unwilling to make the rupture with Antony final, here attributes the unpatriotic conduct of the Consuls to an error of judgment.

11. Qui es mihi carissimus. These words rest solely on the authority of the second writer in the Vatican MS.

12. Nobiles homines. The word 'nobiles' is here used in its strictly technical sense, 'belonging to families ennobled by the tenure of curule offices.'

13. Nimis creduli. Yet at the end of November in this same year, Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, Att. 16. 15, 1, speaks of Dolabella as having betrayed a client's cause, 'emptus pecunia.'

14. Ab amplissimo quoque, 'by each in proportion to his dignity and honour,' the usual force of the superlative with 'quisque.'

16. Est autem gloria. Cp. c. 14, 33; and Tusc. 3. 2, 3 'Ea (gloria) est consentiens laus bonorum, incorrupta vox bene

autem gloria laus recte factorum magnorumque in rem publica
 meritorum, quae cum optimi cuiusque, tum etiam multitudin
 testimonio comprobatur. Dicerem, Dolabella, qui recte factoru
 fructus esset, nisi te praeter ceteros paulisper esse expertu
 5 viderem. Quem potes recordari in vita illuxisse tibi diem la
 tiorem quam cum expiato foro, dissipato concursu impioru
 principibus sceleris poena affectis, te domum recepisti? Cui
 ordinis, cuius generis, cuius denique fortunae studia tum lau
 et gratulationi tuae se non obtulerunt? Quin mihi etiam, qu
 10 auctore te in his rebus uti arbitrabantur, et gratias boni vi
 agebant et tuo nomine gratulabantur. Recordare, quaeso, Dol
 bella, consensum illum theatri, cum omnes earum rerum oblit
 propter quas fuerant tibi offensi, significarent se beneficio nov
 memoriam veteris doloris abiecisse. Hanc tu, P. Dolabella,
 15 magno loquor cum dolore,—hanc tu, inquam, potuisti aequ
 animo tantam dignitatem deponere? Tu autem, M. Antoni,
 absentem enim appello,—unum illum diem, quo in aede Tellur
 senatus fuit, non omnibus his mensibus, quibus te quidam mu
 tum a me dissentientes beatum putant, anteponis? Quae fui
 20 oratio de concordia! quanto metu veterani quantā sollicitudin

iudicantium de excellenti virtute, ea virtuti
 resonat tamquam imago: quae quia recte
 factorum plerumque comes est, non est bonis
 viris repudianda.

6. Expiato foro, &c. See on § 5.
 After 'affectis,' one MS. adds the words
 'urbe incendio et caedis metu liberata.'

7. Cuius ordinis, &c., 'what rank, or
 family, or fortune, then could hinder men
 from pressing forward to congratulate and
 praise you?'

9. Quin mihi etiam, &c. Cp.
 Cicero's letter to Dolabella, Att. 14. 17 A, 1
 'Neminem conveni...quin omnes, cum te
 summis laudibus ad caelum extulerunt, mihi
 continuo gratias maximas agant. Negant
 enim se dubitare, quin tu, meis praeceptis et
 consiliis obtemperans, praestantissimum te
 civem et singularem consulem praebeas.'

12. Earum rerum obliti. Dolabella,
 being greatly in debt, and finding that Caesar
 would do nothing for him, caused himself
 to be adopted into the plebeian family of
 Cn. Lentulus, and thus became eligible for
 the tribuneship, which he obtained in 48 B.C.
 He then proposed a general abolition of
 debts, which gave rise to great tumults, the
 opposition being headed by his colleague
 L. Trebellius: and these tumults being re-

peated on the day of voting, Dolabella
 party was defeated, and the motion lost
 mainly through the influence of Antony, the
 Caesar's Master of the Horse.

cc. 13-15. Apostrophizing Antony in his
 absence, he reminds him of his magnanimous
 and patriotic conduct during the few days
 immediately following the death of Caesar.
 Especially he thanks him for abolishing the
 dictatorship; and pointing out the infamy
 with which he thereby branded the last holders
 of the office, he laments that instead of
 following the example of M. Antonius, his
 grandfather, he should seek to imitate Caesar
 by striving after supreme power and desiring
 to be feared. At the same time he warns
 both Antony and Dolabella that the public
 voice was everywhere against the memory
 of Caesar, and in favour of constitutional
 authority, and that any one who sought to
 rival the dictator's power must be prepared
 to meet with the dictator's fate.

He ends his oration by declaring his un
 dying zeal for the good of the state, and
 thanking the senate for the kindness with
 which they had listened to him.

17. Unum illum diem. See on § 1.

20. Veterani. Their fear would prob
 ably be lest the grants of land made by

civitas tum a te liberata est, cum collegam tuum depositis inimiciis, oblitus auspiciorum a te ipso augure populi Romani nuntiatorum, illo primum die collegam tibi esse voluisti, tuus
 22 parvus filius in Capitolium a te missus pacis obses fuit. Quo
 senatus die laetior? quo populus Romanus? qui quidem nullā
 in contione umquam frequentior fuit. Tum denique liberati
 per viros fortissimos videbamus, quia, ut illi voluerant, libertatem
 pax consequabatur. Proximo, altero, tertio, denique reliquis
 consecutis diebus non intermittebas quasi donum aliquod quotidie
 afferre rei publicae, maximum autem illud, quod dictaturae nomen
 sustulisti. Haec iniusta est a te, a te, inquam, mortuo Caesari nota
 ad ignominiam sempiternam. Ut enim propter unius M. Manlii
 scelus decreto gentis Manliae neminem patricium Manlium Mar-
 cum vocari licet, sic tu propter unius dictatoris odium nomen
 23 dictatoris funditus sustulisti. Num te, cum haec pro salute rei
 publicae tanta gessisses, fortunae tuae, num amplitudinis, num
 claritatis, num gloriae, poenitebat? Unde igitur subito tanta
 ista mutatio? Non possum adduci ut suspicer te pecunia captum:
 licet quod cuique libet loquatur, credere non est necesse; nihil
 enim umquam in te sordidum, nihil humile cognovi. Quamquam
 20 solent domestici depravare non numquam, sed novi firmitatem
 tuam. Atque utinam ut culpam, sic etiam suspicionem vitare
 14 potuisses! Illud magis vereor, ne ignorans verum iter gloriae

Caesar should be revoked; for otherwise the interests of the soldiery would lie on the side of war and tumult. The suggestion of Graevius, that 'veteran' is the genitive ('from what fear of the veteran soldiery'), 'veteranus' being used like 'eques' or 'pedes,' is improbable, and unsupported by any similar use of the word. Halm conjectures 'veterum malorum,' but the antithesis of the sentence seems to require some word in the nominative case. Madvig, *Opusc.* i. p. 203, thinks the reading corrupt, but does not suggest any emendation.

2. *Auspiciorum*; by which he had declared the election of Dolabella to be invalid. See 2. 33, 82 and 83.

3. *Tuus parvus filius*. See on § 2.

12. M. Manlii, the preserver of Rome from the night attack of the Gauls, 390 B.C.; in consequence of whose subsequent attempt, 384 B.C., to raise himself to despotic power, the Manlia gens passed a resolution that none of them should thenceforth bear the praenomen of Marcus, Livy 6. 20. Accord-

ing to Dion Cassius, 51. 19, a similar decree was passed in the family of the Antonii, after the battle of Actium, to mark their repudiation of M. Antonius.

13. *Patricium*; there being also plebeian families of Manlii.

19. *Nihil in te sordidum*. Yet in the next oration, c. 14, 35, he does not hesitate to attribute the conduct of Antony to the basest greed for money, and in the same oration, c. 16, 40 and 41, he points out his discreditable avarice in securing, by any means, the succession to the property even of utter strangers. It is probable, however, that Cicero here refers to his liberality in spending money, which Plutarch (*vit. Anton.* 4) shows to have been remarkable.

21. *Domestici*; referring especially to his wife Fulvia, whose avarice was notorious. Cp. 5. 4, 11 'Calebant in interiore aedium parte totius reipublicae nundinae: mulier, sibi felicior quam viris, auctionem provinciarum regnorumque faciebat.'

gloriosum putes plus te unum posse quam omnes et metui a civibus tuis. Quod si ita putas, totam ignoras viam gloriae. Carum esse civem, bene de re publica mereri, laudari, coli, diligi gloriosum est: metui vero et in odio esse invidiosum, detestabile, imbecillum, caducum. // Quod videmus etiam in fabula illi ipsi, qui 'oderint, dum metuant' dixerit, perniciosum fuisse. Utinam M. Antoni, avum tuum meminisses! de quo tamen audisti multum ex me eaque saepissime. Putasne illum immortalitatem meruisse, ut propter armorum habendorum licentiam metueretur? Illa erat vita, illa secunda fortuna, libertate esse parem ceteri principem dignitate. Itaque, ut omittam res avi tui prospera acerbissimum eius supremum diem malim quam L. Cinnae diminatum, a quo ille crudelissime est interfectus.

Sed quid oratione te flectam? Si enim exitus C. Caesaris effere cere non potest ut malis carus esse quam metui, nihil cuiusquam proficiet nec valebit oratio. Quem qui beatum fuisse putant miseri ipsi sunt. Beatus est nemo, qui ea lege vivit, ut non morte impune, sed etiam cum summa intersectoris gloria interfici possit. Quare flecte te, quaeso, et maiores tuos respice atque ita gubernare rem publicam ut natum esse te cives tui gaudeant; sine quo nec beatus nec clarus nec unctus quisquam esse omnino potest. Populus

1. Metui a civibus tuis. Some MSS. add 'quam diligi malis,' but these words seem to have been inserted (perhaps from Off. 2. 8, 29 'Dum metui, quam cari esse, et diligi maluimus') by some copyist, who did not see that 'metui' depends on 'gloriosum,' and is parallel to 'plus te unum posse.' 'You think that glory consists in being more powerful than all your fellow-citizens together, and in being the object of their dread.'

4. Imbecillum, caducum, 'a sign of weakness and impending ruin.'

6. Oderint, dum metuant. These words, probably from Attius, are quoted with abhorrence by Seneca, de Ira, 1. 20, 4 'qualis illa dira et abominanda, Oderint dum metuant' and again by Cicero, Off. 1. 28, 97, as a wicked sentiment, but yet appropriately put into the mouth of some characters, 'Atreo dicente plausus excitantur. Est enim digna persona oratio.'

7. De quo tamen, &c. 'Tamen' rather apologizes for the utterance of the wish, than qualifies its meaning. 'And yet there ought to be no doubt of your doing so, considering how often you have heard so much from me concerning him.'

9. Ut...metueretur, 'at the price being feared.' Cp. Nat. Deor. 1. 24, 'Quid enim mereas, ut Epicurus esse desinas? what would you take to give up Epicureanism?' Verr. Act. 2. 4. 60, 134 'Quod arbitramini Reginos merere velle, ut ab marmorea illa Venus auferatur.' The expression is said by Ferrarius to be confined to Cicero and Plautus. Cp. Plaut. Menaechm. 1. 3, 35 'Neque hodie ut te perdam, merere Deum divitias mihi.'

10. Parem ceteris. So the Vatican MS. Vulg. 'parem cum ceteris,' which though an unusual construction is not unparalleled. Cp. Brut. 59. 215 'Paria cum Crasso' as see Kritze on Sall. Jug. 14. 9.

12. Diem supremum. See on § 27 Dominatus. His four successive consulships, 87-84 B.C., called also by Tacitus Ann. 1. 1, 'dominatio.' Among the leading men in Rome, besides M. Antonius and Caesar, L. Merula, Q. Catulus, Cn. Octavius and others fell victims to his tyranny.

15. Carus esse quam metui. C. 2. 44, 112 'Caritate te et benevolentiam civium saeptum oportet esse, non armis.'

21. Nec unctus. So the Vatican MS.

28 quidem Romani iudicia multa ambo habetis, quibus vos non satis moveri permoleste fero. Quid enim gladiatoribus clamores innumerabilium civium? quid populi versus? quid Pompei statuæ plausus infiniti? quid duobus tribunis plebis, qui vobis adversantur? parumne haec significant incredibiliter consentientem populi Ro- 5 mani universi voluntatem? Quid? Apollinarium ludorum plausus vel testimonia potius et iudicia populi Romani parum magna vobis videbantur? O beatos illos, qui, cum adesse ipsis propter vim armorum non licebat, aderant tamen et in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus haerebant! nisi forte Attio tum plaudire et 10 sexagesimo post anno palmam dari, non Bruto putabatis, qui ludis suis ita caruit, ut in illo apparatissimo spectaculo studium populus

only, all the rest omitting it. Halm adopts the conjecture of Muretus 'nec tutus,' others read 'nec sanctus,' or 'nec diuturnus.' If the reading be genuine, 'unctus' probably means 'distinguished,' like 'lautus,' for which sense however there is apparently no authority elsewhere, the nearest approach to it being a metaphorical use of the word as applied to language, Brut. 20. 78 'Iam enim erat unctor quaedam splendorque consuetudo loquendi.'

1. Iudicia multa. Showing, that is, the rigour with which they exact true patriotism as a necessary condition of popularity.

2. Gladiatoribus, 'at the time of the gladiators' shows.' Cp. Att. 2. 1, 5 'Quaerit ex me, num consuessem Siculis locum gladiatoribus dare;' ib. 19, 3 'Gladiatoribus qua dominus qua advocati sibilis conscissi: ludis Apollinaribus, Diphilus tragoedus in nostrum Pompeium petulantur invecus est.' So in Greek, τρυφήσις καὶ κωμῶν, 'when the new tragedies were acted:' ap. Dem. Cor. p. 243. 16.

3. Populi versus. Extempore effusions, by which the people on any public occasion expressed their views on the events and characters of the day; in the present instance probably either praising Caesar's murderers, or reviling those who sought to emulate him in crushing the liberty of the state. Cicero expresses his opinion about the general value of such demonstrations, pro Sest. 54. 115 'Comitiorum et contionum significationes sunt non numquam vitiosae atque corruptae: theatrales gladiatorique consensuum dicuntur omnino solere levitate nonnullorum emptos plausus exiles et raros excitare.' 'Significo' appears to be the technical word for such expression of opinion: cp. also pro Sest. 50. 106 'Tribus locis sig-

nificari maxime populi Romani iudicium ac voluntas potest, contione, comitiis, ludorum gladiatorumque consensu.'

4. Duobus tribunis plebis, 'the applause bestowed on the two tribunes of the commons, 'tribunis,' like 'statuæ,' being the dative. The reading of the Vatican MS. is 'u T. R. P.,' where the 'u' (II) might equally stand for 'ii,' whence Ferrarius conjectured 'iis.' Cicero, Phil. 3. 9, 23, enumerates three tribunes of the commons among the enemies of Antony, L. Cassius, D. Carfulenus, and Ti. Canutius, the last-named being also mentioned by Velleius, 2. 64, 2, as a bitter antagonist who 'continua rabie lacerabat Antonium.' The other one referred to here is probably L. Cassius, the brother of C. Cassius: cp. Att. 14. 2, 1 'Plausus L. Cassio datus etiam facetus mihi quidem visus est.'

6. Apollinarium ludorum plausus, 'applause,' not merely as at the gladiators' shows, at the time of the games, but 'bestowed upon the games themselves,' and so by implication on Brutus, who as 'praetor urbanus' had defrayed their expense, though he did not dare to trust himself in Rome. The presidency of the games, in his absence, was entrusted to C. Antonius. The games took place every year on the 6th of July.

8. O beatos illos. Brutus, Cassius, and their adherents, who, though banished from the city, yet remained rooted in the feelings and affections of the people.

10. Attio. The play acted at these games was the Tereus of Attius. Cp. Cic. Att. 16. 2, 3 'Delectari mihi Tereo videbatur, et habere maiorem Attio quam Antonio gratiam.' Cicero argues that this unwonted demonstration in favour of so old a play could only be due to the circumstances under which it was acted.

Romanus tribuerit absenti, desiderium liberatoris sui perpetuo plausu et clamore leniret.

Equidem is sum qui istos plausus, cum popularibus civibus tribuerentur, semper contempserim; idemque cum a summi mediis, infimis, cum denique ab universis hoc idem fit cumque ii, qui ante sequi populi consensum solēbant, fugiunt, non plausum illum, sed iudicium puto. Sin haec leviora vobis videntur, quae sunt gravissima, num etiam hoc contemnitis, quod sensistis, tantam populo Romano vitam A. Hirtii fuisse? Satis erat enim probatum illum esse populo Romano, ut est; iucundum amicis in quo vincit omnes; carum suis, quibus est ipse carissimus: tantam tamen sollicitudinem bonorum, tantum timorem in quo meminimus? certe in nullo.

Quid igitur? hoc vos, per deos immortales! quale sit noris interpretamini? Quid? eos de vestra vita cogitare non censetis quibus eorum, quos sperant rei publicae consulturos, vita tam cara sit? Ceperunt fructum, patres conscripti, reversionis meae, quoniam et ea dixi, ut quicumque casus consecutus esset, exstaret constantiae meae testimonium, et sum a vobis benigne ac diligenter auditus.

1. Tribuerit, 'have shown their zeal, which still remains, while at the time they soothed their regret.' Each tense has thus its proper and distinct meaning, and the various emendations, 'tribueret,' found as a correction in the Vatican MS., and adopted by Halm, or 'lenierit,' are quite unnecessary. Cp. Vell. 1. 9, 1 'Nam biennio adeo varia fortuna cum consulibus conflixerat, ut plerumque superior fuerit, (has continued to show his superiority,) magnamque partem Graeciae in societatem suam perduceret (brought, once for all, into alliance with himself).'

3. Cum popularibus tribuerentur, 'as a mere tribute of praise to citizens who court popular favour.' One MS. and many editors read 'a popularibus,' apparently from a wish to make it harmonize with 'a summis,' &c., interpreting 'populares' and 'qui sequi populi consensum solebant' to mean 'citizens who follow in the wake of public opinion, and always shout with the majority:' but besides the strangeness of meaning thus given to 'populares,' the difference of mood and tense in the two clauses shows that they were in no way intended to be parallel.

6. Qui... solebant, 'who used to seek the plaudits of the mob,' but see that the

present is no time to show themselves, since now it is not demagogues, but honest men, who are being cheered.

11. Tantam tamen, &c., 'yet whom can we remember whose health excited such anxiety, such fear in all good men?' Fear, that is, of the consequences of the state being left unprotected by the death of the Consul elect. Most MSS. read 'timorem omnium,' omitted in the Vatican, which may be justified on the ground that even the inferior citizens, though they might not care for the death of the man, would yet dread the loss of the Consul. As late as the last week in December Cicero writes to a friend that 'Hirtius noster tardius convalescit,' Fam. 12. 22, 1. Cp. Phil. 7. 4. 12.

15. Quid eos, &c. 'If the Romans care so much for the life of those whom they hope to find serving the interests of the state, think ye they will pass over your proceedings without notice,' when they see you trying to reimpose on them the yoke of slavery? Vulg. 'Quid eos... cogitare censetis?'

17. Fructum: In clearing his own conscience, and in experiencing the kindness and attention of the senate.

18. Quicumque casus. Cp. c. 4. 10.

Quae potestas, si mihi saepius sine meo vestroque periculo fiet, utar: si minus, quantum potero, non tam mihi me quam rei publicae reservabo. Mihi fere satis est quod vixi vel ad aetatem vel ad gloriam: huc si quid accesserit, non tam mihi quam vobis reique publicae accesserit.

5

2. Utar, without 'ea.' Cp. pro Sulla 33. 93 'Quae prima innocentis mihi defensio est oblata suscepi.'

3. Mihi fere satis est, &c., 'I have lived long enough to satisfy my desire of life, and to fill up the measure of my fame.'

Cp. Fam. 10. 1, 1 'Mihi maximae curae est, non de mea quidem vita, cui satisfeci, vel aetate, vel factis, vel (si quid etiam hoc ad rem pertinet) gloria: sed me patria sollicitat.'

INTRODUCTION

TO THE SECOND ORATION.

AFTER the delivery of the first Philippic oration, Antony remained for some days in his villa at Tibur, employed, according to Cicero, in arranging and rehearsing his reply, *Phil.* 2. 17, 42; 5. 17, 19; *Fam.* 12. 2, 1. On his return to Rome he summoned the senate to meet on the 19th of September, and then delivered a speech in Cicero's absence, the nature of which we can gather from the answer it provoked. He accused Cicero of personal baseness and ingratitude; of cruelty and oppression in his consulship; of having caused the death of P. Clodius; of having brought about the civil war, by sowing variance between Caesar and Pompey; and lastly of having been the prime mover in the murder of Caesar himself. It was an open declaration of war, formed with the object of concentrating on Cicero the enmity of all parties in the state. Regarding it in this light, Cicero did not venture on an immediate reply, and though he remained in Rome till the end of the month, he did not appear in the senate.

Early in October he retired to Puteoli, where he occupied himself in composing the second Philippic oration, in reply to Antony. It was submitted to the criticism of Atticus, and some alterations made in it at his suggestion, *Att.* 16. 11; but though he was in Rome for a part of the autumn, he still abstained from coming into open collision with Antony, and the oration did not pass beyond the circle of his confidential friends till the end of November, when Antony left Rome to quell the mutiny of his troops at Alba. Then, with the approbation of Atticus, Cicero published his manifesto, and the success with which it met showed the soundness of the judgment which had kept it back so long. The defection of the legions weakened the prestige of Antony, and people were prepared to join in any clamour raised against him. The crisis only called for some one with authority to lead the cry, and Cicero's oration gave the impulse which was requisite. Accepting the challenge which Antony had given some ten weeks before, he openly

34 INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND ORATION.

declared himself his enemy, and laid bare his character in one of the bitterest invectives which has ever been composed. He begins by answering in detail the charges which Antony had brought against him, and then reviews the public and the private life of Antony throughout its course, showing him to be, if the account be true, the greatest monster of corruption, meanness, and profligacy ever seen upon the earth. Even allowing for exaggeration, there was enough of truth in the attack to make it tell with fatal force against the cause of Antony. The people were shaken by it in their natural allegiance to the Consul; the veterans were reminded that the man who claimed to be the heir of Caesar's power had slighted and insulted Caesar's adopted son; and the senate were roused to energetic measures against Antony which contrasted strongly with their previous apathy. Above all, Cicero was placed in a position of influence which made him virtually the leader of the senate, and gave additional weight to his continued exertions in the cause of freedom.

The speech professes to be spoken on the 19th of September, in immediate reply to Antony; but even from internal evidence, from the elaboration of its arguments, and the very perfectness of its detail, we might gather that it could not have been an extempore address; and it is at least noticeable that in no speech which he actually delivered does he lavish such unqualified abuse upon the tyranny of Caesar.

Though it is characterized in many parts by a coarseness which we feel to be intolerable to modern ears, yet the verdict of all ages pronounces this oration to be Cicero's masterpiece. It is probably to this, the longest of the political orations, that the younger Pliny is referring, Ep. 1. 20, 4, when he tells of 'M. Tullium, cuius oratio optima fertur, quae maxima;' and the lines of Juvenal, 10. 124, are famous

'Ridenda poemata malo,
Quam te conspicuae, divina Philippica, famae,
Volveris a prima quae proxima.'

It was undoubtedly to this oration that the title of *Philippic* was especially applied, though when it was first given is not easily ascertained. Plutarch, Cic. 24, says that Cicero himself entitled the orations his *Philippics*, but he is perhaps referring to passages in the spurious letters to Brutus, 2. 4, 2; 5, 4; so that the lines of Juvenal contain the first certain trace of the name.

The oration has great historical, as well as literary, value, from the continual allusions to the events of a period of which we have no satisfactory continuous history.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

1 QUONAM meo fato, patres conscripti, fieri dicam, ut nemo
1 his annis viginti rei publicae fuerit hostis, qui non bellum eodem
tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Nec vero necesse est quemquam
a me nominari: vobiscum ipsi recordamini. Mihi poenarum illi
plus quam optarem dederunt: te miror, Antoni, quorum facta 5
imitere, eorum exitus non perhorrescere. Atque hoc in aliis
minus mirabar. Nemo enim illorum inimicus mihi fuit volun-
tarius: omnes a me rei publicae causa lacessiti. Tu ne verbo
quidem violatus, ut audacior quam Catilina, furiosior quam Clo-
dius viderere, ultro me maledictis lacessisti tuamque a me aliena- 10

c. 1. *Cicero opens his speech by remarking on his peculiar destiny, that he was always personally involved in conflict with every citizen who had proved himself a traitor to the state. Generally he was the aggressor, but Antony had taken the initiative in a speech of more than ordinary virulence. After reviewing all the motives which suggested themselves for such a course, he concludes that Antony must have wished to make his treason unmistakable, by attacking so notorious a patriot.*

1. Nemo. He mentions by name Catiline and Clodius, but the point of his sarcasm is not a little blunted by the omission of Caesar, from whom he had received too many favours to enumerate him among his personal enemies.

2. His annis viginti, 'within these twenty years:' a less exact description of time than 'ante hos viginti annos,' or 'abhinc viginti annos,' though according

to the inclusive mode of reckoning in vogue at Rome it was just twenty years since the conspiracy of Catiline, 63 B.C.

Bellum indixerit: cp. pro Sulla, 9. 28 'Cum mihi uni cum omnibus improbis aeternum videam esse bellum susceptum.'

5. Optarem, 'than I should wish them to have paid, did it still depend on me.' Heumann's conjecture 'optaram' is needless, and would rather express that Cicero had determined in his own mind some less penalty which he had wished that they should pay.

7. Voluntarius, 'of his own accord, without having been first attacked by me.'

9. Ut... viderere. These words go better with 'laccessisti' than with 'violatus,' 'you attacked me, to prove yourself more daring than Catiline, more insane than Clodius.'

tionem commendationem tibi ad impios cives fore putavisti. Quid putem? contemptumne me? Non video nec in vita nec in gratia nec in rebus gestis nec in hac mea mediocritate ingenii, quid despiciere possit Antonius. An in senatu facillime de me detrahi
5 posse credidit? qui ordo clarissimis civibus bene gestae rei publicae testimonium multis, mihi uni conservatae dedit. An decertare mecum voluit contentione dicendi? Hoc quidem est beneficium. Quid enim plenius, quid uberius quam mihi et pro me et contra Antonium dicere? Illud profecto: non existimavit sui similibus
10 probari posse, se esse hostem patriae, nisi mihi esset inimicus. Cui prius quam de ceteris rebus respondeo, de amicitia, quam a me violatam esse criminatus est, quod ego gravissimum crimen iudico, pauca dicam.

Contra rem suam me nescio quando venisse questus est. An
15 ego non venirem contra alienum pro familiari et necessario? non

1. Ad impios cives: cp. 5. 1, 3. 'Neminem aequiorem reperiet quam me, cui, dum se civibus impiis commendat, inimicus quam amicus esse maluit.'

Quid putem? Of the four conceivable reasons for Antony's conduct, viz. 1. contempt of Cicero, 2. a mistaken estimate of their respective positions with the senate, 3. a desire to rival him in oratory, 4. a wish to prove his own disloyalty, by attacking the noblest of patriots, Cicero rejects the first three as untenable, and adopts the fourth.

2. In vita, 'in my private life,' as opposed to 'in rebus gestis,' 'in the actions of official life.'

6. Uni conservatae: so Cat. 4. 10, 20 'Ceteris semper bene gesta, mihi uni conservata republica gratulationem decrevistis.' Cp. also Cat. 3. 6, 15, Phil. 14. 8, 24.

7. Hoc quidem, 'this is indeed the greatest kindness he could show me.'

9. Illud profecto. So the Vatican MS. The others add 'est:' but 'illud' depends on some such word as 'putavit,' to be supplied from 'non existimavit.'

cc. 2, 3. He began by charging Cicero with being false to ties of friendship, by opposing him in a lawsuit. Cicero replies, first generally, that he was pleading against Antony, with whom he was wholly unconnected, for a friend, and in the cause of justice: then in detail he denies that Antony was an intimate of his house, or that he owed his augurship to the courtesy of Antony, who could not possibly have stood against him; or that Antony had any claim upon

his gratitude, unless it constituted a claim that he had once abstained from murdering him. Even if the most were made of this, it could not outweigh Cicero's plain duty of denouncing Antony when he violated every duty of a citizen, a magistrate, and a man.

14. Contra rem suam. In some trial, of the particulars of which we know nothing, but in which, from Cicero's expression, Antony was rather indirectly than directly interested. So far as we can gather, it would seem probable that the suit in question was brought by Sicca, Cicero's Sicilian friend, against some associate of Antony's, and that the latter, finding the suit going against his friend, prevailed on a certain tribune of the commons, whose favour he had gained by companionship in profligacy, to stop the proceedings by his veto. We may infer, from a letter of Cicero to Atticus, Att. 16. 11, 1, that Cicero suppressed the details at the instigation of Atticus, out of regard for the honour of Sicca. The defendant has been thought, with some probability, to be Quintus Fadius himself; this passage evidently implying that it was some one who belonged to the order of freedmen.

15. Non venirem contra iniuriam, &c., 'was I not to oppose a wrong which Antony carried through, not by due course of law in the praetor's court, but by favour of an illegal veto from the most unscrupulous of tribunes?' It appears from the speech against Vatinius, 14. 33, that such exercise of the veto was at least an unusual, if not

venirem contra gratiam non virtutis spe, sed aetatis flore collectam? non venirem contra iniuriam, quam iste intercessoris iniquissimi beneficio obtinuit, non iure praetorio? Sed hoc idcirco commemoratum a te puto, uti te infimo ordini commendares, cum omnes *te* recordarentur libertini generum et liberos tuos nepotes, Q. Fadii, libertini hominis, fuisse. At enim te in disciplinam meam tradideras—nam ita dixisti—; domum meam ventitaras. Ne tu, si id fecisses, melius famae, melius pudicitiae tuae consulisses. Sed neque fecisti nec, si cuperes, tibi id per C. Curionem facere licuisset. Auguratus petitionem mihi te concessisse dixisti. O 10 incredibilem audaciam! o impudentiam praedicandam! Quo enim tempore me augurem a toto collegio expetiturum Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortensius nominaverunt—nec enim licebat a pluribus nominari—, tu nec solvendo eras nec te ullo modo nisi eversa re publica

an absolutely illegal practice: 'Fecerisne, quod in hac republica non modo factum antea nunquam est, sed in omni memoria est omnino inauditum? appellarisne tribunus plebis, ne causam diceres?'

4. *Te* is inserted by Halm, following Orelli, as necessary for the construction.

5. Libertini generum. Fadia was his second wife. Cp. 13. 10, 23 'Is humilitatem audire audeat cuiusquam, qui ex Fadia suscepit liberos.' According to Suetonius, Claud. 24, the original meaning of this word 'libertinus' was a freedman's son, as opposed to 'libertus,' a freedman: 'Ignarus temporibus Appii et deinceps aliquandiu libertinos dictos non ipsos, qui manumitterentur, sed ingenuos ex his procreatos;' but in all extant authors in whom we find the words, from Plautus onwards, they both denote the actual freedman, 'libertinus' absolutely, in respect of his condition in the state, 'libertus' in his relation to his former master.

6. Fuisse. Fadius being apparently already dead, so that the tie between him and Antony was no longer in existence.

At enim. Here Cicero introduces, and refutes, the several arguments whereby Antony had sought to prove that he was not 'alienus,' but bound to Cicero by the closest ties.

In disciplinam. 'You had placed yourself under my instruction.' Cp. de Div. 1. 41, 92 'Senatus decrevit ut de principum filiis decem singulis Etruriae populis in disciplinam traderentur.'

7. Ne tu. All the MSS. concur in the

orthography 'ne,' rather than 'nae,' which appears to be a later device for the sake of distinction from the conjunction. Cp. Kritzk. on Sall. Cat. 52, 27. In Cicero this adverb is never found except in combination with a pronoun. Cp. c. 30, 76.

9. C. Curionem. See c. 18, 44-46. It was to Curio's influence that Antony owed his election to the augurship, 53 B. C., three years after Cicero's admission to the college. Cp. Plut. Ant. 5 *δημαρχον ἀπέδειξε τὸν Ἀντώνιον, εἰτα τῶν ἐκ' οὐρανῶς ἱερῶν οὗς ἀθγόυρας καλοῦσιν.*

10. Mihi te concessisse, 'you retired in my favour from the contest for the augurship.'

12. A toto collegio. The number of the augurs was increased by Sulla to fifteen, by Caesar to sixteen. The nomination by two augurs perhaps was a relic of the time when their whole number was only three, and any vacancy was filled by the 'cooptatio' of the two survivors. By the 'Lex Domitia de Sacerdotiis,' passed 103 B. C., and re-enacted 63 B. C., the election to the college of augurs was vested in seventeen out of the thirty-five tribes chosen by lot.

14. Nec solvendo eras, 'were insolvent;' lit. 'not in a condition to pay your debts.' Cp. Livy 2. 9 'Tributo plebes liberata, ut divites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent.' This use of the dative is closely allied to its employment to mark the destination in official titles: cp. Livy 10. 8 'Decemviri sacris faciundis;' Id. 2. 8 'Comitia collegae subrogando habuit.'

fore incolumem putabas. Poteras autem eo tempore auguratum petere, cum in Italia C. Curio non esset? aut tum, cum es factus, unam tribum sine Curione ferre potuisses? cuius etiam familiares de vi condemnati sunt, quod tui nimis studiosi fuissent. At beneficio sum tuo usus. Quo? quamquam illud ipsum, quod commemoras, semper prae me tuli. Malui me tibi debere confiteri quam cuiquam minus prudenti non satis gratus videri. Sed quo beneficio? quod me Brundisii non occideris? Quem ipse victor, qui tibi, ut tute gloriari solebas, detulerat ex latronibus suis
 10 principatum, salvum esse voluisset, in Italiam ire iussisset, eum tu occideres? Fac potuisse. Quod est aliud, patres conscripti, beneficium latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint iis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? Quod si esset beneficium, numquam qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant conservati, quos tu
 15 clarissimos viros soles appellare, tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Quale autem beneficium est, quod te abstinueris nefario scelere? Qua in re non tam iucundum mihi videri debuit non interfectum me a te, quam miserum te id impune facere potuisse. Sed sit beneficium, quando quidem maius accipi a latrone nullum potuit:
 20 in quo potes me dicere ingratum? an de interitu rei publicae queri non debui, ne in te ingratus viderer? At in illa querella, misera quidem et luctuosa, sed mihi pro hoc gradu, in quo me senatus populusque Romanus collocavit, necessaria, quid est dictum a me cum contumelia? quid non moderate? quid non amice?
 25 Quod quidem cuius temperantiae fuit, de M. Antonio querentem

1. Fore incolumem, 'could escape bankruptcy.'

6. Semper prae me tuli: see on 1. 4, 11.

7. Minus prudenti, 'who does not look at the matter in its right light.'

8. Sed quo: see on 1. 11, 27.

13. Quod si esset beneficium. Cicero's argument is, that the general voice of the Roman people, in holding the assassins of Caesar, who had owed their lives to him, to be yet worthy of the highest praise, declared that no gratitude was due to any one who merely abstained from exercising illegal power over the lives of his fellow-citizens. Cp. c. 24, 59, and Sen. de Benef. 2. 20, 3 'Non enim servavit is, qui non interfecit, nec beneficium dedit, sed missionem.'

17. Interfectum me. 'Me' is a con-

jecture of Madvig's, being absent from the MSS. He urges that its insertion is absolutely necessary, since 'nudum participium pro tota sententia infinita nullo exemplo, nulla ratione ponitur' Opusc. 1. p. 207.

21. In illa querella, sc. the first Philippic, in which, as we have seen, his tone towards Antony was comparatively moderate.

22. Misera quidem. With this concessive use of 'quidem' it is usual to insert the pronoun, 'misera illa quidem,' but its absence here is due to its occurrence immediately before.

Pro hoc gradu, 'in consideration of my consular rank.' For the view which Cicero entertained of the responsibilities involved by this position, see 1. 6, 14; 6. 7, 18.

abstinere maledictis, praesertim cum tu reliquias rei publicae dissipavisses, cum domi tuae turpissimo mercatu omnia essent venalia, cum leges eas, quae numquam promulgatae essent, et de te et a te latas confiterere, cum auspicia augur, intercessionem consul sustulisses, cum esses foedissime stipatus armatis, cum omnes impuritates impudica in domo quotidie susci-peres vino 7 lustrisque confectus. At ego, tamquam mihi cum M. Crasso contentio esset, quocum multae et tam magnae fuerunt, non cum uno gladiatore nequissimo, de re publica graviter querens de homine nihil dixi. Itaque hodie perficiam ut intelligat, quantum 10 4 a me beneficium tum acceperit. At etiam litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit homo et humanitatis experts et vitae

1. Reliquias, 'the remaining treasures of the state.' Cp. 1. 7, 17.

2. Domi tuae: Cp. cc. 14. 35; 36, 90; 37. 95.

4. De te, 'to benefit yourself.' This was forbidden by a 'Lex Licinia' and a 'Lex Aebutia,' both of uncertain date. Cp. de Leg. Agrar. 2. 8, 21 'Licinia est lex et altera Aebutia, quae non modo eum, qui tulerit de aliqua curatione ac potestate, sed etiam collegas eius, cognatos, affines excipit, ne iis ea potestas curatiove mandetur.' We learn from 14. 6, 13 that he had placed himself on a commission for dividing public lands; 'Duos collegas Antoniorum et Dolabellae, Naculam et Lentonem, Italiae divisores lege ea, quam senatus per vim latam indicavit.'

A te, and therefore not among the 'acta Caesaris.'

Auspicia augur, intercessionem consul. The first in passing his Agrarian law, which was in double defiance of the omens, both because they were at the time adverse, and because he proposed it in conjunction with Dolabella, whose election he had himself pronounced void, in consequence of unfavourable omens, see c. 32, 81; Phil. 5. 37: the second, by filling the forum with armed men, and so forcibly overbearing any opposition, Ib. 4. 9.

6. Impudica: so the Vat. MS.; Vulg. 'pudica,' which probably is derived from c. 28, 69 'Quid enim unquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum, quid nisi ex optimo more et sanctissima disciplina?' Here however it is more appropriate to find an epithet descriptive of the present condition of the house, than a reference to its former purity when in the possession of Pompey.

7. M. Crasso, the colleague of Caesar and Pompey, who fell in battle against the

Parthians, 55 B.C. Cicero always professed the greatest admiration for him in public; cp. pro Best. 17. 39 'M. Crassus, quocum mihi omnes erant amicitiae necessitudines, vir fortissimus,' and a letter to him is extant, full of the warmest protestations of friendship, Fam. 5. 8; but in speaking of him to his intimate friends, he always expresses distrust of him; see Att. 1. 14, 3 and 4; Fam. 14. 2, 2. Many of the repartees that passed between them are preserved by Plutarch, Cic. cc. 25, 26.

9. Uno. Halm takes this with 'nequissimo,' 'most especially wicked;' but it is rather equivalent to 'aliquo,' with a shade of contempt conveyed in it, 'with a certain most abandoned gladiator.' Cp. Att. 9. 10, 2 'Me una haec res torquet, quod non.. Pompeium, tamquam unus manipularis, secutus sim' and Plaut. Truc. 2. 1, 39 'Sed est huic unus servos violentissimus.'

c. 4. As regards the letters which Antony had read, while wondering at his want of manners in publishing private correspondence, and at his folly in producing documents whose authenticity he could not prove, Cicero urges that the only charge against him which they could support was that he used too much courtesy in addressing Antony. He would not produce in return the letters which would show Antony in the light of a suppliant to himself.

11. Litteras. A copy of this letter, sent to Atticus for inspection, is preserved, Att. 14. 13 B. It is couched in terms of warm friendship, but in the accompanying letter to Atticus he explains that his complaisance is only feigned, for the sake of temporizing where resistance was useless. For the substance of the letter see on 1. 1, 3.

12. Diceret. This use of the subjunctive, of words introducing a sentence in

communis ignarus. Quis enim umquam, qui paulum modo bonorum consuetudinem nosset, litteras ad se ab amico missas offensione aliqua interposita in medium protulit palamque recitavit? Quid est aliud tollere ex vita vitae societatem, tollere amicorum colloquia absentium? Quam multa ioca solent esse in epistolis, quae prolata si sint, inepta videantur! quam multa seria, neque tamen ullo modo divulganda! Sit hoc inhumanitatis: stultitiam incredibilem videte. Quid habes quod mihi opponas, homo diserte, ut Tironi et Mustelae iam esse videris? qui cum hoc ipso tempore stent cum gladiis in conspectu senatus, ego quoque te disertum putabo, si ostenderis, quo modo sis eos inter sicarios defensurus:—sed quid opponas tandem, si negem me umquam ad te istas litteras misisse? Quo me teste convincas? an chirographo? in quo habes scientiam quaestuosam. Qui possis? sunt enim librarii manu. Iam invideo magistro tuo, qui te tanta mercede, quantam iam proferam, nihil sapere doceat. Quid enim est minus non dico oratoris, sed hominis, quam id obiicere adversario, quod ille si verbo negarit, longius progredi non possit qui obiecerit? At ego non nego, teque in isto ipso convinco non inhumanitatis solum, sed etiam amentiae. Quod enim verbum in istis litteris est non plenum humanitatis, officii, benevolentiae? Omne autem crimen tuum est, quod de te in his litteris non male existimem, quod scribebam tamquam ad

the oratio obliqua, though irregular in itself, is not uncommon in Cicero. Cp. c. 24, 60 'Quod eam a me servatam esse meminissent:' and see Madv. § 357, obs. 2.

2. Nosset, the subjunctive, because the clause describes a particular class of men, not an individual.

3. Quid est aliud: see on 1. 9, 22.

7. Inhumanitatis. Halm adds 'tuaе,' but it is not found in the Vatican MS., and seems unnecessary. 'So much on the score of ill breeding: now see the inconceivable folly of the proceeding.'

9. Tironi et Mustelae. These men are often mentioned among the satellites of Antony: cp. 8. 9, 26; 12. 16, 14; 13. 2, 3. The latter was a native of Anagnia, and is styled by Cicero 'gladiatorum princeps,' c. 41, 106; but nothing more is known of either of them.

11. Inter sicarios, 'when tried for murder,' lit. 'when numbered among assassins for trial.' Cp. pro Rosc. Amer. 32.

90 'Sexcenti sunt, qui inter sicarios et de beneficiis accusabant;' Fin. 2. 16, 54 'Cum praetor quaestionem inter sicarios exercuisset.'

14. Scientiam quaestuosam: see c. 38, 97.

16. Nihil sapere, 'to be a fool.' Cp. c. 17. 43, whence we learn that his teacher was Sex. Clodius, a Sicilian rhetorician, whom he rewarded with 2000 'iugera' of Leontine land.

17. Id obiicere, &c., 'to bring an objection against an opponent, which requires only his bare denial to stop your further progress in the attack.'

22. Omne autem tuum crimen, &c., 'the sole point of your accusation is that in the said letter I express no bad opinion of you.' Cp. below 'existimatio,' 'the expressed opinion.'

23. Scribebam: so the Vatican MS. Halm follows the ordinary reading 'scribam,' but there seems to be a special reason for

civem, tamquam ad bonum virum, non tamquam ad sceleratum et latronem. At ego tuas litteras, etsi iure poteram a te lacessitus, tamen non proferam: quibus petis ut tibi per me liceat quendam de exsilio reducere, adiurasque id te invito me non esse facturum, idque a me impetras. Quid enim me interponerem audaciae tuae, 5 quam neque auctoritas huius ordinis neque existimatio populi 10 Romani neque leges ullae possent coërcere? Verum tamen quid erat quod me rogares, si erat is, de quo rogabas, Caesaris lege reductus? Sed videlicet meam gratiam voluit esse, in quo ne ipsius quidem ulla esse poterat lege lata. 10

5 Sed cum mihi, patres conscripti, et pro me aliquid et in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint, alterum peto a vobis ut me pro me dicentem benigne, alterum ipse efficiam ut, contra illum cum dicam, attente audiat. Simul illud oro: si meam cum in omni vita, tum in dicendo moderationem modestiamque cognostis, 15 ne me hodie, cum isti, ut provocavit, respondero, oblitum esse putetis mei. Non tractabo ut consulem: ne ille quidem me ut consularem. Etsi ille nullo modo consul, vel quod ita vivit vel quod ita rem publicam gerit vel quod ita factus est: ego sine ulla 11 controversia consularis. Ut igitur intelligeretis, qualem ipse se 20

the difference of mood, in that 'male existimem' only expresses the charge which Antony might have expected Cicero to make against him; whereas 'scribebam' introduces the actual substance of the letter.

3. Quendam. Sextus Clodius, the tool of P. Clodius, not the rhetorician mentioned above.

9. Meam gratiam, 'he wished me to have the credit of it.'

10. Lege lata: see I. 1, 3, where Antony is represented as expressly declaring that Sextus Clodius was the one exile whom the act that Caesar had passed restored to his country.

cc. 5-7. *Apologizing for his unwonted egotism in speaking of his own merits, Cicero answers the attack which Antony had made upon his consulship, by appealing to the approbation of his conduct expressed by all the leading men of his time: contrasting in this respect the consulship of Antony, which was only marked by deeds of unconstitutional violence, calculated to win applause from the base companions of his revels.*

12. Alterum peto, &c. The reason for the different tone he takes with regard to the two divisions of his speech may be

found in the beginning of Demosthenes' speech de Corona, p. 226. 20 φύσει πάντων ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς ἐπαυνοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἔχθεσθαι. Accordingly, while judiciously apologising for the part concerning himself, he gains greater attention even for this portion of his speech, by the promise of the more exciting invective which is to follow. His appeal, too, to his usual moderation is not without its object, as serving to show that nothing but the atrocity of the case could have led him to break forth at such length on the present occasion.

19. Quod ita factus est. Since he had been nominated by Caesar, not elected by the free vote of the people. Cp. c. 32, 79 'Iussus es renuntiari consul, et quidem cum ipso.' See on c. 30, 76.

20. Ut igitur intelligeretis, &c. He uses a similar argument in the speech against Piso, 7. 14 'Relatio illa salutaris et diligens fuit consulis, animadversio quidem et iudicium senatus: quae cum reprehendis, ostendis qualis tu, si ita forte accidisset, fueris illo tempore consul futurus.'

consulem profiteretur, obiecit mihi consulatum meum. Qui consulatus verbo meus, patres conscripti, re vester fuit. Quid enim ego constitui, quid gessi, quid egi nisi ex huius ordinis consilio, auctoritate, sententia? Haec tu homo sapiens, non solum eloquens, apud eos, quorum consilio sapientiaque gesta sunt, ausus es vituperare? Quis autem meum consulatum praeter te Publiumque Clodium, qui vituperaret, inventus est? Cuius quidem tibi fatum, sicut C. Curioni, manet, quoniam id domus tuae est, quod fuit illorum utrique fatale. Non placet M. Antonio consulatus
 10 meus. At placuit P. Servilio, ut eum primum nominem ex illius temporis consularibus, qui proxime est mortuus; placuit Q. Catulo, cuius semper in hac re publica vivet auctoritas; placuit duobus Lucullis, M. Crasso, Q. Hortensio, C. Curioni, C. Pisoni, M^p. Glabroni, M^p. Lepido, L. Volcatio, C. Figulo, D. Silano, L. Mure-
 15 nae, qui tum erant consules designati; placuit idem quod consularibus M. Catoni, qui cum multa vita excedens providit, tum quod te consulem non vidit. Maxime vero consulatum meum Cn. Pompeius probavit, qui, ut me primum decedens ex Syria vidit,

7. Tibi. One MS. has 'te...manet,' which would simply mean 'awaits you,' whereas 'tibi' is a pure dativeus commodi, 'is reserved in all its force for your benefit.' So Virg. Aen. 9. 301

'Quae tibi polliceor reduci, rebusque secundis,

Haec eadem matrique tuae generique manebunt,'

'shall be confirmed without diminution to your mother and your family.'

8. Id domus tuae est. Fulvia, who before she married Antony, had been the wife of P. Clodius and C. Scribonius Curio, who fell in the war with Juba, before Utica, 49 B.C. Halm retains the ordinary meaning 'domi tuae,' 'in your house;' but 'domus,' the reading of the Vatican MS., is more appropriate, signifying 'there exists as part of your household that which proved the death of both of them.' For the ambitious, restless character of Fulvia, cp. Plut. Ant. c. 10 *Φουλβίαν ἀγαγόμενος τὴν Κλωδίην τῷ θυμαγωγῷ συνοικήσασαν, οὐ ταλασίαν οὐδὲ οἰκουρίαν φρονούν γυναικῶν οὐδὲ ἀνδρῶν ἰδιότητι κρατεῖν ἀξιοῦν, ἀλλ' ἔρχοντες ἔρχειν καὶ στρατηγούντος στρατηγὲν βουλόμενον.*

10. P. Servilio, &c. The 'consulares' whose names he here enumerates all held the consulship in the course of the seventeen years immediately preceding the conspiracy of

Catiline, with the exception of D. Junius Silanus, and L. Licinius Murena, who were then Consuls elect. The most eminent among them were P. Servilius Isauricus, the repressor of the Cilician and Isaurian pirates, 79 B.C.; L. Lucullus, the conqueror of Mithridates; M. Licinius Crassus, the colleague of Caesar and Pompey in the so-called first triumvirate, 61 B.C.; and L. Hortensius the orator. Cicero mentions nearly the same list of his supporters, Att. 12. 21.

16. M. Catoni. Cato's speech on the 5th of December turned the scale against the conspirators, in whose behalf the speech of Caesar had produced a great effect.

Cum multa...providit, &c., 'by hastening his death he avoided many evils, and chief of them the sight of you as Consul.' Cp. the comment of Tacitus on the death of Agricola, Agric. 44 'Festinae mortis grande solatium evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo ac velut uno ictu rempublicam exhaustit.' Cato killed himself at Utica, 46 B.C., to avoid falling into Caesar's hands.

17. Cn. Pompeius had been absent from Rome at the time of Cicero's consulship, and on first hearing of its events had been wanting in his congratulations, of which Cicero complains to him in an extant letter, Fam. 5. 8. Cp. Off. 1. 22, 78 'Cn. Pompeius, vir

complexus et gratulans meo beneficio patriam se visurum esse dixit. Sed quid singulos commemoro? Frequentissimo senatui sic placuit, ut esset nemo, qui mihi non ut parenti gratias ageret, qui mihi non vitam suam, fortunas, liberos, rem publicam referret —6 acceptam. Sed quoniam illis, quos nominavi, tot et talibus viris 5
12 res publica orbata est, veniamus ad vivos, qui duo de consularium numero reliqui sunt. L. Cotta, vir summo ingenio summaque prudentia, rebus iis gestis, quas tu reprehendis, supplicationem decrevit verbis amplissimis, eique illi ipsi, quos modo nominavi, consulares senatusque cunctus assensus est, qui honos post con- 10
14 ditam hanc urbem habitus est togato ante me nemini. L. Caesar, avunculus tuus, qua oratione, qua constantia, qua gravitate sententiam dixit in sororis suae virum, vitricum tuum! Hunc tu cum auctorem et praeceptorem omnium consiliorum totiusque vitae debuisses habere, vitrici te similem quam avunculi maluisti. 15
Huius ego alienus consiliis consul tum usus sum: tu, sororis filius, ecquid ad eum umquam de re publica rettulisti? At ad quos refert? di immortales! Ad eos scilicet, quorum nobis etiam dies natales 15
16 audiendi sunt. Hodie non descendit Antonius. Cur? dat nataliciam in hortis. Cui? neminem nominabo: putate tum Phor- 20

abundans bellicis laudibus, multis audientibus Ciceroni hoc tribuit, ut diceret frustra se triumphum tertium deportaturum fuisse, nisi Ciceronis in rempublicam beneficio, ubi triumpharet, esset habiturus.

4. Referret acceptam, 'gave me credit for the boon of life.' The metaphor is taken from keeping accounts, in which 'referre acceptam' is 'to enter in the column of money received,' 'referre expensam' 'to enter in that of money paid.' Cp. c. 22, 55 'Omnia denique, quae postea vidimus ... uni accepta referemus Antonio.'

6. Qui duo, 'of whom two.' The Latin idiom, more logical than the English, never uses the genitive with numerals, unless some real partition is expressed. See Madv. 284. Obs. 7.

7. L. Cotta, Consul 65 B.C., the year of the first conspiracy of Catiline, showed his friendship for Cicero, not only by proposing the 'supplicatio' (see on I. 6, 13) in his honour, but later, by proposing his recall from exile.

13. Vitricum tuum. After the death of M. Antonius the elder, Julia married P. Lentulus Sura, the man of most note among the associates of Catiline, who was put to death in prison on the special motion of his

brother-in-law L. Julius Caesar. Cp. Cat. 4. 6, 13.

16. Alienus... consul, 'a stranger in blood, and in the highest position in the state, I thought no scorn to seek his counsels.'

18. Quorum nobis, &c., 'whose birthdays must needs be dinned into even our ears.' Such is the shamelessness of the man, that he not only celebrates the birthdays of his minions, but he cannot be content without letting the very senate know of it.

19. Non descendit, 'comes not down to the senate'; not necessarily implying literal descent, since Antony's house was in the low ground of the Carinae, but as most people in Rome lived on the hills, it was usual to talk of their 'coming down' to the Forum, or the Campus, or any place of public resort.

Natalicium, sc. 'cenam.' So Halm from the Vatican MS. Valg. 'natalicia,' sc. 'munera,' like 'sponsalia.' Cp. ad Q. Fratr. 2. 6, 1 'A. D. viii. Id. Apr. sponsalia Crassipedi praebui.'

20. Phormioni &c., characters from well-known comedies, the former two being parasites in the Phormio and Eunuchus respectively of Terence, Ballio a pander in the Pseudolus of Plautus.

mioni alicui, tum Gnathoni, tum etiam Ballioni. O foeditatem hominis flagitiosam! o impudentiam, nequitiam, libidinem non ferendam! Tu cum principem senatorem, civem singularem, tam propinquum habeas, ad eum de re publica nihil referas, referas
 5 ad eos, qui suam rem nullam habent, tuam exhauriunt? Tuus videlicet salutaris consulatus, perniciosus meus. Adeone pudorem cum pudicitia perdidisti, ut hoc in eo templo dicere ausus sis, in quo ego senatum illum, qui quondam florens orbi terrarum praesidebat, consulebam, tu homines perditissimos cum gladiis collocavisti?
 10 At etiam ausus est—quid autem est quod tu non audeas—? clivum Capitolinum dicere me consule plenum servorum armatorum fuisse. Ut illa, credo, nefaria senatus consulta fierent, vim afferebam senatui. O miser, sive illa tibi nota non sunt—nihil enim boni nosti—sive sunt, qui apud tales viros tam im-
 15 pudenter loquere! Quis enim eques Romanus, quis praeter te adolescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis, qui se civem esse meminisset, cum senatus in hoc templo esset, in clivo Capitolino non fuit? quis nomen non dedit? quamquam nec scribae sufficere nec tabulae nomina illorum capere potuerunt. Etenim cum homines nefarii:
 20 de patriae parricidio confiterentur, consciorum indicibus, sua manu, voce paene litterarum coacti, se urbem inflammare, cives trucidare,

5. Tuus videlicet, &c. Cicero here begins another point in his answer, by taking up again the summary of Antony's charge against him, from the beginning of § 12 'non placet M. Antonio consulatus meus.'

6. Pudorem cum pudicitia, 'all sense of shame, as well as purity.' 'pudor' being purity of mind, 'pudicitia' purity of body. Thus they are contrasted with 'petulantia' and 'stuprum' respectively, Cat. 2. 11, 35.

7. In eo templo. In the shrine of Concord, see c. 8, 19. This was at the N.E. corner of the Forum, close under the Capitol. The raised floor of it, paved with marble, still remains. The Clivus Capitolinus, that portion of the Via Sacra which wound up the slope of the Capitoline hill, passed just to the south of the Aedes Concordiae, only separated from it by the Senaculum.

8. Quondam. Before the ruin brought upon the state by the civil war, and more recently by the oppressive measures of Antony. In his speech pro Mil. 33. 90, Cicero calls the senate house which Clodius burnt 'templum sanctitatis, amplitudinis, mentis, consilii publici, caput urbis, portum omnium gentium.'

11. Servorum armatorum. So Antony

styled the knights, as being wholly subservient to Cicero. To arm slaves was in itself contrary to law.

13. Afferebam, 'I was proposing to employ.'

O miser, &c. Cp. c. 22, 54 'O miserum te, si haec intelligis, miseriorem si non intelligis.' Some MSS. have 'miserum' here, but cp. 13. 17, 34 'O miser, cum re, tum hoc ipso, quod non sentis quam miser sis.'

16. Nobilis. See on 1. 12, 29.

18. Nomen non dedit, 'did not enrol his name for service.' Cicero says that the very slaves hastened to volunteer for the preservation of the state, Cat. 4. 8, 16 'Servus est nemo qui modo tolerabili conditione sit servitutis... qui non quantum audet et quantum potest conferat ad salutem voluntatis.'

20. De patriae parricidio. The words 'parricidium,' 'parricida,' as applied to treason against the state, seem always to have a conscious reference to the metaphor of the state being the parent of her citizens, as in Val. Max. 6. 4. 5 'M. Brutus suarum prius virtutum quam patriae parentis parricida.' Cp. Sall. Cat. 51. 25 'Quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas reipublicae decretum erit?'

vastare Italiam, delere rem publicam consensisse, quis esset qui ad salutem communem defendendam non excitaretur? praesertim cum senatus populusque Romanus haberet ducem, qualis si qui nunc esset, tibi idem quod illis accidit contigisset. Ad sepulturam corpus vitrici sui negat a me datum. Hoc vero ne Publius quidem 5 Clodius dixit umquam: quem, quia iure ei inimicus fui, doleo a 18 te omnibus vitiis [eum] esse superatum. Qui autem tibi venit in mentem redigere in memoriam nostram, te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum? An verebare ne non putaremus natura te potuisse 8 tam improbum evadere, nisi accessisset etiam disciplina? Tam 10 autem eras excors, ut tota in oratione tua tecum ipse pugnares, non modo non cohaerentia inter se diceres, sed maxime disiuncta atque contraria, ut non tanta mecum, quanta tibi tecum esset contentio. Vitricum tuum fuisse in tanto scelere fatebare, poena affectum querebare. Ita quod proprie meum est, laudasti, quod 15 totum est senatus, reprehendisti: nam comprehensio sontium mea, animadversio senatus fuit. Homo disertus non intelligit eum, quem contra dicit, laudari a se, eos, apud quos dicit, vituperari. 19 Iam illud cuius est, non dico audaciae—cupit enim se audacem—, sed, quod minime vult, stultitiae, qua vincit omnes, clivi Capitolini 20 mentionem facere, cum inter subsellia nostra versentur armati?

1. Se consensisse. The infinitive is explanatory of 'de patriae parricidio confiteatur.' 'Consentio' is more usually found in a good sense, 'to agree together,' but cp. Verr. Act. 2. §. 8, 18 'belli faciendi causa consensisse.'

α. 7, 8. In particular Antony had charged Cicero with refusing burial to his step-father. Denying the fact, Cicero rebukes his folly in reminding the senate that Lentulus was his step-father; in laying on him the blame of a punishment for which the senate was itself responsible; and in bringing forward any charge of violence, while guilty at the moment of the grosser violence of blocking up the senate with barbarian mercenaries. He takes occasion by the way to vindicate his own poetry from the imputed assault of Antony's wit.

4. Ad sepulturam, &c. Cicero here passes to a fresh charge of Antony against him; rather abruptly, but the 'ad' with which the clause begins may account for the absence of the usual 'at.' The charge itself is declared to be false by Plutarch, who asserts, Ant. c. 2, that not only P. Lentulus, but all the conspirators who were killed were given up for burial.

7. Eum, which is found in the Vatican

MS., appears to be here superfluous, unless indeed the true reading be 'cui quia iure inimicus fui, doleo a te omnibus vitiis eum esse superatum;' as has been conjectured by Stürenburg, on pro Arch. p. 185.

8. P. Lentulus Sura was Consul in 71 B.C. His dissolute life led to his expulsion from the senate in the following year, but he was again made praetor in 63 B.C., and held that office at the time of the conspiracy. See on c. 6, 13.

12. Disiuncta. So the Vatican MS. spells the word, in this place only. It means 'contradictory to each other,' in the logical sense of the word. Cp. c. 13, 32 'Quae diiunctus dicuntur,' 'what is put in the form of a dilemma;' and Top. 14. 56 'In diiunctione plus uno verum esse non potest.'

18. Quem contra dicit. So Cicero always, the first use of the compound word 'contradico' being apparently in Livy 8. 2 'nec contradici, quin . . . amicitia de integro reconcilietur,' while its usage with a dative is wholly post-Augustan.

21. Inter subsellia nostra. In the very senate house itself (see on c. 7, 15), where, if anywhere, freedom from violence might have been confidently expected.

cum in hac cella Concordiae, di immortales! in qua me consul salutare sententiae dictae sunt, quibus ad hanc diem viximus: cum gladiis homines collocati stent? Accusa senatum, accusa equestrem ordinem, qui tum cum senatu copulatus fuit, accusa omnes ordines, omnes cives, dum confiteare hunc ordinem ho ipso tempore ab Itryaeis circumsederi. Haec tu non propte audaciam dicis tam impudenter, sed, quia tantam rerum repugnantiam non videas, nihil profecto sapis. Quid est enim de mentius quam, cum rei publicae perniciose arma ipse ceperis, obicere alteri salutaria? At etiam quodam loco facetus esse voluisti. Quam id te, di boni, non decebat! In quo est tua culpa non nulla; aliquid enim salis a mimae uxore trahere potuisti. Cedant arma togae. Quid? tum nonne cesserunt? At postea tuis armis cessit toga. Quaeramus igitur, utrum melius fuerit, libertati populi Romani sceleratorum arma an libertatem nostram armis tuis cedere. Nec vero tibi de versibus plura respondebo: tantum dicam breviter, te neque illos neque ullas omnino litteras nosse, me nec rei publicae nec amicis umquam defuisse, et tamen omni genere monumentorum meorum perfecisse ut meae vigiliae

4. Qui copulatus fuit. See Cat. 4. 7, 15, where Cicero tells us that the knights, after many years of struggling with the senate,—the most prominent subject of dispute being the exclusive right to the 'iudicium,'—had shown the greatest cordiality in combining with them to repress the sedition.

6. Itryaeis. These men, whom he again alludes to as 'barbari sagittarii' in 5. 6, 18, were first introduced into the Roman army as archers by Caesar in his African campaign, 47 B.C. (Bell. Afric. c. 20); their country, which lies on the east bank of the Jordan, to the north-east of the sea of Galilee, having been subdued by Pompey in 63 B.C.

7. Sed quia . . . videas, 'because you do not see how great an inconsistency is involved.' The subjunctive here has proved a difficulty to most editors. Orelli reads, with the later MSS., 'sed, qui tantam rerum repugnantiam non videas, nihil profecto sapis.' Halm combines the readings, 'sed quia, qui non videas, nihil profecto sapis.' In his school edition of 1858 he substitutes 'cum' for 'qui.' Baier and Kayser adopt Ernesti's reading, 'vides,' which is simply cutting the knot. Perhaps the simplest emendation is that of Frotscher, 'sed quia . . . non videns, nihil profecto sapis.' I have thought it best to retain the reading of the

Vatican MS., though the subjunctive after 'quia' seems to be an anomaly. In other passages where 'quia' is joined with a subjunctive (as Lael. 4. 15 'ut beate vixisse videar, quia cum Scipione vixerim') the reason which it introduces is obviously quoted as existing in the mind of some one else.

11. In quo &c., 'and yet you deserve some blame for failing.' The 'mimae uxor' who should have supplied Antony with wit was Cytheris, formerly the mistress of Volumnius Eutrapelus, Fam. 9. 26, 2; whence Cicero tells us that certain 'municipales' saluted her, when travelling with Antony, as Volumnia, c. 24, 58; cp. 28, 69.

13. Cedant arma togae. Cp. Off. 1. 22, 77; where he deprecates hostile criticism of the line 'Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi.' It is one of four, which are all that remain to us of his epic poem in three books, de Meis Temporibus.

19. Perfecisse ut. Between these words some MSS. introduce 'operis subscivis,' which are wanting in the Vatican MS. The expression would mean 'bits of work, done at odd times,' and is so used by Cicero, de Or. 2. 89, 364, but with an apologetic 'ut aiunt,' as though the metaphor were then a new one; and this is borne out by a more elaborate explanation of it in the treatise de Legg. 1. 3, 9.

meaeque litterae et iuventuti utilitatis et nomini Romano laudis aliquid afferrent. Sed haec non huius temporis: maiora videamus.

9 P. Clodium meo consilio interfectum esse dixisti. Quidnam
homines putarent, si tum occisus esset, cum tu illum in foro
spectante populo Romano gladio insecutus es negotiumque trans-
egisses, nisi se ille in scalas tabernae librariae coniecisset iisque
oppilatis impetum tuum compressisset? Quod quidem ego favis-
se me tibi fateor, suasisse ne tu quidem dicis. At Miloni ne favere
quidem potui; prius enim rem transegit quam quisquam eum
facturum id suspicaretur. At ego suasi. Scilicet is animus erat
Milonis, ut prodesse rei publicae sine suasore non posset! At
laetatus sum. Quid ergo? in tanta laetitia cunctae civitatis
me unum tristem esse oportebat? Quamquam de morte Clodii
fuit quaestio—non satis prudenter illa quidem constituta; quid
enim attinebat nova lege quaeri de eo, qui hominem occidisset,
cum esset legibus quaestio constituta? quaesitum est tamen—:
quod igitur, cum res agebatur, nemo in me dixit, id tot annis
post tu es inventus qui diceres?

23 Quod vero dicere ausus es idque multis verbis, opera mea

c. 9. *Antony had laid at Cicero's door the death of Clodius. Cicero replies that Milo needed and allowed no aid or countenance; and that he only shared the feelings of every patriot in rejoicing at a deed which Antony himself had once before attempted. As regarded the charge of causing the quarrel between Caesar and Pompey, Cicero had indeed endeavoured to prevent their friendship; and failing in this, had tried to keep Pompey from violating the laws; but when their alliance had been once completed, he used his utmost efforts to maintain harmony between them.*

5. Tu illum... insecutus es. This, as we learn from c. 20, 49, was when Antony was a candidate for the quaestorship, in 53 B.C., the year before Clodius was killed by Milo.

7. In scalas. This would be the staircase leading from the shop on the ground floor to the upper room, inhabited by the shopman. Cp. pro Mil. 15, 40 'Cum se ille (Clodius) fugiens in scalarum tenebris abdidisset.' So the runaway slave in Horace, 'In scalis latuit metuens pendentis habena' Epp. 2, 2, 15.

8. Quod... favisce... fateor, 'herein I confess I gave you the sanction of my ap-

proval.' 'Faveo' seems to be here used in its technical sense of applauding (whence 'favitores,' 'claqueurs,' Plaut. Amph. prol. 78 &c.); cp. Hor. Od. 3, 24, 46 'Qvo clamor vocat et turba faventium.' Cicero says that in Milo's case he could only rejoice after the event, as he should not have presumed to give him advice on the matter, and the affray was over too quickly to admit of any one cheering him on. For the use of 'quod' limiting the extent of the action of an intransitive verb, see Madv. § 229.

14. Quamquam... fuit quaestio. And therefore, Cicero implies, had I taken a prominent part in the general rejoicing,—had it been supposed that I was accessory to the deed,—then was the time when such suspicions would have found vent, but then no one asserted that I was in any way implicated. He entirely ignores what he himself had written in his speech for the occasion, pro Mil. 18, 47 'Scitis, iudices, fuisse qui in hac rogatione suadenda dicerent Milonis manu caedem esse factam, consilio vero maioris alicuius: me videlicet latronem ac sicarium abiecti homines et perditii describebant.'

16. Nova lege. This was the 'Lex Pompeia de Vi,' a privilege passed specially to meet the case of Milo. See on 1, 7, 18.

Pompeium a Caesaris amicitia esse diiunctum ob eamque causam culpa mea bellum civile esse natum, in eo non tu quidem tota re, sed, quod maximum est, temporibus errasti. Ego M. Bibulo, praestantissimo cive, consule nihil praetermisi, quantum facere
 5 enitque potui, quin Pompeium a Caesaris coniunctione avocarem. In quo Caesar felicius fuit; ipse enim Pompeium a me familiaritate diiunxit. Postea vero quam se totum Pompeius Caesari tradidit, quid ego illum ab eo distrahere conarer? Stulti erat sperare, suadere impudentis. Duo tamen tempora inciderunt,
 10 quibus aliquid contra Caesarem Pompeio suaserim. Ea velim reprehendas, si potes: unum, ne quinquennii imperium Caesari prorogaret, alterum, ne pateretur ferri ut absentis eius ratio haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis persuasissem, in has misérias numquam incidissemus. Atque idem ego, cum iam opes omnes
 15 et suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Caesarem detulisset seroque ea sentire coepisset, quae ego multo ante provideram, inferrique patriae bellum viderem nefarium, pacis, concordiae, compositionis auctor esse non destiti, meaque illa vox est nota multis: 'Utinam, Pompei, cum Caesare societatem aut numquam
 20 coisses aut numquam diremisses! fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum

3. Temporibus. Cicero's argument is that until Caesar's power had reached such a height as to be dangerous to the state, he did endeavour to check its growth by warning Pompey against him. When however the alliance between them was cemented by the marriage of Pompey with Julia, Caesar's daughter, which took place in the consulship of Caesar and Bibulus, 59 B.C., he felt that further remonstrance would be both dangerous and useless; though he still kept a watchful eye upon them, and took advantage of two opportunities to advise Pompey not to strain the laws in Caesar's favour.

6. Ipse... diiunxit. In his speeches pro Sestio, 64. 133, and in Pisonem, 31. 76, Cicero attributes this estrangement to the intrigues and calumnies of Vatinius, Gabinius, and Piso. As these were all the devoted adherents of Caesar, Piso being his father-in-law, they were probably merely acting as his agents in the matter.

11. Quinquennii imperium. The provinces of Gallia Cisalpina and Illyricum had been conferred on Caesar for five years, by the 'Lex Vatinia,' in 59 B.C. To these the senate added Gallia Transalpina, and his command in all three was extended, 'proro-

gabatur imperium,' for a further space of five years, in 55 B.C., by the 'Lex Trebonia,' which received the support of the Consuls, Cn. Pompeius and M. Crassus.

12. Ratio haberetur. This was in 53 B.C., when the senate had passed a decree that Pompey should be sole Consul. Though Cicero here claims credit for opposing the proposal that votes should be received for Caesar in his absence, we learn from a letter to Atticus, 7. 1, 4, that he promised Caesar to exert himself in his behalf: 'Ut illi hoc liceret (sc. ut absentis ratio haberetur, ne exercitum dimitteret), adiuv, rogatus ab ipso Ravennae.' In a letter however to A. Caecina, Fam. 6. 6, 5, he says that his advocacy extended, not to urging that the leave should be given, but only to supporting the decision of the people on the matter: 'Ut, quoniam ipso consule repugnante populus iusserat, haberetur.'

19. Utinam, &c. Cp. the same letter § 4 'Plurimi sunt testes me et initio, ne coniungeret se cum Caesare, monuisse Pompeium, et postea, ne seiungeret: coniunctione enim frangi senatus opes, diiunctione civile bellum excitari videbam.'

20. Gravitatis, if the genuine reading, probably means 'consistency,' or 'stead-

prudētiaē tuāe.' Haec mea, M. Antoni, semper et de Pompeio et de re publica consilia fuerunt: quae si valuissent, res publica staret, tu tuis flagitiis, egestate, infamia concidisses. X

4 Sed haec vetera, illud vero recens, Caesarem meo consilio 11
interfectum. Iam vereor, patres conscripti, ne, quod turpissimum 25
est, praevaricatorem mihi apposuisse videar, qui me non solum
meis laudibus ornaret, sed etiam alienis. Quis enim meum in
ista societate gloriosissimi facti nomen audivit? cuius autem, qui
in eo numero fuisset, nomen est occultatum? occultatum dico?
10 cuius non statim divulgatum? Citius dixerim iactasse se aliquos,
ut fuisse in ea societate viderentur, cum conscii non fuissent,
quam ut quisquam celari vellet qui fuisset. Quam veri simile 26
porro est in tot hominibus partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus
neminem occultantibus, meum nomen latere potuisse? Etenim

fastness of character; an absence of which was shown by Pompey in allying himself with Caesar, and dissolving his connection with the aristocracy. The reading is however doubtful, being added by a later hand to supply a blank in the Vatican MS. Halm suggests 'pietatis.'

cc. 11-13. The last charge was that Cicero was the contriver of Caesar's death. This was something altogether new, and resting on no evidence. Nor were the liberators men to need his sanction or advice. In rejoicing at the tyrant's death, he agreed with every other loyal citizen. The actual assassins even Antony mentioned with respect, and this, with the special honours which their country granted them, proved them to be, not, as otherwise they must have been, the worst of murderers, but saviours of their country. To be of their number, could be but claim the honour, would be indeed a ground of pride. Though, bad the plot been his, he would not have failed to carry it through, by rooting out the kingly power with the king.

4. Meo consilio interfectum. Cp. Fam. 12. 2, 1 'Homo amens et perditus... nullam aliam ob causam me auctorem fuisse Caesaris interficiendi criminatur, nisi ut in me veterani exciterent.'

6. Praevaricatorem, 'a collusive accuser,' in league with the accused, to secure his acquittal:—such as Verres sought to gain for himself in Q. Caecilius. The charges, he says, which Antony brings against him, although false, are such as would be most honourable, if true.

7. Alienis. Some MSS. insert before this 'oneraret,' introducing a play on the words like 'ex oratore arator,' in 3. 9, 22. It is however not found in the Vatican MS., and the spelling varies in the others. For the expression 'laudibus onerare,' we may compare Livy 4. 14 'Laudibus haud immeritis onerarent.'

10. Iactasse se aliquos, &c. Cp. Plut. Caes. 67 ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ συναρτίβαινον αὐτοῖς καὶ κατεμύγνυσαν ἑαυτοὺς ὡς μετεσχηκότες τοῦ ἔργου καὶ προσεποιούντο τὴν δόξαν, ὅν ἦν καὶ Γάιος Ὀκταούσιος καὶ Λέντλος Ξπινθήρ. Οἱτοὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀλαστονείας δίκην ἔλαβαν, ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος ἀνααιρεθέντες, καὶ μὴδε τῆς δόξης, δι' ἣν ἀπίθνησκον, ἀπολαύσαντες ἀπιστίᾳ τῶν ἄλλων.

Citius, here and Brut. 67. 2, 38 'Eam ut citius veteratoriam quam oratoriam diceret,' does not seem to be quite equivalent to 'potius,' but rather signifies 'it would require less time and argument to induce one to say,' &c.

12. Ut quisquam vellet. The anomalous construction of these words, which really depend on 'dixerim,' is probably due to the confusion introduced by the intervening clause, 'ut... viderentur,' into the construction of which they are attracted. Otherwise a verb of contrary meaning, 'were so timid,' must be supplied from 'iactasse' after 'quam.'

13. Adolescentibus neminem occultantibus, 'young men without discretion to suppress the name of any one.'

si auctores ad liberandam patriam desiderarentur illis auctoribus, Brutos ego impellerem, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem quotidie videret, alter etiam Ahalae? Hi igitur his maioribus ab alienis potius consilium peterent quam a suis? et foris potius quam domo? 5 Quid? C. Cassius, in ea familia natus, quae non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem cuiusquam ferre potuit, me auctorem, credo, desideravit: qui etiam sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam, quam constituerat, non ad contrariam naves appulisset. 10 Cn. Domitium non patris interitus, clarissimi viri, non avunculi mors, non spoliatio dignitatis ad recuperandam libertatem, sed mea auctoritas excitavit? An C. Trebonio ego persuasi? cui ne suadere quidem ausus essem: quo etiam maiorem ei res publica gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiae 15 praeposuit depulsorque dominatus quam particeps esse maluit. An L. Tillius Cimber me est auctorem secutus? quem ego magis fecisse illam rem sum admiratus, quam facturum putavi, admiratus autem ob eam causam, quod immemor beneficiorum, memor patriae

1. Illis auctoribus. Madvig, *Opusc.* 1. p. 164, objects that they actually perpetrated, and not merely advised the deed. He suggests 'actoribus.' Ernesti thinks the words to be a gloss.

2. L. Bruti. See on 1. 6, 13.

3. Ahalae, of C. Servilius Ahala, who killed Sp. Maelius in 439 B.C. From him Servilia, the mother of M. Brutus, traced her descent. The allusion is to the waxen images or masks of those members of the family who had held curule offices, which were placed in the atrium in the houses of all 'nobiles.' See Pliny *N. H.* 35. 2, 2.

4. Foris, 'from external sources,' as in *de Orat.* 2. 40, 173 'Foris assumuntur ea, quae non sua vi sed extranea sublevantur.' Hence 'domo,' 'from their home resources,' not 'domi,' 'at home.'

5. In ea familia, in the family of Sp. Cassius, the proposer of the first Agrarian law, who was put to death on the suspicion of courting popular favour with a view to tyranny, 484 B.C. 'Dominatus' is the regular word for absolute power; cp. *Off.* 2. 1, 2 'Cum dominatu unius omnia tenerentur neque esset usquam consilio aut auctoritati locus;' and see on *Phil.* 1. 13, 34.

8. Ad eam ripam, &c. This perhaps

refers to the marshy lake formed at the mouth of the Cydnus, just below Tarsus (see *Strabo* 14. 5, 11); otherwise it is not easy to see how Caesar's landing on the wrong bank of a small river like the Cydnus should have overthrown Cassius' plans. Of the proposed attempt on Caesar's life we know nothing from other sources.

9. Quam constituerat. For the omission of the preposition see *Madv.*, § 323 b. Obs. 1.

10. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus was son of L. Domitius, who was killed after the battle of Pharsalus by the cavalry of Caesar (*Caes. Bell. Civ.* 3. 99; see c. 29, 71), by Porcia, the sister of M. Cato *Uticensis*. He was himself at the battle of Pharsalus, and remained an exile till 46 B.C., when he received the pardon of the conqueror, but remained in the retirement of a private citizen.

14. Unius, of Caesar, whose friendship and confidence Trebonius enjoyed up to the time of the assassination. The same may be said of Cimber, cp. *Fam.* 6. 12, 2.

16. Quem ego magis, &c., 'whose antecedents gave me far less reason to suppose that he would do the deed, than to wonder at his having done it.'

fuisset. Quid? duos Servilios—Cascas dicam an Ahalas?—et hos auctoritate mea censes excitatos potius quam caritate rei publicae? Longum est persequi ceteros, idque rei publicae praeclarum, fuisse tam multos, ipsis gloriosum.

12 At quem ad modum me coarguerit homo acutus recordamini. 5
28 Caesare interfecto, inquit, statim cruentum alte extollens Brutus pugionem Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Cur mihi potissimum? quia sciebam? Vide ne illa causa fuerit appellandi mei, quod, cum rem gessisset consimilem rebus iis, quas ipse gesseram, me potissimum testatus 10
29 est se aemulum mearum laudium exstitisse. Tu autem, omnium stultissime, non intelligis, si, id quod me arguis, voluisse interfici Caesarem crimen sit, etiam laetatum esse morte Caesaris crimen esse? Quid enim interest inter suasorem facti et probatorem? aut quid refert, utrum voluerim fieri an gaudeam factum? Ecquis 15
est igitur exceptis iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit aut factum improbarit? Omnes ergo in culpa: etenim omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Caesarem occiderunt. Aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis occasio defuit: voluntas nemini.
30 Sed stuporem hominis vel dicam pecudis attendite; sic enim 20
dixit: 'Brutus, quem ego honoris causa nomino, cruentum pugionem tenens Ciceronem exclamavit: ex quo intelligi debet eum conscium fuisse.' Ergo ego sceleratus appellor a te, quem tu suspicatum aliquid suspicaris: ille, qui stillantem prae se pugionem tulit, is a te honoris causa nominatur? Esto: sit in verbis tuis 25

1. An Ahalas, 'or are they not rather worthy to be called Ahala?' See on § 26.

3. Longum est, 'it would be tedious.' See *Madv.*, § 348 e. Obs. 1.

Idque rei publicae, &c., 'that there were so many, does honour to the state, and has conferred glory on themselves.'

7. Ciceronem exclamavit, 'shouted out the name of Cicero;' perhaps for the reason Cicero alleges, perhaps because Cicero was now left the most powerful man in the state. It might also be to make the people believe that Cicero was an accomplice in the plot, without his really being so.

8. Quia. So Halm, from a conjecture of Graevius. The MSS. have 'qui.'

11. Laudium. So the Vatican MS. Cp. 'fraudium,' *Off.* 3. 18, 75; and in *Pis.* 19.

44. The other MSS. have the more usual form 'laudum.'

16. Regnare. He purposely uses the

obnoxious word, 'to rule with kingly sway.'

20. Pecudis, 'of the ass,' as we should say: the use of 'pecus' (properly 'a sheep') referring to his intellectual rather than his moral baseness. Cp. 8. 3, 9 'Homines agrestes, si homines illi ac non pecudes potius;' and in *Pis.* 9. 19 'Ego istius pecudis ... praesidio volebam uti.'

21. Quem ego honoris causa nomino, 'whom I name with all respect,' the usual formula when living persons were spoken of by name, so that no special compliment is thereby intended. Cp. c. 44. 113 'Tua minime avara coniux, quam ego sine contumelia describo;' and see on 1. 2, 6. Conventional, however, as the expression was, it gave Cicero some ground for urging the argument that to speak of the assassin with respect was inconsistent with looking on the accessory as accursed.

hic stupor: quanto in rebus sententiisque maior? Constitue hoc, consul, aliquando, Brutorum, C. Cassii, Cn. Domitii, C. Trebonii, reliquorum quam velis esse causam; edormi crapulam, inquam, et exala. An faces admovendae sunt, quae excitent tantae causae indormientem? Numquamne intelliges statuendum tibi esse, utrum illi, qui istam rem gesserunt, homicidae sint an vindices libertatis? Attende enim paulisper cogitationemque sobrii hominis punctum temporis suscipe. ~~Ego~~ Ego, qui sum illorum, ut ipse fateor, familiaris, ut a te arguor, socius, nego quidquam esse medium: confiteor eos, nisi liberatores populi Romani conservatoresque rei publicae sint, plus quam sicarios, plus quam homicidas, plus etiam quam parricidas esse, si quidem est atrocius patriae parentem quam suum occidere. Tu homo sapiens et considerate, quid dicis? Si parricidas, cur honoris causa a te sunt et in hoc ordine et apud populum Romanum semper appellati? cur M. Brutus referente te legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plus quam decem dies afuisset? cur ludi Apollinares incredibili M. Bruti honore celebrati? cur provinciae Bruto et Cassio datae? cur quaestores additi? cur legatorum numerus auctus? Atqui haec acta per te; non igitur homicidas. Sequitur ut liberatores tuo iudicio, quando quidem tertium nihil potest esse. Quid est? num con-

3. Quam velis causam. Explanatory of 'hoc,' 'what complexion you would wish to be given to the case of the conspirators.'

Inquam, 'in other words, I bid you rouse yourself from sleep.'

4. An faces admovendae sunt, 'must we apply a lighted torch to stir up a man who can sleep over a question like this.' The same expression is used metaphorically de Orat. 3. 1, 4 'Verborum faces admovere,' Cp. Lucr. 3. 304 'Nec nimis irai fax umquam subdita percit,' and Quint. 1. 2, 25 'Id nobis acriores ad studia dicendi faces subdisse contenderim.' Before 'excitent' Halm inserts [te] from a later copyist in the Vatican MS. It seems to be unnecessary, its omission leaving the clause in the form of a general sentiment, as rendered above.

11. Plus quam, 'more than can be expressed by the term cut-throats.' See Madv., § 305. Obs. 2.

16. Legibus solutus, from the special law, that is, which forbade Brutus, as praetor urbanus, from being absent from the city more than ten nights. Such exemption from the obligation of a particular law could

originally only be granted by the people: and so we are told by Asconius, in his preface to Cicero's lost oration pro C. Cornelio, that when the senate first began to grant such immunities, the condition was inserted 'ut de ea re ad populum ferretur,' though by degrees first the actual reference to the people, and eventually even the form of inserting the clause, was discontinued.

17. Ludi Apollinares. See on 1. 15, 36.

18. Provinciae datae. According to the disposition of Caesar, Brutus was to have had the province of Macedonia, Cassius Syria, on the expiration of their praetorship in the city: but one of the first measures of Antony, on the 18th of March, had been to prevail on the senate to alter this arrangement, giving Brutus Crete, and Cassius Africa. (Plut. Brut. 19, cp. Phil. 11. 12, 37.)

Quaestores additi. The meaning of this appears from what follows to be that an extraordinary number of quaestors and legates were voted to Brutus and Cassius, as part of the compensation for the loss of the more important provinces.

turbo te? non enim fortasse satis quae diiunctius dicuntur intelligis. Sed tamen haec summa est conclusionis meae: quoniam scelere a te liberati sunt, ab eodem amplissimis praemiis dignissimos iudicatos. Itaque iam retexo orationem meam. Scribam ad illos ut, si qui forte quod a te mihi obiectum est quaerent sitne verum, ne cui negent. Etenim vereor ne aut celatum me illis ipsis non honestum, aut invitatum refugisse mihi sit turpissimum. Quae enim res umquam, pro sancte Iuppiter! non modo in hac urbe, sed in omnibus terris est gesta maior? quae gloriosior? quae commendatior hominum memoriae sempiternae? In huius me tu consilii societatem tamquam in equum Troianum cum principibus includis? Non recuso; ago etiam gratias, quoquo animo facis. Tanta enim res est, ut invidiam istam, quam tu in me vis concitare, cum laude non comparem. Quid enim beatius illis, quos tu expulsos a te praedicas et relegatos? qui locus est aut tam desertus aut tam inhumanus, qui illos, cum accesserint, non affari atque appetere videatur? qui homines tam agrestes, qui se, cum eos adspexerint, non maximum cepisse vitae fructum putent? quae vero tam immemor posteritas, quae tam ingratae

1. *Diiunctius*. So Halm from the Vatican MS. See on c. 7, 18. Other MSS. have '*distinctius*,' which is less appropriate than the technical word.

3. *Ab eodem*. Some MSS. insert '*te*,' which is quite in accordance with Cicero's manner: cp. pro Sest. 50. 107 '*Habuit de eodem me P. Lentulus consul contionem*;' ib. 51. 109 '*De me eodem comitiis centuriatis ferebatur*.' Halm omits it on the authority of the Vatican MS.

4. *Retexo*, 'I remodel my speech on the hypothesis that I was cognizant of the matter.' Cicero has shown, cc. 11, 12, that Antony's arguments were insufficient to prove his complicity; he now declares that the charge, if proved against him, is but further testimony to his patriotism.

5. *Ut . . . ne*. Cp. Fam. 4. 1, 2 '*Trebatio mandavi, ut, si quid tu eum velles ad me mittere, ne recusaret*;' '*ut*' in each case expressing the general final nature of the clause, '*ne*' resuming it with the negative, after a parenthesis. See Madv., § 456.

6. *Celatum me*, 'my being kept in ignorance.' Cp. de Leg. Agr. 2. 5, 11 '*Cum me in eorum sermonem insinuarem, celabar, excluderbar*.' Plutarch, Brut. 12, says that Cicero was not informed of the conspiracy from fear of his natural timidity,

exaggerated by the cautiousness of age.

10. *Commendatior*, 'commends itself more to the recollection of mankind for all ages.' Cp. Fam. 12. 26 '*Ceteris rebus habebas eos a me commendatissimos*.' '*Commendabilis*,' besides slightly differing in meaning ('capable of commending itself' rather than actually doing so), is not found earlier than Livy.

11. *In equum Troianum*. Cp. de Orat. 2. 27. 94 '*Isocrates, cuius e ludo tamquam ex equo Troiano meri principes exierunt*.'

13. *Invidiam istam*, 'I consider the risk of the odium which you wish to excite against me, as nothing in comparison with the chance of the praise which may await me.' Cp. Fam. 12. 2, 1 '*Nullam aliam ob causam me auctorem fuisse Caesaris interficiendi criminatur, nisi ut in me veterani incitentur*.'

15. *Expulsos et relegatos*. The former is the general word expressing 'driven into exile,' the latter the technical term for exclusion from Rome, without loss of civic rights. Cp. Ov. Trist. 2. 135

'*Adde quod edictum quamvis immane minaxque,*

Attamen in poenae nomine leve fuit. Quippe relegatus, non exsul dicor in illo.'

litterae reperientur, quae eorum gloriam non immortalitatis memoria prosequantur? Tu vero adscribe me talem in numerum. ; X Sed unam rem vereor ne non probes. Si enim fuisset, non solum ¹ regem, sed etiam regnum de re publica sustulissem; et, si meus ³ stilus ille fuisset, ut dicitur, mihi crede, non solum unum actum, sed totam fabulam confecissem. Quamquam si interfici Caesarem voluisse crimen est, vide, quaeso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quem et Narbone hoc consilium cum Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, et ob eius consilii societatem, cum interficeretur Caesar, tum ¹⁰ te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ego autem—vide quam tecum agam non inimice—quod bene cogitasti aliquando, laudo; quod non indicasti, gratias ago; quod non fecisti, ignosco; virum res illa quaerebat. Quod si te in iudicium quis adducat usurpetque ³⁵ illud Cassianum, cui bono fuerit, vide, quaeso, ne haereas.

c. 14. *If however killing Caesar was a crime, let Antony beware lest he himself be found to be a sharer in it. He was well known to have wished it once, and now he was the person who had reaped the greatest benefit from it, so that the only thing which saved him from suspicion was the feeling that he could have had no part in so meritorious a deed.*

3. Fuissem, sc. 'in eo numero.'

Non solum regem, sed regnum. Abrami compares Fam. 2. 1, 1 (a letter to Cassius) 'Ut adhuc quidem actum est, non regno sed rege liberati videmur;' ib. 14, 2 'Sublato tyranno tyrannida manere video.'

4. Si meus stilus, &c. 'Had I been the author of that tragedy, I should not have stopped at the completion of the first act.' The play on the word 'stilus,' intimated in the words 'ut dicitur,' is untranslatable. Halm compares Hor. S. 2. 1, 39

'Sed hic stilus haud petet ultro
Quemquam animantem et me veluti
custodiet ensis

Vagina tectus.'

For the sentiment cp. Fam. 12. 4, 1 'Vellem Idibus Martiis me ad cenam invitasses: reliquiarum nihil fuisset.'

8. Hoc consilium. Cp. Plut. Ant. 13 *Τῶν φίλων τοὺς πιστοὺς καταλέγοντες ἐσκέπτοντο περὶ Ἀντωνίου. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων προσμεμένων τὸν ἄνδρα Τρεβόνιος ἀντεῖπεν· ἔφη γὰρ ὅφ' ἐν χρόνῳ ἀπήντων ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐπανίστημι Καίσαρι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συσκηνοῦντος αὐτῷ καὶ συνοδεύοντος ἔλασθαι τῆς γνῶμης ἀτρέμα πῶς καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας, τὸν*

δὲ νοῆσαι μὲν, οὐ δέλασθαι δὲ τὴν πείραν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς Καίσαρα κατεῖπειν, ἀλλὰ πιστῶς κατασιωπῆσαι τὸν λόγον. The occasion was on his return from Spain, after the defeat of Cn. and Sext. Pompeius, 45 B.C.

9. Tum... sevocari. Cp. Plut. Brut. c. 17 *Τρεβόνιος περὶ τὰς θύρας Ἀντώνιον ἐπισπασάμενος καὶ προσημῶν ἐξῆς κάτεσχε;* and Phil. 13. 10, 23.

12. Non indicasti. 'Non' is wanting in the Vatican MS., but seems necessary to the sense; though Faerni would explain it, 'I thank you for having at length shown your patriotism by wishing to kill the tyrant.' In this sense 'indicasti' would be most unusual.

14. Cui bono fuerit? 'who has profited by the deed?' This saying of L. Cassius, the proposer of the second 'Lex Tabellaria' in 137 B.C., is quoted also pro Mil. 12. 32; cp. pro Rosc. Amer. 30. 84 'L. Cassius ille, quem populus Romanus verissimum et sapientissimum iudicem putabat, identidem in causis quaerere solebat, cui bono fuisset.' Cicero argues that Antony had derived more advantage than any one else from Caesar's death, since it removed the sole barrier between himself and absolute power. The following words, 'omnibus bono, tibi tamen praecipue,' are conclusive against the old mistranslation of the phrase, 'what was the good of it,' as though 'cui' 'bono' agreed with one another.

Ne haereas, 'I fear lest you may find it embarrassing.'

Quamquam illud fuit, ut dicebas quidem, omnibus bono, qui servire nolebant, tibi tamen praecipue, qui non modo non servis, sed etiam regnas, qui maximo te aere alieno ad aedem Opis liberavisti, qui per easdem tabulas innumerabilem pecuniam dissipavisti, ad quem e domo Caesaris tam multa delata sunt, cuius domi quaestuosissima est falsorum commentariorum et chirographorum officina, agrorum, oppidorum, immunitatum, vectigalium
 36 flagitiosissimae nundinae. Etenim quae res egestati et aeri alieno tuo praeter mortem Caesaris subvenire potuisset? Nescio quid conturbatus esse videris: num quid subtimes ne ad te hoc crimen
 10 pertinere videatur? Libero te metu: nemo credet umquam; non est tuum de re publica bene mereri; habet istius pulcherrimi facti clarissimos viros res publica auctores: ego te tantum gaudere dico, fecisse non arguo. Respondi maximis criminibus: nunc etiam reliquis respondendum est.

15 Castra mihi Pompei atque illud omne tempus obiecisti. Quo
 37 quidem tempore si, ut dixi, meum consilium auctoritasque valuisset, tu hodie egeres, nos liberi essemus, res publica non tot duces et exercitus amisisset. Fateor enim me, cum ea quae acciderunt providerem futura, tanta in maestitia fuisse, quanta ceteri optimi 20

1. Illud fuit, ut dicebas quidem. So Halm, from the reading of the Vatican MS. 'illud fuit, tu ut dicebas quidem.' The common reading is 'illud quidem fuit, ut tu dicebas;' from which Madvig, *Opusc.* 1. p. 207, conjectures 'ut tum dicebas,' on the ground that while no antithesis is meant between the words of Antony and those of others, there is a contrast between his present and his former policy. The occasion referred to is probably the 17th of March, when Antony made his conciliatory speech in the temple of Tellus.

3. Ad aedem Opis. See on 1. 7, 17; and cp. c. 37, 93; 5. 4, 11.

5. Ad quem, &c. See Introduction to the first oration.

6. Commentariorum. See on 1. 1, 2.

8. Nundinae. From meaning the day on which markets were held, 'nundinae' came to mean the place of meeting for traffic; cp. de Leg. Agr. 2. 33, 89 'Illi Capuam receptaculum aratorum, nundinas rusticorum . . esse voluerunt;' and hence the traffic itself, as here, and 5. 4, 11 'Calebant in interiore aedium parte totius reipublicae nundinae.' So 'nundinabantur,' 3. 4, 10.

9. Nescio quid. See on c. 9, 21.

c. 15. To pass to lighter accusations.—And first, his conduct in the last campaign with Pompey. 'He was too sad,' says Antony. Not too sad, surely, considering the perils of the state, and the critical position of so many noble men. 'He alienated Pompey by his levity.' Experience did not bear this out, nor his unbroken friendship with Pompey, nor the testimony borne by Pompey to his merits during his final flight. This was the stronger proof of friendship, since Cicero had been throughout opposed to Pompey's policy, having always advocated peace as the object to be first sought after, even at some sacrifice of dignity.

16. Castra mihi Pompei. This was Pompey's last campaign in Epirus, where Cicero joined him in the summer of 49 B.C.

18. Tot duces. Notably Pompey himself, his son Cn. Pompeius, slain in Spain in 45 B.C., and his father-in-law Q. Metellus Scipio, who fell in Africa shortly after the battle of Thapsus, in 46 B.C. The armies referred to are probably those defeated under their respective commands at Pharsalus, Munda, and Thapsus.

cives, si idem providissent, fuissent. Dolebam, dolebam, patres conscripti, rem publicam vestris quondam meisque consiliis conservatam brevi tempore esse perituram. Nec vero eram tam indoctus ignarusque rerum, ut frangerer animo propter vitae cupiditatem, quae me manens conficeret angoribus, dimissa molestiis omnibus liberaret. Illos ego praestantissimos viros, lumina rei publicae, vivere volebam, tot consulares, tot praetorios, tot honestissimos senatores, omnem praeterea florem nobilitatis ac iuventutis, tum optimorum civium exercitus; qui si viverent, quamvis
 10 iniqua conditione pacis—mihi enim omnis pax cum civibus bello civili utilior videbatur—rem publicam hodie teneremus. Quae 38
 sententia si valuisset, ac non ei maxime mihi, quorum ego vitae consulebam, spe victoriae elati obstitissent, ut alia omittam, tu certe numquam in hoc ordine, vel potius numquam in hac urbe
 15 mansisses. At vero Cn. Pompei voluntatem a me alienabat oratio mea. An ille quemquam plus dilexit? cum ullo aut sermones aut consilia contulit saepius? quod quidem erat magnum, de summa re publica dissentientes in eadem consuetudine amicitiae permanere. Ego, quid ille, et contra ille, quid ego sentirem et
 20 spectarem, videbat. Ego incolumitati civium primum, ut postea dignitati possemus, ille praesenti dignitati potius consulebat. Quod autem habebat uterque quid sequeretur, idcirco tolerabilior erat nostra dissensio. Quid vero ille singularis vir ac paene 39
 divinus de me senserit, sciunt qui eum de Pharsalia fuga Paphum
 25 persecuti sunt. Numquam ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica,

10. Mihi enim omnis pax. Cp. 7. 3. 7 'Ego ille, qui semper pacis auctor fui, cuique pax praesertim civilis, quamquam omnibus bonis, tamen in primis fuit optabilis.'

11. Quae sententia si valuisset, i.e. if Caesar's terms had been accepted. These were that Pompey, dismissing his army and his garrisons, should go to Spain, whilst Caesar himself should resign the two provinces of Gaul to their respective praetors, L. Domitius and Considius Nonianus, and come to Rome to stand in person for the consulship. See Fam. 16. 12. 3.

15. At vero, &c. This charge of Antony is confirmed by Macrobius (Sat. 2. 3. 8), who tells us that Cicero was so free in the indulgence of his sarcastic humour, as to irritate Pompey, so that at last he exclaimed 'Cupio ad hostes Cicero transeat, ut nos timeat.'

17. Quod quidem erat magnum, 'and this, it must be confessed, was no slight proof of mutual goodwill.' Cicero wished to secure peace by accepting Caesar's conditions, Pompey to hold out for more honourable terms.

22. Quid sequeretur, 'as each had a definite object in view.'

24. Paphum. Valerius Maximus, 1. 5. 6, tells us that Pompey, on his way to Egypt, 'appellens ad oppidum Paphum, conspexit in litore speciosum aedificium: gubernatoremque interrogavit, quod ei nomen esset: qui respondit, κακοβασιλῆα vocari: quae vox spem eius, quantulumcumque restabat, comminuit.' His companions in flight were M. Favonius, the two Lentuli, and the king Deiotarus (Plut. Pomp. 77; Cic. de Div. 2. 37. 79).

nisi plena amicissimi desiderii, cum me vidisse plus fateretur, se speravisse meliora. Et eius viri nomine me insectari audes, cuius me amicum, te sectorem esse fateare? Sed omittatur bellum illud, in quo tu nimium felix fuisti. Ne de iocis quidem respondebo, quibus me in castris usum esse dixisti. Erant quidem illa 5 castra plena curae; verum tamen homines quamvis in turbidis rebus sint, tamen, si modo homines sunt, interdum animis relaxantur. Quod autem idem maestitiam meam reprehendit, idem iocum, magno argumento est me in utroque fuisse moderatum.

Hereditatem mihi negasti venire. Utinam hoc tuum verum 10 crimen esset! plures amici mei et necessarii viverent. Sed qui istuc tibi venit in mentem? ego enim amplius sestertium ducentiens acceptum hereditatibus rettuli. Quamquam in hoc genere

1. Me vidisse plus, 'that I had had the keener foresight.'

3. Sector is the term applied to one who bought the goods of a proscribed person when they were put up to auction. Partly from the forced nature of the sale, partly because the property was taken with all its liabilities, known and unknown, and partly too from the odium attaching to the purchase, such property seldom realised its full value. In the present case Cicero tells us, c. 26, 44, that Antony was the only bidder. Perhaps this depreciation of value accounts for the origin of the name, which is probably derived from 'seco,' cp. pro Rosc. Amer. 29. 80 'Nescimus per ista tempora eosdem fere sectores fuisse collorum et bonorum;' and a similar play upon the word, ib. 36. 102 'Cum de bonis et de caede agatur, testimonium dicturus est is, qui et sector est et sicarius, hoc est, qui et illorum ipsorum bonorum, de quibus agitur, emptor atque possessor est, et cum hominem occidendum curavit, de cuius morte quaeritur.' Others, with less likelihood, derive the word from 'sequor.'

5. Erant quidem. The unusual position of 'quidem,' attached to the verb instead of the pronoun, is owing to the fact that the opposition lies, not between two attributes of the camp, but between the expected and actual consequences of its anxiety. 'It is true the camp was full of care (and might therefore have been expected to be gloomy), but men, so long as they are men, relax at times even amid the greatest perplexities.'

6. Plena curae. Very different is the account given of that camp by Caesar, B. C. 3. 91, 1 'In castris Pompeii videre licuit trichilas structas, magnum argenti pondus

expositum, multa praeterea quae nimiam luxuriam et victoriae fiduciam designarent, ut facile aestimari posset, nihil eos de eventu eius diei timuisse, qui non necessarias conquirent voluptates.'

9. In utroque. Plutarch, Cic. c. 38, talks of him as ἀγέλαστος ἀεὶ περιῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ σκυθρωπὸς, ἑτέροις δὲ παρέχων γέλωτα μηδὲν δεομένους.

c. 16. The last named accusations contradicted one another. The next was simply false, that no one ever had left legacies to Cicero. It was true indeed that of the twenty million sesterces he had so received, none had ever come to him except from men he knew, whereas Antony was fortunate enough to find himself the heir of perfect strangers.

10. Negasti: as a proof of his unpopularity. It was a mark of disrespect if a man was passed over in a friend's will. Abrami compares Plut. Pomp. c. 15 ἐθλῶσε δὲ μάλιστα Ζέλλας, ὅτι πρὸς Πομπήϊον οὐκ εὐμένως εἶχε ταῖς διαθήκαις ὡς ἔγραφεν. ἑτέροις γὰρ φίλοις δωρεὰς ἀπολατῶν καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδείξας ἐπιτρόπους τὸν Πομπήϊον ὄλως παρήλθεν; and the will of Julia, Tac. Ann. 3. 76 'Testamentum multo apud vulgum honore fuit, quia in magnis opibus, cum ferme cunctos proceres cum honore nominavisset, Caesarem omisit, quod civiliter acceptum.' Among the legacies which Cicero had received, we hear of one from Cyrus the architect, pro Mil. 18. 48, and one of ten million sesterces from Diodotus the Stoic, Att. 2. 20, 6.

12. Ducentiens, &c., 'centena millia,' twenty million sesterces, nearly 170,000*l.* of our money.

13. Acceptum rettuli, 'I entered to the credit of inheritances;' see on c. 6, 12.

fateor feliciorem esse te. Me nemo nisi amicus fecit heredem, ut cum illo commodo, si quod erat, animi quidam dolor iungeretur: te is, quem tu vidisti numquam, L. Rubrius Casinas fecit heredem. Et quidem vide, quam te amarit is, qui albus aterne fuerit ignoras. 4
 5 Fratrī filium praeteriit, Q. Fufii, honestissimi equitis Romani suique amicissimi, quem palam heredem semper factitabat, ne nominat quidem: te, quem numquam viderat aut certe numquam salutaverat, fecit heredem. Velim mihi dicas, nisi molestum est, L. Turselius qua facie fuerit, qua statura, quo municipio, qua
 10 tribu. 'Nihil scio' inquit 'nisi quae praedia habuerit.' Igitur fratrem exheredans te faciebat heredem. In multas praeterea pecunias alienissimorum hominum vi eiectis veris heredibus, tamquam heres esset, invasit. Quamquam hoc maxime admiratus 4
 sum, mentionem te hereditatum ausum esse facere, cum ipse
 15 hereditatem patris non adisses.

3. L. Rubrius of Casinum is not known from any other source.

Fecit heredem. Madvig, *Opusc.* 1. p. 165, thinks that these words should be expunged, as being redundant, and weakening the sentence by transferring its emphasis from the antithetical words 'te is' to the end. He is followed by Baier and Kayser, but Halm maintains the words on the authority of all the MSS.

4. Albus aterne fuerit, 'the very colour of whose complexion you do not know.' Cp. Catull. 93

'Nil nimum studeo, Caesar, tibi velle placere,

Nec scire utrum sis ater an albus homo.' The MSS. vary between 'fuerit' and 'fueris,' 'ignoras' and 'ignorans,' whence Orelli reads 'fueris ignorans, fratris filium praeteriit,' 'when, without even knowing the colour of your hair, he passed over his nephew in your favour.'

5. Q. Fufii, sc. 'filium.' So Halm, following the Vatican MS. He says, 'nominat Cicero duos filios, alterum fratris L. Rubrii, alterum amicissimi eius Q. Fufii, quos ambos ab eo, ut Antonio gratificaretur, praeteritos esse conqueritur.' Another reading is 'ne nomen quidem perscripsit,' making Fufius himself the disappointed heir. Faerni, with the same object, suggested 'meminit.' Heusinger wished to expunge the doubtful words, making Q. Fufius to be the brother of L. Rubrius.

8. Salutaverat, 'had never visited.' Cp. Att. 1.3. 9. 1 'Venit paulo post Curtius, salutandi causā

10. Igitur, 'this then was the reason, merely because you knew about his property.'

11. Faciebat, 'he was willing, as you say, to leave his property to you.'

In multas pecunias invasit: cp. pro Rosc. Amer. 2. 6 'Quoniam in alienam pecuniam tam plenam atque praedam nullo iure invaserit.' 'Multae pecuniae' are 'many sums of money:' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 3. 73, 171 'Ut praetor pecunias (the several sums of money) quas civitatibus distribuere debeat, eas omnes avertat atque auferat.'

15. Non adisses, 'had not entered on the estate of your father.' 'Hereditatem adire' or 'cernere' was the technical term for taking possession of a property bequeathed to one. 'Heredes necessarii' (slaves and children 'in manu testatoris'), were bound to accept a bequest, unless the praetor exempted them on the ground of its being encumbered. Hence it is doubtful whether Cicero means here that Antony was disinherited, or that he found the estate so burdened with debt, that he was allowed to relinquish it, and give it up for sale to pay the debts. The latter is rendered more probable by c. 18, 44; and Sallust, *Fragm.* 3. 65, says that M. Antonius, the father, was 'perdundae pecuniae genitus.'

c. 17. In concluding the refutation of the charges brought against him, Cicero takes occasion to point out the failure of Antony's attempts at learning rhetoric; and rebukes his criminal folly in giving his unsuccessful tutor such extravagant remuneration from the public lands.

17 Haec ut colligeres, homo amentissime, tot dies in aliena villa declamasti? quamquam tu quidem, ut tui familiarissimi dictitant, vini exalandi, non ingenii acuendi causa declamas. At vero adhibes ioci causa magistrum, suffragio tuo et compotorum tuorum rhetorem, cui concessisti ut in te quae vellet diceret, salsum omnino hominem, sed materia facilis est in te et in tuos dicta dicere. Vide autem quid intersit inter te et avum tuum. Ille sensim dicebat, 43 quod causae prodesset: tu cursim dicis aliena. At quanta merces rhetori data est! Audite, audite, patres conscripti, et cognoscite rei publicae vulnera. Duo milia iugerum campi Leontini Sex. Clodio 10 rhetori assignasti et quidem immunia, ut populi Romani tanta mercede nihil sapere disceres. Num etiam hoc, homo audacissime, ex Caesaris commentariis? Sed dicam alio loco et de Leontino agro et de Campano, quos iste agros ereptos rei publicae turpissimis possessoribus inquinavit. Iam enim, quoniam criminibus eius 15 satis respondi, de ipso emendatore et correctore nostro quaedam dicenda sunt. Nec enim omnia effundam, ut, si saepius decertan-

1. In aliena villa. In Scipio's villa at Tibur: cp. 5. 7, 19.

5. Rhetorem. Sex. Clodius, of Sicily (not to be confounded with Sex. Clodius, the tool of P. Clodius, see on 1. 1, 3), was noted for his wit, which is acknowledged by Cicero himself, Att. 4. 15, 2 'Vereor ne lepore te suo detineat diutius rhetor Clodius.' He mentions him again in contemptuous terms, 3. 9, 22.

Quae vellet. Plutarch says of Antony, c. 24 ἀντισκώψαι ἐξῆν καὶ ἀνθυβρίσαι καὶ γελῶμενος οὐχ ἥττον ἢ γελῶν ἔχαιρε.

Omnino, 'certainly,' 'it must be granted.'

6. Dicta, 'sharp sayings,' 'dicteria,' like the French '*mots*.' Cp. de Orat. 2. 54, 222 'Haec scilicet bona dicta, quae salsa sint; nam ea dicta appellantur proprio iam nomine.' Hence the use of the cognate accusative, usually only found with the addition of an adjective or pronoun, 'dicta' containing in itself the requisite additional idea. See Madv., § 224. Obs. 4.

7. Avum, the famous orator, M. Antonius. For his cautious, deliberate style of speaking, 'sensim,' cp. de Orat. 3. 9, 32 'Videtur, genus hoc quod sit Antonii? forte, vehemens, commotum in agendo, praesumptum et ex omni parte causas saeptum, acre, acutum, enucleatum, in una quaque re commorans,' &c.; ib. 2. 73, 296 'Ego mehercule, inquit (Caesar), Antoni, semper

is fui, qui de te oratore sic praedicarem, unum te in dicendo mihi videri tectissimum, propriumque hoc esse laudis tuae nihil a te unquam esse dictum, quod obesset ei, pro quo diceres.'

8. Aliena, 'all that can do it injury.'

10. Iugerum, as 'nummum,' 'amphorum,' 'medimnum,' and other genitives in common use as measures. See on 5. 3, 11.

Campi Leontini: cp. c. 39, 101. The state domains of Leontini were almost entirely in the hands of foreign possessors, either Roman citizens, or natives of other states in Sicily: see Verr. Act. 2. 2. 46, 109 'In agro Leontino praeter unam Mnasistrati familiam glebam Leontinorum possidet nemo.'

11. Immunia. Under ordinary circumstances land thus held would have paid one tenth of the produce, 'decumae,' to the state. Clodius held his rent free, so that the Roman people was doubly defrauded, first, in not being able to assign its land to a more worthy occupant, and secondly, in losing its rent. Hence Pop. Rom. tanta mercede.

12. Nihil sapere. See on c. 3, 8.

13. Alio loco. See c. 39, 101.

16. De ipso emendatore et correctore, 'our would-be schoolmaster and reformer.' So Pliny Pan. 6 'Corrector emendatorque disciplinae castrorum.' Furlaetti refers to Bentley on Hor. Epp. 1. 15, 37 'ἐλεγκτικὸς et invidiose corrector dicitur, qui alios castigat ipse eiusdem culpa reus.'

dum sit, ut erit, semper novus veniam: quam facultatem mihi multitudo istius vitiorum peccatorumque largitur.

Visne igitur te inspiciamus a puero? Sic, opinor; a principio ¹ ordiamur. Tenesne memoria praetextatum te decoxisse? Patris, ⁴ inquires, ista culpa est. Concedo; etenim est pietatis plena defensio. Illud tamen audaciae tuae, quod sedisti in quattuordecim ordinibus, cum esset lege Roscia decoctoribus certus locus, quamvis quis fortunae vitio, non suo decoxisset. Sumpsisti virilem, quam statim muliebrem togam reddidisti. Primo vulgare scortum; ¹⁰ certa flagitii merces nec ea parva; sed cito Curio intervenit, qui te a meretricio quaestu abduxit et, tamquam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo collocavit. Nemo umquam puer ⁴¹ emptus libidinis causa tam fuit in domini potestate quam tu in Curionis. Quotiens te pater eius domu sua eiecit? quotiens ¹⁵ custodes, posuit, ne limen intrares? cum tu tamen nocte socia, hortante libidine, cogente mercede per tegulas demitterere. Quae flagitia domus illa diutius ferre non potuit. Scisne me de rebus mihi notissimis dicere? Recordare tempus illud, cum pater Curio

c. 18. *Turning to review the life of Antony, Cicero exposes the extravagance, impudence, and profligacy of his boyhood, whereby he brought disgrace, not only on himself, but on C. Curio, his nobler though misguided partner in debauchery.*

4. Praetextatum, 'while still a boy,' 'before changing the dress of boyhood for that of manhood.' Cp. Livy 22. 57 'Delectu edicto, iuniores ab annis septemdecim, et quosdam praetextatos scribunt.'

Decoxisse, 'were a bankrupt,' a meaning gained from the sense of 'boiling down to nothing.' Cp. Pliny N. H. 33. 10, 47 'Qui primus acceperit cognomen divitis, decoxisse creditoribus suis.' Antony's apology renders it probable that this bankruptcy consisted in the renunciation of his father's estate, see on c. 16, 41.

5. Concedo. Your very dutiful apology is valid, as excusing your poverty, but it does not justify your breaking the law, which takes cognizance only of a man's position, not of the causes of it.

7. Lege Roscia, the law of L. Roscius Otho, 67 B.C., assigning the fourteen rows of seats immediately behind the orchestra to the equites. Cp. Hor. Epod. 4, 15 'Sedilibusque magnus in primis eques Othone contempto sedet.'

9. Togam. Some MSS. 'stolam,' but this loses the whole point of Cicero's sar-

casm, the 'stola' being the dress of Roman matrons, to which he says that Antony had no right until his marriage with Curio. Cp. c. 20, 50 'Ut viri tui similis esses.' The 'toga' was worn by courtezans and freed-women. Cp. Hor. S. 1. 2, 62 'Quid interest in matrona, ancilla peccasse togata;' and Ovid Ep. de Pont. 3, 3

'Scripsimus haec illis, quarum nec vitta pudicas

Attingit crines, nec stola longa pedes.'

14. Domu. Some MSS. have 'domo,' but 'domu' is the reading of the Vatican MS., and also of the best MS. of Verr. Act. 2. 5, 49, 128 'Domu sua tota expilata.' The form is also found in the Praenestine Kalendar (Orelli, Inscript. Lat. 2. p. 388), 'IN DOMV IMP. CAESARIS,' and it is quoted by Garatinius as a reading in Pliny Ep. 10, 76.

16. Cogente mercede. Abrami notices the climax, 'nox socia est, hortatur libido, merces cogit.'

Per tegulas. Cp. Ter. Eun. 3. 5, 40

'Deum sese in pretium convertisse, atque in alienas tegulas

Venisse clanculum per impluvium, fucum factum mulieri;'

where 'impluvium' is used for the aperture in the roof, usually 'compluvium.'

Demitterere. So Halm, following Ferrarius, for the MS. reading 'dimitterere.'

maerens iacebat in lecto; filius se ad pedes meos prosternens
 lacrimans te mihi commendabat; orabat ut se contra suum patrem,
 si sestertium sexagens peteret, defenderem: tantum enim se
 pro te intercessisse dicebat. Ipse autem amore ardens confirmavit,
 quod desiderium tui discidii ferre non posset, se in exsilium itu-
 46 rum. Quo tempore ego quanta mala florentissimae familiae sedavi
 vel potius sustuli! Patri persuasi ut aes alienum filii dissolveret,
 redimeret adolescentem, summa spe et animi et ingenii praeditum,
 rei familiaris facultatibus, eumque non modo tua familiaritate, sed
 etiam congressione patrio iure et potestate prohiberet. Haec tu cum 10
 per me acta meminisses, nisi illis, quos videmus, gladiis confideres,
 19 maledictis me provocare ausus esses? Sed iam stupra et flagitia omit-
 47 tamus: sunt quaedam, quae honeste non possum dicere, tu autem eo
 liberior, quod ea in te admisisti, quae a verecundo inimico audire
 non posses. Sed reliquum vitae cursum videte, quem quidem cele- 15
 riter perstringam. Ad haec enim, quae in civili bello, in maximis
 rei publicae miseriis fecit, et ad ea, quae quotidie facit, festinat
 animus. Quae peto ut, quamquam multo notiora vobis quam mihi
 sunt, tamen, ut facitis, attente audiat: debet enim talibus in rebus
 excitare animos non cognitio solum rerum, sed etiam recordatio: 20
 etsi incidamus, opinor, media, ne nimis sero ad extrema veniamus.
 48 Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio, qui sua erga me beneficia com-
 memorat; eius omnium incendiorum fax, cuius etiam domi iam

2. Orabat, &c. The younger Curio had become security for Antony to the amount of six millions of sesterces (53,125*l.*) which he was called upon to pay, and thus obliged to ask his father for them, and so he begs Cicero to stand between him and his father's anger. If we follow the reading, 'te contra,' found in some MSS., the subject of 'peteret' will be 'pater,' the father demanding repayment from Antony of the sum which his son had lost on his account. Intercedere, 'to become security.' Cp. Att. 6. 1, 5 'Quasi calcar admovet, intercessisse se pro iis magnam pecuniam.' Cicero's friendship for the elder Curio showed itself by continued interest in the son, in spite of his profligacy and extravagance, as we find in the letters to him, Fam. 2. 1-7. He may also have hoped to turn to use his great powers of oratory, which, however, Caesar attached to his side by paying all his debts, 50 B.C.

8. Redimeret, &c., 'employ his fortune to ransom so promising a youth from slavery to Antony.'

11. Quos videmus; as though he were delivering the speech in the presence of Antony's body-guard of mercenaries. See on c. 8, 19.

c. 19. *His entry into public life was as the friend and tool of Clodius. Next he was found, under the respectable patronage of Gabinius, travelling to all corners of the world, to find himself on his return to Italy the only citizen without a home.*

13. Eo liberior, 'you allow yourself more licence of speech, because you know how my tongue is tied in answering you.'

21. Incidamus, 'let us cut short the middle of the story,' Cp. Livy 32. 37 'Longiorem exoris orationem, brevis interrogatio sermonem incidit.' For 'opinor' some MSS. have 'oportet.'

23. Incendiorum fax, perhaps metaphorically 'the firebrand that set alight the fire of all his treason,' cp. de Dom. 5. 13 'Ne in hanc tantam materiem seditionis ista funesta fax adhaeresceret:' though Cicero often charges P. Clodius and his satellites

tum quiddam molitus est. Quid dicam ipse optime intelligit. Inde iter Alexandream contra senatus auctoritatem, contra rem publicam et religiones: sed habebat ducem Gabinium, quicum quidvis rectissime facere posset. Qui tum inde reditus aut qualis? prius in ultimam Galliam ex Aegypto quam domum. Quae autem domus? suam enim quisque domum tum obtinebat, nec erat usquam tua. Domum dico? quid erat in terris, ubi in tuo pedem poneret praeter unum Misenum, quod cum sociis tamquam Sisaponem tenebas? Venis e Gallia ad quaesturam petendam. Aude dicere te prius ad parentem tuum venisse quam ad me. Acceperam

with actual incendiarism, cp. ib. 24. 62; pro Cael. 32. 78. Clodius was tribune in 58 B.C.

1. *Quiddam*. What this was we have no means of knowing, but from his afterwards marrying Fulvia, the wife of Clodius, Manutius supposes that a reference is made to an intrigue with her.

2. *Iter Alexandream*. See on c. 30, 76. The journey was made in 56 B.C., when Antony combined with A. Gabinus to reinstate Ptolemy Auletes on his throne, in opposition to a decree of the senate, and an oracle of the Sibyl, which forbade that he should be restored 'cum multitudine' (ad Q. Frat. 2. 2, 3).

3. *Quicum*. See *Madv.*, § 86. Obs. 2. Cicero was especially bitter against Gabinus, as being the author of his exile.

5. In ultimam Galliam, to join Caesar, who had then just returned from Britain.

Quae autem domus? The later copyist in the Vatican MS. and some other MSS. insert 'erat,' but the omission of the verb is common in short exclamatory questions. Cp. c. 17, 43 'Num etiam hoc ex Caesaris commentariis?' c. 29, 74 'Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito?'

6. *Nec erat usquam tua*. The time had not come for Antony to acquire a house, since that was only to be done through the aid of confiscations.

8. *Sisaponem*. Probably the true explanation of this comparison is that given by Turnebus, quoted by Abrami. He refers it 'ad miniaria metalla Sinapensium, quae societates publicanorum exercebant: dicit enim, Antonium non unum possessorem Miseni fuisse, sed possessionis socios habere multos' Turn. Adv. 10. 12. He only held it 'in partnership with his creditors.' Cp. c. 29, 73. That a company of 'publicani' worked the cinnabar mines at Sisapo, in Hispania Baetica, is told us by Pliny N. H. 33. 7. 4. Abrami himself thinks that as

the fumes of cinnabar were unwholesome, so the villa of Antony was exposed 'ad ventum horribilem et pestilentem,' viz. the exactions of his creditors. He compares Catullus 26

'Furi, villula nostra non ad Austri
Flatus opposita est, nec ad Favoni,
Nec saevi Boreae, aut Apeliotae,
Verum ad milia quindecim ac ducentos.'

O ventum horribilem atque pestilentem.
9. *Venis*. So Halm, from the Vatican reading 'venisse Gallia.' Other MSS. have 'venisti Galliam,' whence the common reading 'venisti e Gallia.' Antony was elected quaestor for the year 52 B.C.

c. 20. *As candidate for the quaestorship, Antony sought, and readily obtained, the countenance and aid of Cicero; in gratitude for which, as he alleged, he tried to take the life of Clodius. So soon as he obtained the quaestorship, he hurried to the camp of Caesar, as the best resort for ruined profligates.*

10. *Ad parentem tuum*. So the Vatican and other MSS., but as his father and his stepfather, P. Lentulus, both were dead, his only parent was Julia. Charisius, indeed (1. 76), quotes instances of 'parens' in the masculine being used for 'mother,' but in the only one which we can verify (Virg. Aen. 3. 341) against the authority of all existing MSS. The others are a fragment of Pacuvius, 'Te, sol, invoco, ut mihi potestatem dui Inquirendi mei parentis' and of an epistle of Gracchus, 'tuus parens sum,' h. e. 'mater.' Still as 'ad parentem' here is merely equivalent to 'to your home,' as we might say 'to your father's house,' the masculine gender is perhaps defensible. An obvious emendation is 'tuam,' suggested by Buchanan. Halm reads 'tuum,' from a conjecture of Frotcher. The remaining MSS. have 'patrem tuum,' whence we have conjectures 'patrum tuum' (though his uncle C. Antonius was then in exile), 'matrem tuam,' and 'amatorem tuum,' with reference to C. Curio.

iam ante Caesaris litteras, ut mihi satis fieri paterer a te: itaque ne loqui quidem sum te passus de gratia. Postea sum cultus a te, tu a me observatus in petitione quaesturae. Quo quidem tempore P. Clodium approbante populo Romano in foro es conatus occidere, cumque eam rem tua sponte conarere, non impulsu meo, tamen ita praedicabas, te non existimare, nisi illum interfecisses, umquam mihi pro tuis in me iniuriis satis esse facturum. In quo demiror, cur Milonem impulsu meo, rem illam egisse dicas, cum te ultro mihi idem illud deferentem numquam sim adhortatus. Quamquam, si in eo perseverares, ad tuam gloriam rem illam 10 referri malebam quam ad meam gratiam. Quaestor es factus: deinde continuo sine senatus consulto, sine sorte, sine lege ad Caesarem cucurristi; id enim unum in terris egestatis, aeris alieni, nequitiae perditis vitae rationibus perfugium esse ducebas. Ibi te cum et illius largitionibus et tuis rapinis explevisse, si hoc est 15 explere quod statim effundas, advolasti egens ad tribunatum, ut in eo magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis esses.

21 Accipite nunc, quaeso, non ea, quae ipse in se atque in domes-

1. Ut mihi satis fieri, &c., 'that I would accept your overtures of reconciliation;' the main ground of offence being probably the friendship of Antony with P. Clodius.

3. Observatus, 'countenanced.' Cp. pro Mur. 34. 70 'A quibus (senatoribus et equitibus) si domus nostra celebratur, si interdum ad forum deducimur, si uno basilicae spatio honestamur, diligenter observari videmur et coli.' The Vatican reading 'ovatus' is manifestly corrupt, and has given rise to the conjectures 'ornatus,' 'adiutus,' 'comitatus,' 'sublevatus,' but 'observatus' is the reading of all the other MSS.

4. Conatus es. See on c. 9, 21.

10. Quamquam, &c. The train of thought seems to be 'I did not encourage you, because I saw your want of perseverance. And yet, under any circumstances, even if you were to persevere, I thought it better that you should have the whole credit of the matter.' Hence the conjecture of Manutius, 'quoniam' for 'quamquam,' is unnecessary.

12. Sine sorte. Cp. Att. 6. 6, 4 'Pompeius, eo robore vir, iis radicibus, Q. Cassium sine sorte delegit, Caesar Antonium.' The regular mode of apportioning the several quaestorships was by lot, though sometimes the senate gave a general some particular quaestor by decree, as C. Laelius to P. Scipio, 292 B.C. (Livy 30. 33); and

sometimes, as this passage seems to show, the people passed a special law for the purpose; similar to those by which they assigned extraordinary provinces to proconsuls.

14. Perfugium. See below, c. 32, 78; Cael. ap. Cic. Fam. 8. 14, 3 'Video ad Caesarem omnes, qui cum timore aut mala spe vivant, accessuros.'

16. Explere. Halm marks here a lacuna, which is variously supplied, 'haurire,' 'devorare,' 'ingerere,' 'corripere.' The sense may be, however, 'if we may apply the word "explere" to that which you immediately intend disgorging.' Garatonius compares pro Rab. Post. 16, 44 'Ex qua (dignitate) illi nihil detrahi potest quod non aut fortiter ferat aut facile restituat.'

17. Viri tui, Curio. See on c. 18, 44.

cc. 21, 22. In his tribuneship, he persisted in thwarting by his veto the counsels of the senate for the common weal, till they were obliged, in self-defence, to stop his interference by declaring him a public enemy. Again he fled to C. Caesar, and gave him the excuse he sought for the invasion of his country, on the ground that the tribunes' privileges had been violated. Thus Antony was the immediate cause of all the evils of the civil war, and of the loss, by death or banishment, of so many noble citizens; the final issue being loss of liberty to the senate and the state.

ticum decus impure et intemperanter, sed quae in nos fortunasque nostras, id est in universam rem publicam, impie ac nefarie fecerit : ab huius enim scelere omnium malorum principium natum reperietis. Nam cum L. Lentulo C. Marcello consulibus Kalendis 51
 5 Ianuariis labentem et prope cadentem rem publicam fulcire cupe-
 retis, ipsique C. Caesari, si sana mente esset, consulere velletis :
 tum iste venditum atque emancipatum tribunatum consiliis ves-
 tris opposuit cervicesque suas ei subiecit securi, qua multi mino-
 ribus in peccatis occiderunt. In te, M. Antoni, id decrevit senatus
 10 et quidem incolumis, nondum tot luminibus extinctis, quod in
 hostem togatum decerni est solitum more maiorum. Et tu apud
 patres conscriptos contra me dicere ausus es, cum ab hoc ordine
 ego conservator essem, tu hostis rei publicae indicatus? Com-
 memoratio illius tui sceleris intermissa est, non memoria deleta.
 15 Dum genus hominum, dum populi Romani nomen exstabit—quod
 quidem erit, si per te licebit, sempiternum,—tua illa pestifera in-
 tercessio nominabitur. Quid cupide a senatu, quid temere fiebat, 52
 cum tu unus adolescens universum ordinem decernere de salute

1. Decus. This reading is due to Madvig, who shows (Opusc. 1. p. 166; 2. p. 322) not only that 'in' must have the same meaning with both accusatives, so that here 'in dedecus' could only mean 'to the detriment of his dishonour,' which is absurd, but also that such an expression as 'in dedecus,' 'to his dishonour,' 'so as to bring dishonour on himself,' is never used by any prose writer till after the Augustan period, though it occurs in poetry, as Hor. Epod. 17, 63

'Ingrata misero vita ducenda est, in hoc,
 Novis ut usque suppetas doloribus:'
 and in later prose, especially in the time of Seneca. The mistake would easily arise from doubling the syllable.

4. L. Lentulo, C. Marcello, in 49 B.C., the year of Antony's tribuneship, and of the commencement of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.

6. Si sana mente esset, 'had he been willing,' that is, 'to show himself a loyal citizen.' See c. 35, 88 note. The senate passed a decree on the 1st of January, that Caesar should disband his army, or be held a public enemy. Antony and his colleague, Q. Cassius Longinus, interposed their vetos, which the senate disregarded, declaring that in doing so the tribunes violated the interests of the state.

Finding themselves expelled from the senate on the 6th of January, and feeling that the absolute power given to the Consuls was aimed especially against them, they fled from Rome and joined Caesar at Ravenna. (Caes. B. C. 1. 5, 4; Liv. Epit. lib. 109.)

7. Emancipatum, 'transferred from his own authority to that of Caesar,' his own loss of power being the idea more prominently brought forward. So de Fin. 1. 7, 24 'Filium in adoptionem D. Silano emancipaverat,' but Cat. Mai. 11, 38 'Senectus honesta est, . . . si nemini mancipata est,' stress being laid on the slavery which is the result.

10. In hostem togatum, so as to give the Consuls power of life and death within the city walls.

13. Conservator. See on c. 1, 2.

16. Sempiternum. Cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 278

'Hic ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono ;

Imperium sine fine dedi.'

Hence Tibullus, 'Aeternae urbis moenia,' 2. 5, 23.

18. Unus adolescens. Cicero conveniently ignores the co-operation of Q. Cassius, and exaggerates the youth of Antony, who, being now 34, could no longer be reckoned among 'adolescentes.' See on c. 44, 113.

rei publicae prohibuisti, neque semel, sed saepius? neque tu tecum de senatus auctoritate agi passus es? Quid autem agebatur, nisi ne deleri et everti rem publicam funditus velles, cum te neque principes civitatis rogando neque maiores natu monendo neque frequens senatus agendo de vendita atque addicta sententia movere 5 potuit? Tum illud multis rebus ante tentatis necessario tibi vulnus inflictum est, quod paucis ante te, quorum incolumis fuit nemo: tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus reliquisque imperiis et potestatibus: quae non effugisses, nisi te ad arma 22 Caesaris contulisses. Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni, princeps 10 53 C. Caesari omnia perturbare cupienti causam belli contra patriam inferendi dedisti. Quid enim aliud ille dicebat? quam causam sui dementissimi consilii et facti afferebat, nisi quod intercessio neglecta, ius tribunicium sublatum, circumscriptus a senatu esset Antonius? Omitto quam haec falsa, quam levia, praesertim 15. cum omnino nulla causa iusta cuiquam esse possit contra patriam arma capiendi. Sed nihil de Caesare tibi certe con- 54 fitendum est causam perniciosissimi belli persona tua constitisse. O miserum te, si haec intelligis, miseriorem, si non intelligis, hoc litteris mandari, hoc memoriae prodi, huius rei ne pos- 20 teritatem quidem omnium saeculorum umquam immemorem fore, consules ex Italia expulsos cumque iis Cn. Pompeium, quod

1. Neque tu tecum &c., 'nor would you allow the opening of any negotiations with yourself about upholding the authority of the senate, though all that was sought was that you should consent not utterly to destroy the state: ne velles, 'that you would not exert your sovereign will and pleasure.'

5. Agendo, 'by its attempted negotiations,' rather than 'by the severity of its measures.'

Addicta, 'given over to the highest bidder: cp. Verr. Act. 2. 3. 63, 148 'Si doceo aliquanto pluris potuisse vendere neque iis voluisse te addicere, qui contra Apronium licerentur.'

7. Vulnus, viz. the decree, 'dent operam consules, praetores, tribuni plebis, quique consulares sunt ad urbem (these being "reliqua imperia"), ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat' Caes. B. C. 1. 5, 3; cp. Fam. 16. 11, 3. This power, Cicero says, had never before been given to the Consuls without proving fatal to those against whom it was directed.

12. Causam. Caesar himself alleges this object amongst others that induced him to

take up arms against the state ('ut tribunos plebis, ea re ex civitate expulsos, in suam dignitatem restitueret' B. C. 1. 32, 5), and it was no doubt useful to him as a popular cry, especially as the senate seem to have been technically in the wrong: but his counsels were based on deeper views than this, and as Plutarch says, Ant. c. 6 ταῦτα πάλαι θεομένω προφάσει σχῆμα καὶ λόγον εὐκρεπῇ τοῦ πολέμου παρέσχευ.

14. Ius tribunicium sublatum, not only by ignoring their veto, but by threatening the sanctity of their persons. Cp. Livy 2. 33; Dionys. 7. 17.

Circumscriptus, 'hampered in the exercise of his power.' Cp. 13. 9, 19 'Parata de circumscribendo adolescente sententia consularis;' and pro Mil. 33. 88 'Senatus, credo, praetorem eum circumscripisset,' 'would have fenced in Clodius, so that he should not exceed his powers.'

18. Persona tua. So the Vatican MS. Cp. 3. 8, 19 'cum eo (sc. interitu tuo) salus... consisteret.' Vulg. 'in persona.'

19. O miserum te. See c. 7, 16.

22. Pompeium, quod lumen fuit.

imperii populi Romani decus ac lumen fuit, omnes consulares, qui per valetudinem exsequi cladem illam fugamque potuissent, praetores, praetorios, tribunos pl., magnam partem senatus, omnem subolem iuventutis, unoque verbo rem publicam expulsam atque
 5 exterminatam suis sedibus! Ut igitur in seminibus est causa 55
 arborum et stirpium, sic huius luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti. Doletis tres exercitus populi Romani interfectos: interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissimos cives: eos quoque nobis eripuit Antonius. Auctoritas huius ordinis afflicta est: afflixit Antonius.
 10 Omnia denique, quae postea vidimus—quid autem mali non vidimus?—si recte ratiocinabimur, uni accepta referemus Antonio. Ut Helena Troianis, sic iste huic rei publicae belli causa, causa pestis atque exitii fuit. Reliquae partes tribunatus principii
 15 possent perfecerat. Cuius tamen scelus in scelere cognoscite. Restituebat multos calamitosos: in iis patri nulla mentio. Si 23
 severus, cur non in omnes? si misericors, cur non in suos? Sed 56

This attraction of the relative into the gender of the predicate is found when, the antecedent being already sufficiently defined, stress is to be laid on the attribute contained in the relative clause. Cp. 5. 14, 38 'Pompeio patre, quod imperio populi Romani lumen fuit, extincto.' When the relative clause contains the only data for identifying the antecedent, the relative pronoun must follow the ordinary rules. See *Adv.* § 316.

1. Omnes consulares. As it was notorious that several men of consular rank (among whom were P. Servilius Isauricus, L. Volcatius, and Serv. Sulpicius Rufus, the last-named actively espousing Caesar's side,) remained in Rome, Cicero invents for all of them the plea of ill health.

2. Exsequi, &c., 'to accomplish that disastrous flight.' The leaders of Pompey's party retired with him in the first instance to Capua, whence he fled to Brundisium at the end of February, preparatory to leaving Italy for his last campaign.

6. Semen. Abrami compares Dem. Cor. p. 280, 28 ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οὗτος τῶν φύωντων κακῶν αἰτίας; and in Tim. p. 748, 13 οὐδὲ σπέρμα δεῖ καταβάλλειν ἐν τῇ πόλει τοιοῦτων πραγμάτων, οὐδ' εἰ μή πως ἂν ἐκφοίτοι.

7. Tres exercitus. See c. 6, 12 note.

11. Accepta referemus. See c. 16, 40.

13. Principii. So Halm, following Garatonius, from the Vatican reading 'principiis,' where the 's' is probably due to the initial

of the following 'similis.' Vulg. 'principio.'

14. Quae senatus, &c., 'against the possibility of which the senate, while the commonwealth survived, had carefully provided.'

15. Scelus in scelere. It was an offence against the state to annul its sentences; but if he were doing that, natural affection demanded the recall from exile of his uncle, C. Antonius.

cc. 23-25. *His power be abused in every way. First, by restoring to their civil rights convicted persons, in behalf of whom no single plea could decently be urged. Secondly, in not extending this clemency to his uncle. Thirdly, by his progress through the borough towns in the company of an actress, and attended by a troop of profligates, amid luxury most unsuited to a tribune. Fourthly, by his cruelty and avarice in war, in which the only merit he could urge was his single act of moderation in not killing Cicero; and this was only out of deference to the unanimous opinion of his soldiers, who were scandalized by the open profligacy of his conduct.*

His next appointment, to be Caesar's master of the horse, was gained by jobbery, and led to further jobbery, combined with rapine and excess of every kind.

16. Restituebat in this chapter seems to mean generally 'he restored to their former privileges,' (cp. below, 'restituit in integrum'), since Denticula was evidently not in exile. Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 2. 26, 63 'Alia iudicia restituta sunt.'

omitto ceteros: Licinium Denticulam de alea condemnatum, collusorem suum, restituit, quasi vero ludere cum condemnato non liceret: sed ut, quod in alea perdiderat, beneficio legis dissolveret. Quam attulisti rationem populo Romano cur eum restitui oporteret? Absentem credo in reos relatum; rem indicta causa ⁵ iudicatam; nullum fuisse de alea lege iudicium; vi oppressum et armis; postremo, quod de patruo tuo dicebatur, pecunia iudicium esse corruptum. Nihil horum. At vir bonus et re publica dignus. Nihil id quidem ad rem, ego tamen, quoniam condemnatum esse ¹⁰ pro nihilo est, ita ignoscerem. Hominem omnium nequissimum, qui non dubitaret vel in foro alea ludere, lege, quae est de alea, condemnatum qui in integrum restituit, is non apertissime ¹⁵ studium suum ipse profitetur? In eodem vero tribunatu, cum Caesar in Hispaniam proficiscens huic conculcandam Italiam tradidisset, quae fuit eius peragratio itinerum! lustratio municipiorum! Scio ²⁰ me in rebus celebratissimis omnium sermone versari eaque, quae dico dicturusque sum, notiora esse omnibus, qui in Italia tum fuerunt, quam mihi, qui non fui: notabo tamen singulas res, etsi nullo modo poterit oratio mea satis facere vestrae scientiae. Etenim ²⁴ quod umquam in terris tantum flagitium exstitisse auditum est? ²⁸ tantam turpitudinem? tantum dedecus? Vehebatur in essedo

1. De alea condemnatum. Cp. Hor. Od. 3. 24, 58 'Seu malis vetita legibus alea.'

2. Quasi vero, &c., 'as though to keep up some show of respectability in his company, though really to escape the payment of his gambling debts; 'sed' marking the transition from the false plea to the real object which Antony had in view.

3. Beneficio legis, by the gratitude he earned from Denticula, by carrying through the law which restored him to his civic rights.

5. Absentem credo. Here follow the usual pleas on which reversal of a sentence might be urged, or even (as in the last case) the compassion of the senate excited. One of these, he says, Antony might have pressed in favour of his uncle; Denticula could claim the benefit of none. Additional point is given to the comparison by the fact that Cicero himself defended C. Antonius.

9. Condemnatum esse. In such a general confusion of the constitution, respect for the mere decision of a court of law would naturally go for nothing.

11. Qui non dubitaret, &c., 'who

would not hesitate to play dice in the very forum itself; this being the height of profanity in a Roman's eyes: cp. Off. 3. 24, 93, where Cicero propounds the case of a man who had accepted an inheritance under promise of dancing in the forum, and decides that he ought to violate his promise rather than do so, unless the money gained were to be applied to some great necessity of the state.

12. Studium suum, 'his own predilection for play.'

14. Italiam. Caesar left Lepidus in charge of Rome, and Antony of Italy. Plut. Ant. 6.

18. Qui non fui. See on c. 15, 37.

21. Vehebatur in essedo. Abrami calls attention to the force of every single word in this charge. He, a *tribune of the commons*, bound to avoid aristocratic pomp, and to make himself accessible to all, *drove*, like a woman, in a *barbarian carriage*, *preceded by lictors*, to which a tribune had no right, and *these adorned with laurel wreaths*, in token of victory over Pompey and the Consuls. Among these was carried Cytheris, a *mimic actress*, a courtesan among the

tribunus pl.; lictores laureati antecedeabant, inter quos aperta lectica mimia portabatur, quam ex oppidis municipales homines honesti, obviam necessario prodeuntes, non noto illo et mimico nomine, sed Volumniam consalutabant. Sequebatur reda cum lenonibus, comites nequissimi: reiecta mater amicam impuri filii tamquam nurum sequebatur. O miserae mulieris fecunditatem calamitosam! Horum flagitiorum iste vestigiis omnia municipia, praefecturas, colonias, totam denique Italiam impressit.

Reliquorum factorum eius, patres conscripti, difficilis est sane reprehensio et lubrica. Versatus in bello est; saturavit se sanguine dissimillimorum sui civium: felix fuit, si potest ulla in scelere esse felicitas. Sed quoniam veteranis cautum esse volumus, quamquam dissimilis est militum causa et tua—illi secuti sunt, tu quaesisti ducem,—tamen, ne apud illos me in invidiam voces, nihil de genere belli dicam. Victor e Thessalia Brundisium cum legionibus revertisti. Ibi me non occidisti. Magnum beneficium!

insignia of magistracy, without even the decency of a curtained litter.

Essedo. This was a Celtic two-wheeled chariot, found apparently both in Britain and in Gaul. Cp. Fam. 7. 6, 2 'Tu, qui ceteris cavere didicisti, in Britannia ab essedariis decipiariis caveto;' and Virg. G. 3. 204 'Belgica vel molli melius feret esseda collo.' Caesar describes them as used in war, B. C. 4. 33. It seems to have become a fashionable carriage in Rome; see Professor Conington on Virg. l. c.

1. Tribunus plebis. Cp. Plut. Quaest. Rom. 81 Τῆς δημορχίας τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου λαμβανούσης, τὸ δημοτικὸν ἰσχυρόν ἐστι, καὶ μέγα τὸ μὴ μείζον φρονεῖν τῶν λοιπῶν, ἀλλ' ὁμοιοῦσθαι καὶ σχήματι καὶ στολῇ καὶ διαίτῃ τοῖς ἐπιτυχέσσουσιν τῶν πολιτῶν.

2. Mima. Cp. Juv. 8. 198 'Res haud mira tamen, citharoedo principe, mimus Nobilis.'

Cicero complained at the time of the disgraceful nature of the proceeding, Att. 7. 10, 5 'Hic tamen Cytherida secum lectica aperta portat, alteram uxorem:' cp. ib. 16. 5.

4. Volumniam. See on c. 8, 20.

Reda. This was also a Gaulish chariot, but on four wheels; see Quint. 1. 5, 57 'Plurima Gallica (verba) valuerunt, ut reda ac patorritum.'

5. Comites is in apposition to the general idea of 'reda cum lenonibus,' 'the coach-load of pauders.' Another reading,

supported however only by one late MS., is 'leonibus,' in defence of which Pliny's story (N. H. 8. 16, 21; cp. Att. 10. 13, 1) of Antony driving a yoke of lions in a chariot is urged. But besides that this event was after Pharsalus, and that the lions were yoked to his own chariot, not to that of his attendants, the anomaly of the expression 'reda cum leonibus' for 'reda leonibus iuncta' would be sufficient to decide the question in favour of the reading of the MSS.

Mater. Julia, daughter of L. Iulius Caesar, who was Consul in the social war, 90 B.C.

10. Lubrica, 'hazardous,' on account of the offence which would be given to the veterans.

12. Quoniam veteranis, &c. Two reasons are assigned by Cicero for his silence, of which the latter, though in strictness of grammar it should merely re-assert the former, is really quite distinct from it: 'Since we wish to maintain the interests of the veterans,' 'that you may not bring me into disfavoured with them.'

13. Dissimilis. Besides the superior and more responsible position of Antony, the soldiers were in the first instance bound to Caesar by their military oath.

15. E Thessalia. After the battle of Pharsalus, August, 48 B.C., Cicero came to Brundisium in November, and remained there till September in the following year.

16. Non occidisti. See on c. 3, 5 and 6.

potuisse enim fateor: quamquam nemo erat eorum, qui tum tecum
 60 fuerunt, qui mihi non censeret parci oportere. Tanta est enim
 caritas patriae, ut vestris etiam legionibus sanctus essem, quod
 eam a me servatam esse meminissent. Sed fac id te dedisse
 mihi, quod non ademisti, meque a te habere vitam, quia non a 5
 te sit erepta: licuitne mihi per tuas contumelias hoc tuum bene-
 ficium sic tueri, ut tuebar, praesertim cum te haec auditurum
 25 videres? Venisti Brundisium, in sinum quidem et in complexum
 61 tuae mimulae. Quid est? num mentior? Quam miserum est id
 negare non posse, quod sit turpissimum confiteri! Si te munici- 10
 piorum non pudebat, ne veterani quidem exercitus? quis enim
 miles fuit qui Brundisii illam non viderit? quis qui nescierit
 venisse eam tibi tot dierum via gratulatum? quis qui non indoluerit
 tam sero se quam nequam hominem secutus esset cognoscere?
 62 Italiae rursus percursatio eadem comite mima, in oppida mili- 15
 tum crudelis et misera deductio, in urbe auri, argenti maximeque
 vini foeda direptio. Accessit ut Caesare ignaro, cum esset ille
 Alexandriae, beneficio amicorum eius magister equitum con-
 stitueretur. Tum existimavit se suo iure cum Hippiā vivere et
 equos vectigales Sergio mimo tradere. Tum sibi non hanc, quam 20

4. Meminissent. See on c. 4, 7.

6. Licuitne, &c., 'did not your abuse prevent me from paying such respect as I desired to the kindness which you had shown me, especially as, all the time that you were abusing me, you saw that such would be my answer?' Praesertim cum gives an additional reason for what is really, though not grammatically, the leading notion in this sentence, viz. the effect of Antony's wanton abuse of him. Cp. 8. 2, 5 'C. quidem Caesar non expectavit vestra decreta, praesertim cum illud aetatis erat:' where the train of thought is, 'Octavius might have been expected to wait for your decrees, especially considering his age, but he acted on his own responsibility.'

10. Municipiorum, 'if you felt no shame in the presence of the borough towns,' i.e. at bringing on them such a disgrace. Lindemann (on Plaut. Trin. 4. 2, 67) says, 'Omnia quae pudore afficiunt, sive illa in rebus turpibus censentur, sive personae sunt reverentia dignae, ad verbum *pudore* genitivo struuntur.' Cp. 12. 3, 8 'Pudet huius legionis, pudet quartae'; Ter. Hec. 5. 2, 27 'Pudet Philumenae,' 'I am ashamed of seeing Philumena'; and Sall. Frag. 1. 51, 15 'Te neque hominum neque deorum pudet.'

16. Deductio, 'quartering the soldiers on the towns for the winter': 'deduco' being commonly employed for bringing soldiers into winter quarters: cp. Caes. B. G. 5. 27, 9 'Legionibus in hiberna deductis'; and Livy 26. 20; 43. 9. Abrami takes it of the allotment of lands to the soldiers, which would drive the citizens from their homes; but it is not likely that any measures of this sort would be taken till Caesar had returned to Rome.

17. Caesare ignaro. Yet Plutarch, Ant. 8, says that Caesar himself appointed him master of the horse, and sent him in that capacity to Rome.

19. Cum Hippiā, that as master of the horse (*ἵππαρχος*) he was entitled to live with Hippias, the mimic actor.

20. Vectigales, according to Manutius (whom Forcellini follows), means simply 'earning profit for their master.' Hence he thinks the reference is to the horses that contended in the games, and that Antony allowed Sergius, the mimic actor, to contract for the supply of these, a privilege hitherto monopolized by senators, and in their case exercised with a view to popularity rather than to profit. Abrami thinks that 'equi vectigales' (like 'pecunia vectigalis' in Verr.

nunc male tuetur, sed M. Pisonis domum ubi habitaret legerat. Quid ego istius decreta, quid rapinas, quid hereditatum possessiones datas, quid ereptas proferam? Cogebat egestas; quo se verteret, non habebat: nondum ei tanta a L. Rubrio, non a L. Turselio hereditas venerat; nondum in Pompei locum multorumque aliorum, qui aberant, repentinus heres successerat. Erat ei vivendum latronum ritu, ut tantum haberet, quantum rapere potuisset.

Sed haec, quae robustioris improbitatis sunt, omittamus: lo- 63
quamur potius de nequissimo genere levitatis. Tu istis faucibus, 10
istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate tantum vini in Hippiae nuptiis exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie. O rem non modo visu foedam, sed etiam auditu! Si inter cenam in ipsis tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accidisset, quis non turpe duceret? in coetu vero 15
populi Romani, negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui ructare turpe esset, is vomens frustis esculentis vinum redolentibus gremium suum et totum tribunal implevit. Sed haec ipse fatetur esse in suis sordibus: veniamus ad splendidiora.

Act. 2. 1. 35, 89) means horses supplied as tribute by conquered nations. He quotes Hdt. 3. 90 to show that the Cilicians paid a tribute of horses to Darius, and thinks that the Romans probably continued to receive their tribute in the ancient fashion. In that case the passage would mean that Antony gave Sergius the horses which belonged to the state.

1. Male tuetur, 'has difficulty in retaining for his own.' It was Pompey's house (see on 1. 1, 1), and was now claimed by Sextus Pompeius, who had agreed to lay aside hostilities in Spain, on condition of receiving the property of his father. See on 13. 8, 10.

M. Pupius Piso distinguished himself in the first civil war, on the side of Sulla, and was afterwards Consul, through the interest of Pompey, 61 B.C.

3. Datas . . ereptas, 'which he gave to his adherents, or seized from their lawful owners.'

4. A L. Rubrio, &c. See on c. 16, 40.

9. Istis faucibus, &c., all showing Antony's great powers of drinking, and therefore the enormity of his excess, when it produced such results. See Quint. 8. 4, 16; 9. 4, 23.

11. In Hippiae nuptiis, &c. Cp. Plut. Ant. 9 ἐν Ἰππίου ποτὲ τοῦ μίμου γάμοις ἐστιαιβέλις καὶ πίων διὰ νυκτὸς, εἴτε

πρὸς τοῦ δήμου καλοῦντος εἰς ἀγορὰν προελθὼν ἐπὶ τροφῇ μεστὸς ἐμέσειε, τῶν φίλων τινὲς ὑποσχόντες τὸ ἰμάτιον.

14. In coetu, &c. Garatinius quotes Quint. 8. 4, 8, commenting on this passage: 'Singula incrementum habent. Per se deforme, vel non "in coetu," vomere; "in coetu" vel non "populi;" "populi" etiam non "Romani;" vel, si nullum "negotium" ageret; vel si non "publicum;" vel si non "magister equitum."' Mr. Mayor remarks that this chapter is more often cited by Quintilian than any other in the speech.

cc. 26—28. Caesar's ill-omened return to Rome led to the sale of his proscribed opponents' property. Antony alone had the heart and shamelessness to bid for that of Pompey; and entering on it with indecent haste, in a few days, with the aid of his abandoned followers, he had squandered all the treasures of that house, which no one else could look on without tears. He alone was utterly devoid of feeling, never disturbed by the contrast between the former pure and noble owner of the house, and its present tenant, whose most virtuous act was to divorce his mistress. And whilst he was so proud of his notoriety, that even now he spoke of himself as being 'both Consul and Antonius,' lest men in respect for the Consul should forget the contempt appropriate to the debauchee.

26 Caesar Alexandria se recepit, felix, ut sibi quidem vide-
 64 batur, mea autem sententia, qui rei publicae sit hostis, felix
 esse nemo potest. Hasta posita pro aede Iovis Statoris bona
 subiecta Cn. Pompei—miserum me! consumptis enim lacrimis
 tamen infixus haeret animo dolor,—bona, inquam, Cn. Pompei 5
 magni vocis acerbissimae subiecta praeconis. Una in illa re servi-
 tutis oblita civitas ingemuit servientibusque animis, cum omnia
 metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi Romani liber fuit. Ex-
 spectantibus omnibus quisnam esset tam impius, tam demens, tam
 dis hominibusque hostis, qui ad illud scelus sectionis auderet acce- 10
 dere, inventus est nemo praeter Antonium, praesertim cum tot
 essent circum hastam illam, qui alia omnia auderent: unus in-
 ventus est qui id auderet, quod omnium fugisset et reformi-
 65 dasset audacia. Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit vel, ut verius
 dicam, tantus furor, ut primum, cum sector sis isto loco natus, 15
 deinde cum Pompei sector, non te execratum populo Romano, non
 detestabilem, non omnes tibi deos, non omnes homines esse ini-
 micos et futuros scias? At quam insolenter statim helluo invasit
 in eius viri fortunas, cuius virtute terribilior erat populus Ro-
 27 manus exteris gentibus, iustitia carior! In eius igitur viri copias 20
 cum se subito ingurgitasset, exsultabat gaudio persona de mimo,
 modo egens, repente dives. Sed, ut est apud poetam nescio quem,
 66 male parta male dilabuntur. Incredibile ac simile portenti

1. Alexandria. Caesar left Alexandria in the latter end of March, and arrived in Rome in September, 47 B.C.

2. Hostis. So the Vatican MS. Some others have 'infelix.'

3. Hasta posita. The origin of setting up a spear as the sign of a public auction is probably to be found in the fact that the earliest auctions would be sales of spoil taken in war, and sold on the spot.

Pro aede Iovis Statoris. At the top of the Via Sacra, near the place where the arch of Titus now stands.

5. Haeret animo. Madvig, Opusc. 1. p. 145, would alter the order of the words, reading 'animo haeret,' to mark more clearly the dependence of 'animo' on 'haeret.' For the disgrace involved in the proceeding see pro Quinct. 15. 49 'Cuius bona venierunt, cuius . . . etiam victus vestitusque necessarius sub praeconem cum dedecore subiectus est, is non modo ex numero vivorum exturbatur, sed, si fieri potest, infra etiam mortuos amandatur.'

10. Sectionis. See on c. 15, 39.

Accedere is the special word for bidding at an auction. Cp. Livy 43. 16 'Edixerunt, ne quis eorum . . . ad hastam suam accederent.'

11. Praesertim cum, though formally dependent on 'inventus est nemo,' really refers to the leading idea in Cicero's mind; to the strangeness of the want of bidders, rather than to the actual fact of that want. See on c. 24, 60. It may be translated 'which was all the more remarkable as,' or 'even though,' or 'and that at a time when.'

15. Isto loco, sc. as being 'nobilis.'

16. Execratum, so Halm from the Vatican MS. Vulg. 'execrandum,' but see on c. 13, 32.

21. Se subito ingurgitasset, 'had all at once begun to wallow in;' cp. in Pis. 18. 42 'Numquam te in tot flagitia ingurgitasses.' Persona de mimo, 'like the man in the farce.'

23. Male, &c., 'ill-gotten gain never thrives.' The quotation is from Naevius.

est, quonam modo illa tam multa quam paucis non dico mensibus, sed diebus effuderit. Maximus vini numerus fuit, permagnum optimi pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis, multa et lauta supellex et magnifica multis locis, non illa quidem luxuriosi hominis, sed tamen
 5 abundantis: horum paucis diebus nihil erat. Quae Charybdis 67 tam vorax? Charybdim dico? quae si fuit, animal unum fuit: Oceanus, me dius fidius, vix videtur tot res, tam dissipatas, tam distantibus in locis positas tam cito absorbere potuisse. Nihil erat clausum, nihil obsignatum, nihil scriptum. Apothecae totae
 10 nequissimis hominibus condonabantur. Alia mimi rapiebant, alia mimae: domus erat aleatoribus referta, plena ebriorum: totos dies potabatur atque id locis pluribus: suggerebantur etiam saepe — non enim semper iste felix — damna aleatoria. Conchyliatis Cn. Pompei peristromatis servorum in cellis lectos stratos videres.
 15 Quam ob rem desinite mirari haec tam celeriter esse consumpta: non modo unius patrimonium quamvis amplum, ut illud fuit, sed urbes et regna celeriter tanta nequitia devorare potuisset. At idem aedes etiam et hortos. O audaciam immanem! tu etiam 68 ingredi illam domum ausus es? tu illud sanctissimum limen

2. Numerus, 'a vast stock of wine,' so 'frumenti' Verr. Act. 2. 2. 72, 176.

3. Optimi argenti, 'of beautifully wrought plate.' Madvig (§ 466 b) says that the words are placed in such unusual order 'to give a prominence to both adjectives, and at the same time to bring "argenti," which forms an antithesis with other words, to the last place.'

4. Non illa quidem, &c., 'not enough to stamp the man as luxurious, but sufficiently betokening affluence.' See on 13. 5, 10.

6. Animal unum fuit, 'was but a single creature.' So Virgil personifies Charybdis, Aë. 3. 420 'Laevum implacata Charybdis Obsidet.'

7. Me dius fidius is taken by some to be the same oath as 'Mehercle,' being equivalent to 'Me Dius (Iovis) filius,' d and l being interchanged as in 'lingua,' 'dingua,' 'lacrima,' 'διδρυ,' and many other words. The more probable derivation is from 'fides,' 'Dius Fidius' corresponding to Ζεύς *φιδιος*. The 'me' is merely a demonstrative inseparable particle, like 'e' in 'ecastor.'

8. Nihil erat clausum, &c., 'so careless was he, that he neither locked, nor sealed, nor put his name on anything; or "scripsit" may be (as Halm takes it) 'he

made no list of anything.'

9. Apothecae, 'whole stores of wine.' 'Apothecae' differ from 'cellae vinariae,' being the magazine where the main stock of wine was stowed away, as opposed to the place where the supply for daily use was kept. The latter was in the inmost part of the house, for coolness, (not necessarily underground, see Pliny, N. H. 14. 21, 27,) whereas the 'apotheca' was in the upper part, where it could be mellowed by the smoke. See Colum. 1. 6, 20; and cp. Hor. Od. 3. 21, 7 'Descende, Corvino iubente'

Promere languidiora vina; of a jar of special wine that was to be produced in honour of his guest.

14. Servorum in cellis, 'in the garrets of the slaves.' Cato, R. R. 14. 2, calls them 'familiae cellae,' whence Vitruvius' term, 6. 10, 'cellae familiaricae.'

17. Devorare potuisset, 'could have devoured, *supposing it had had them*;' the further condition causing the use of the subjunctive, instead of the more usual indicative. See Madv. § 348, Obs. 1.

18. Aedes et hortos, sc. 'devoravit.' 'Horti,' in the plural, means 'pleasure-grounds;' esp. 'a villa with its grounds.' Cp. c. 6, 15, and Off. 3. 14, 58 'Ad cenam hominem in hortos invitavit.'

intrare? tu illarum aedium dis penatibus os impurissimum ostendere? Quam domum aliquamdiu nemo adspicere poterat, nemo sine lacrimis praeterire, hac te in domo tam diu deversari non pudet? in qua, quamvis nihil sapias, tamen nihil tibi potest esse
 28 iucundum. An tu, illa in vestibulo rostra [spolia] cum adspexisti, domum tuam te introire putas? fieri non potest. Quamvis enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es, tamen et te et tua et tuos nosti. Nec vero te umquam neque vigilantem neque in somnis credo posse mente consistere. Necesse est, quamvis sis, ut es, violentus et furens, cum tibi obiecta sit species singularis
 10 viri, perterritum te de somno excitari, furere etiam saepe vigi-
 69 lantem. Me quidem miseret parietum ipsorum atque tectorum. Quid enim umquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum, quid nisi ex optimo more et sanctissima disciplina? Fuit enim ille vir, patres conscripti, sicuti scitis, cum foris clarus tum domi admirandus,
 15 neque rebus externis magis laudandus quam institutis domesticis. Huius in sedibus pro cubiculis stabula, pro conclavibus popinae sunt. Etsi iam negat: nolite quaerere; frugi factus est: illam † suam;

4. Quamvis nihil sapias, 'however void of sense you are,' cp. c. 17, 43; c. 4, 8.

5. In vestibulo, 'in the courtyard,' an empty space before the door, not a part of the building, as appears from pro Caec. 12. 35 'Si te . . . armati non modo limine tectoque aedium tuarum, sed primo aditu vestibuloque prohibuerint.' Cp. Plaut. Most. 3. 2, 133 'Viden' vestibulum ante aedes hoc, et ambulacrum cuius modi?'

Rostra, probably trophies of Pompey's victories over the pirates, 66 B.C. Spolia is probably a gloss. The reading of the Vatican MS. is 'rostran spolia.' For the custom of decorating the entrance with such trophies, Abrami compares Pliny, N. H. 35. 2, 2 'Aliae foris et circum limina animorum ingentium imagines erant, affixis hostium spoliis, quae nec emtori refringere liceret: triumphabantque etiam dominis mutatis ipsae domus, et erat haec stimulatio ingens, exprobrantibus tectis quotidie, imbellem dominum intrare in alienum triumphum:' and Virg. Aen. 7. 183

'Multaque praeterea sacris in postibus arma, Captivi pendent currus, curvaeque secures, Et cristae capitum, et portarum ingentia claustra, Spiculaque, clipeique, creptaque rostra carinis.'

10. Violentus; so Halm, from the Vati-

can and two other MSS. Al. 'violentus,' which has plausibility, both from the character of Antony, and the combinations 'violentum furorem,' Fam. 12. 25, 4; and 'furiosam violentiam,' c. 39, 101.

Species, 'the phantom:' cp. Ov. M. 11. 677 'Voce sua, specieque viri turbata soporem Excutit.'

14. Fuit ille vir, &c. Cp. Plut. Ant. c. 21 Πομπηίου τοῦ Μεγάλου γενομένην, ἀνδρὸς οὐχ ἥττον ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ τῇ τεταγμένῳ καὶ δημοτικῷ διατηρῆσαι θαυμαστόντος ἢ διὰ τοὺς τρεῖς θριάμβους.

17. Pro conclavibus. Some MSS. have 'pro tricliniis,' but the Vatican reading, 'pro conclavibus popinae triclinis,' seems to show that the latter word is a gloss. 'Conclave' is any chamber 'quod clave claudi potest,' here 'a dining room.'

18. Illam suam. Halm thinks that 'suam,' which is the reading of the Vatican MS., but supplied by a later hand, may be a corrupt substitution for 'mimam.' 'He has formally divorced his actress-wife,' 'alteram uxorem' as he calls Cytheris, Att. 7. 10, 5. Restoration of the dowry, (Plaut. Stich. 2. 1, 50 'Uxorin' sit reddenda dos divortio;' cp. Trinum. 2. 1, 43.

'Tuas res tibi habe, Amor! mihi amicus Ne fuas umquam;' and Mart. 10. 41, 1

suas res sibi habere iussit, ex duodecim tabulis claves ademit, exegit. Quam porro spectatus civis, quam probatus! cuius ex omni vita nihil est honestius quam quod cum mima fecit divortium. At quam crebro usurpat 'et consul et Antonius': hoc est 70
 5 dicere: et consul et impudicissimus, et consul et homo nequissimus. Quid est enim aliud Antonius? Nam si dignitas significaretur in nomine, dixisset, credo, aliquando avus tuus se et consulem et Antonium—numquam dixit:—dixisset etiam collega meus, patruus tuus, nisi si tu es solus Antonius. Sed omitto ea
 10 peccata, quae non sunt earum partium propria, quibus tu rem publicam vexavisti: ad ipsas tuas partes redeo, id est ad civile bellum, quod natum, conflatum, susceptum opera tua est. Cui 29
 bello cum propter timiditatem tuam, tum propter libidines defuisti. Gustaras civilem sanguinem vel potius exsorbueras: fueras 71
 15 in acie Pharsalica antesignanus; L. Domitium, clarissimum et nobilissimum virum, occideras multosque praeterea qui e proelio effugerant, quos Caesar, ut non nullos, fortasse servasset, crudelissime persecutus trucidaras. Quibus rebus tantis talibus gestis, quid fuit causae cur in Africam Caesarem non sequerere, cum
 20 praesertim belli pars tanta restaret? Itaque quem locum apud

'Mense novo Iani veterem, Procleia, maritum

Deseris, atque iubes rem sibi habere suas'), and expulsion from the house, (Plaut. Mil. Gl. 4. 6, 62 'Quin tua causa exegit virum a se,') seem to have been regular parts of a divorce from a marriage by 'coemptio.' With respect to reclaiming the household keys, the symbol of domestic government, the only other evidence we have is a passage from the Epistles of S. Ambrose, quoted by Abrami: 'Mulier offensae claveis remisit, domum revertit.' Cicero's application of these terms to Cytheris is of course mere sarcasm.

4. Hoc est dicere, the only attributes connoted by the word 'Antonius' being those of shamelessness and depravity.

7. Avus. M. Antonius, the orator, whose younger son C. Antonius Hybrida was Consul with Cicero, 63 B.C.

9. Nisi si, 'unless it be the case that,' the excepted case being the hypothesis put forward in the whole clause. 'Nisi si' is most commonly thus used with indefinite pronouns and adverbs: cp. Livy 6. 26 'Hic plebis nostrae habitus fuit, eritque semper, nisi si quando a vobis, proque vobis, arma acceperimus.'

10. Earum partium propria, 'pass-

ing over all that does not bear upon the policy whereby you harassed the state, I return to your own special work.'

c. 29. After his cruelty in the civil war, he might have been expected to follow Caesar into Spain: but they had lately quarrelled, when Caesar, somewhat unreasonably, made his adherent pay for the property he had bought. This brought him into difficulties; he had little left to sell, and even what he had was claimed by those on whose inheritances he had seized. On this he tried to murder Caesar, just before his setting out for Spain.

13. Defuisti. The real reason why Antony did not join Caesar in the African campaign probably was the coolness which arose between them, in consequence of Caesar requiring him to pay the money which he bid for Pompey's house; though below Cicero represents this as the result ('Itaque . . . appellatus es'). For the charge of cowardice there is no foundation, and Cicero himself refutes it by recording that he fought in the post of honour in the front ranks ('antesignanus') at Pharsalia. Plutarch tells us that Caesar gave him the command of the left wing, *ὡς πολέμικῶν τῶν ὀφ' αὐτοῦ*, Ant. 8.

15. L. Domitium. See on c. 11, 27.

ipsum Caesarem post eius ex Africa reditum obtinuisti? quo numero fuisti? Cuius tu imperatoris quaestor fueras, dictatoris magister equitum, belli princeps, crudelitatis auctor, praedae socius, testamento, ut dicebas ipse, filius, appellatus es de pecunia, 72 quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione debebas. Primo respondisti plane ferociter, et, ne omnia videar contra te, prope modum aequa et iusta dicebas. A me C. Caesar pecuniam? cur potius quam ego ab illo? an sine me ille vicit? At ne potuit quidem. Ego ad illum belli civilis causam attuli; ego leges perniciosas rogavi; ego arma contra consules imperatoresque populi 10 Romani, contra senatum populumque Romanum, contra deos patrios arasque et focos, contra patriam tuli. Num sibi soli vicit? Quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit eorum praeda communis? Ius postulabas, sed quid ad rem? plus ille poterat. 73 Itaque excussis tuis vocibus et ad te et ad praedes tuos milites 15 misit, cum repente a te praeclara illa tabula prolata est. Quirismus hominum! tantam esse tabulam, tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus praeter partem Miseni nihil erat, quod

1. Quo numero fuisti? 'of what account were you?' So 3. 6, 16 'Bambalio, homo nullo numero.'

2. Quaestor, see on c. 20, 50; Magister equitum, on c. 25, 62; belli princeps, on c. 22, 55.

4. Filius. We learn from Dion Cassius (44. 35) that Antony was placed among the heirs in remainder ('secundi heredes'), by the will of Caesar, but nowhere of anything like his adoption by the dictator.

Appellatus es, 'you were summoned for the money:' cp. de Leg. Agr. 2. 36, 100 'Nulli populo Romano pro me maiores mei sponderunt, mihi creditum est: a me petere quod debeo, me ipsum appellare debetis.'

9. Causam; see on c. 22, 53.

Ego leges perniciosas rogavi. These words are wanting in the Vatican MS., but are found in the others, and are quoted by the grammarian Nonius (about A.D. 300). Their reference is very doubtful, as among Antony's actions we hear of no laws which he passed at this period, with the exception of that for the reversal of certain judicial sentences (see c. 23, 56). It shows Cicero's power of sarcasm that he makes Antony urge as services to Caesar exclusively the wrongs he did the state.

14. Ius postulabas, 'your demands were only fair,' 'postulo,' according to Donatus, being strictly 'to demand what is one's right.' He says, on Ter. Andr. 2. 5, 11 'Petimus precario; poscimus imperiose; postulamus iure.' See on 1. 11, 27. The fairness of any claims, Cicero declares, is the last thing to be taken into consideration; Caesar was the more powerful, and that decided the matter.

15. Excussis. So the Vatican, and most other MSS. Two have 'exclusis,' which Madvig adopts (Opusc. 1. p. 207). The use, however, of 'excussis' ('having shaken himself free from your words') probably has reference to 'respondisti plane ferociter' above; and it is borne out by Tibullus, 2. 6, 12

'Magna loquor, sed magnifice mihi verba locuto

Excutiunt clausae fortia verba fores.'

16. Prolata est. This is Madvig's interpretation (Opusc. 1. c.) of the Vatican reading 'prolatas.' He urges the necessity of the verb being expressed in such a sentence, and is followed by Halm.

17. Tabula, 'catalogue of the sale;' 'tabulae auctionariae,' Cat. 2. 8, 18; cp. pro Caec. 6, 16 'Adest ad tabulam, licetur Aebutius.'

18. Partem Miseni. See on c. 19, 48.

is qui auctionaretur posset suum dicere. Auctionis vero miserabilis adspectus: vestis Pompei non multa eaque maculosa, eiusdem quaedam argentea vasa collisa, sordidata mancipia, ut doleremus quidquam esse ex illis reliquiis, quod videre possemus. Hanc 74
 5 tamen auctionem heredes L. Rubrii decreto Caesaris prohibuerunt. Haerebat nebulo: quo se verteret non habebat. Quin his ipsis temporibus domi Caesaris percussor ab isto missus deprehensus dicebatur esse cum sica: de quo Caesar in senatu aperte in te invehens questus est. Proficiscitur in Hispaniam Caesar, paucis
 10 tibi ad solvendum propter inopiam tuam prorogatis diebus. Ne tum quidem sequeris. Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito? Hunc igitur quisquam, qui in suis partibus, id est in suis fortunis tam timidus fuerit, pertimescat?

Profectus est aliquando tandem in Hispaniam, sed tuto, ut ait, 30
 15 pervenire non potuit. Quonam modo igitur Dolabella pervenit? 75 Aut non suscipienda fuit ista causa, Antoni, aut, cum suscepisses, defendenda usque ad extremum. Ter depugnavit Caesar cum civibus, in Thessalia, Africa, Hispania. Omnibus adfuit his pugnis Dolabella: in Hispaniensi etiam vulnus accepit. Si de
 20 meo iudicio quaeris, nollem; sed tamen consilium a primo repre-

2. Adspectus, though more commonly subjective, is elsewhere used objectively, of the appearance of the object gazed upon. Cp. Cat. 4. 6, 11 'Versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi;' and de Nat. Deor. 2. 63, 158 'Pomorum iucundus aspectus.' 'Conspicere,' on the other hand, seems always to be subjective, of the act of looking. See Madvig on Cic. Fin. 5. 18, 48.

3. Sordidata mancipia, 'a few slaves in mean apparel;' 'mancipia' being 'chattels,' 'quae iure Mancipi possidentur,' and especially living chattels, or slaves. Cp. Parad. 5. 1, 35 'Non enim ita dicunt eos esse servos, ut Mancipia, quae sunt domino facta nexu aut aliquo iure civili.'

5. L. Rubrii heredes. See c. 16, 40. The injured heirs probably took the opportunity of Antony's disgrace to beg for Caesar's interference. Some of their property, we may suppose, was added by Antony to the sale.

9. Proficiscitur in Hispaniam. About the end of 46 B.C., to crush the resistance of Cn. and Sext. Pompeius.

11. Rudem. The wand with which gladiators who had served their time were presented by the praetor, in token that they

had earned their pension. Cp. Hor. Epp. 1. 1, 2 'Spectatum satis, et donatum iam rude quaeris;' Juv. 7. 171 'Ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem;' and Mart. 3. 36, 10 'Ut nondum credas me meruisse rudem.' Some MSS. have 'rudem accepisti,' but the verb is wanting in the Vatican MS. See on c. 19, 48; and for the term gladiator as applied to Antony, cp. 7. 6, 17.

12. In suis partibus, 'in following the fortunes of his party, though they contain his only source of wealth.'

cc. 30, 31. *Thither Antony, after much delay, proposed to follow him, but only got as far as Narbo, leaving Dolabella to fight his battles for him, even against the sons of Pompey, who were seeking to regain from him their lost inheritance. From Narbo he returned, by night, in most unworthy guise, alarming all the city, that he might surprise his wife, and save his sureris from an execution on their property.*

17. Ter depugnavit Caesar. See on c. 15, 37.

20. Nollem, 'I would he had been absent.'

A primo, 'from the outset.' cp. Att. 9. 6, 5 'Tuas nunc epistolas a primo lego.'

hendendum, laudanda constantia: tu vero quid es? Cn. Pompei liberi tum primum patriam repetebant—esto; fuerit haec partium causa communis:—repetebant praeterea deos patrios, aras, focos, larem suum familiarem, in quae tu invaseras. Haec cum peterent armis ii, quorum erant legibus—etsi in rebus iniquissimis quid 5 potest esse aequi?—tamen quem erat aequissimum contra Cn. Pompei liberos pugnare? quem? te, sectorem. An cum tu Narbone mensas hospitum convomeres, Dolabella pro te in Hispania dimicaret?

76 Qui vero Narbone reditus? Etiam quaerebat, cur ego ex ipso 10 cursu tam subito revertissem. Exposui nuper, patres conscripti, causam reditus mei: volui, si possem, etiam ante Kalendas Ianuarias prodesse rei publicae. Nam quod quaerebas, quo modo redissem: primum luce, non tenebris; deinde cum calceis et toga, nullis nec Gallicis nec lacerna. At etiam adspicis me et 15

1. Quid es? As we say, 'you are neither one thing nor the other: neither loyal nor consistent. Cp. de Har. Resp. 20, 42 'Hic vero quid est? quid valet?'

2. Tum is only found in the Vatican MS., but may have been omitted in the rest to bring out more clearly the meaning of 'primum,' which does not belong to it, but is 'in the first place,' as opposed to 'praeterea.'

Fuerit, &c., 'grant that in this you were but abandoning *your party's* cause, the further object of their resistance touched yourself more nearly.'

4. In quae, referring to masculine and feminine antecedents. Cp. Livy 44. 24 'Natura inimica sunt libera civitas et rex.'

6. Tamen is resumptive, after the parenthesis introducing an apology for the word 'aequissimum.'

8. Convomeres. Cp. c. 41, 104 'Ab hora tertia bibebatur, ludebatur, vomebatur;' and above c. 25, 63.

10. Narbone. Narbo, the capital of Gallia Narbonensis, now Narbonne, at the mouth of the Aude, in the department of that name (in the province of Languedoc), was the furthest point that Antony reached in his journey to join Caesar.

Narbone reditus, 'return from Narbo.' In a letter to Atticus (9. 5, 1) we find a series of combinations of verbal nouns with the several cases denoting different relations of place: 'Sunt ista quidem difficillima, iter ad superum, navigatio infero, discessus Arpinum, mansio Formis.' Cp. above c. 19, 48 'Iter Alexandream.'

Cur revertissem. See on 1. 3, 7, foll.

14. Calceis, 'with my boots on,' i.e. fully dressed. Cp. pro Cael. 26, 62 'Calceati et vestiti.'

15. Toga. Juvenal mentions the relief from the necessity of wearing the toga as one of the pleasures of a country life: 11. 203

'Nostra bibit vernum contracta cuticula solem

Effugiatque togam.'

Cp. id. 3. 171

'Pars magna Italiae est, si verum admitimus, in qua

Nemo togam sumit, nisi mortuus;' and Martial (10. 47, 5) enumerates among the things that make life happy, 'Lis numquam, toga rara, mens quieta.'

Gallicis. From Gellius (13. 21) we learn that 'gallicae' were a kind of sandals, like the Roman 'soleae,' and the Greek κρηπίδες, covering only the sole of the feet. There was an ancient law at Rome, 'Neive quis in poplico luci praetextam, neve soleas habeto (Marini, Atti degli Arvali, p. 569); and Cicero brings a reproach against Piso (c. 6. 13) 'Nescio quo e gurgustio te prodire, capite involuto, soleatum.' Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 5. 33, 86.

Lacerna (Cp. Hor. S. 2. 7, 55 'Odoratam caput obscurante lacerna'), was a large riding cloak, fastened by a brooch, and used in Cicero's time (apparently not before) for travelling. Suetonius (Aug. 40) confirms the inference from this passage, that it was considered a mark of effeminate luxury to

quidem, ut videris, iratus. Ne tu iam mecum in gratiam redeas, si scias quam me pudeat nequitiae tuae, cuius te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnium omnibus flagitiis nullum turpius vidi, nullum audiui. Qui magister equitum fuisse tibi viderere, in proximum annum
 5 consulatum peteres vel potius rogares, per municipia coloniasque Galliae, a qua nos tum, cum consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur, petere consulatum solebamus, cum Gallicis et lacerna cucurristi. At videte levitatem hominis. Cum hora diei decima fere ad 31 Saxa rubra venisset, delituit in quadam cauponula atque ibi se 77
 10 occultans perpotavit ad vesperam; inde cisio celeriter ad urbem advectus domum venit capite obvoluto. Ianitor: 'Quis tu?' 'A Marco tabellarius.' Confestim ad eam, cuius causa venerat, eique epistolam tradidit. Quam cum illa legeret flens—erat enim scripta amatorie; caput autem litterarum, sibi cum illa mima
 15 posthac nihil futurum; omnem se amorem abiecisce illim atque

wear it in the city: 'Negotium aedilibus dedit (Augustus) ne quem posthac paterentur in foro Circove, nisi positis lacernis, togatum consistere.'

1. Ne tu. See on c. 2, 3.

5. Rogares. Abrami takes this change of words as though Cicero referred to Antony's obtaining the consulship as a gift from Caesar, not by a legitimate election. As, however, 'rogatio' is a regular word for a constitutional canvass, the explanation of Graevius seems better, that Antony, according to Cicero, begged the consulship as a favour from the people, instead of claiming it as the reward of his services. He compares pro Planc. 10, 25 'Neque enim sic rogabam, ut petere viderer, quia familiaris esset meus.' Cp. Fam. 2, 6, 1 'Grave est enim homini pudenti petere aliquid magnum ab eo, de quo se bene meritum putet, ne id, quod petat, exigere magis quam rogare et in mercedis potius quam beneficii loco numerare videatur.'

6. A qua. In the Vatican MS. the proposition is wanting, but it is found in the others. Halm substitutes 'e qua,' without authority, comparing the expression 'e provincia triumphare,' 'to gain in some province the victory that earned a triumph,' (in Pis. 23, 55 'Ex Macedonia non triumphares'), so that this passage would mean 'where we used to serve our apprenticeship for the consulship.' The reading of the MSS., however, gives the better sense, 'whose votes we used to ask, while votes were freely given.' Cp. Att. 1, 1, 2 'Fortasse,

quoniam videtur in suffragiis multum posse Gallia, . . excurremus mense Septembri (in the law vacation) legati ad Pisonem.'

8. Levitatem, not as in later writers, 'inconstancy,' but 'worthlessness,' as it is explained by Gellius 7. 11 'Veterum hominum qui proprie atque integre locuti sunt, leves dixerunt, quos vulgo nunc viles et nullo honore dignos dicimus, et levitatem appellaverunt proinde quasi vilitatem.' See, however, 7. 3, 9 note.

Ad Saxa rubra, on the Cremera, between Rome and Veii.

10. Vesperam. So Halm from the Vatican MS. Other MSS. and Gellius (who quotes this passage, 7. 11) 'vesperum,' a form which occurs de Fin. 3, 2, 8.

Cisio, 'in a gig.' 'Cisia' were two-wheeled vehicles, especially used for rapid travelling: cp. pro Rosc. Amer. 7. 19 'Decem horis nocturnis sex et quinquaginta milia passuum cisiis pervolavit.'

11. Capite obvoluto. Cp. in Pis. 6, 13, quoted above on § 76.

12. A Marco, the praenomen only being given in his own house, among his own servants.

Ad eam. Some MSS. add 'deducitur,' but the omission of the verb suits better the dramatic character of the scene.

15. Illim, 'from that quarter.' Halm maintains this form also in pro Rab. Post. 12, 35; de Har. Resp. 20, 42; instead of 'illinc,' which is formed from it by the addition of the demonstrative particle 'ce.'

- in hanc transfudisse—: cum mulier fieret uberius, homo misericors ferre non potuit: caput aperuit, in collum invasit. O hominem nequam! quid enim aliud dicam? magis proprie nihil possum dicere. Ergo ut te catamitum, nec opinato cum te ostendisses, praeter spem mulier adspiceret, idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, 5
 78 Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbasti? Et domi quidem causam amoris habuisti, foris etiam turpiorem, ne L. Plancus praedes tuos venderet. Productus autem in contionem a tribuno plebis cum respondisses te rei tuae causa venisse, populum etiam dicacem in te reddidisti. Sed nimis multa de nugis: ad maiora 10
 veniamus.
- 32 C. Caesari ex Hispania redeunti obviam longissime processisti. Celeriter isti, redisti, ut cognosceret te, si minus fortem, at tamen strenuum. Factus es ei rursus nescio quo modo familiaris. Habebat hoc omnino Caesar: quem plane perditum aere alieno egen- 15
 temque, si eundem nequam hominem audacemque cognorat, hunc
 79 in familiaritatem libentissime recipiebat. His igitur rebus praecclare commendatus iussus es renuntiari consul et quidem cum ipso. Nihil queror de Dolabella, qui tum est impulsus, inductus, elusus.

4. Catamitum. The inappropriateness of this reproach here led Heusinger to conjecture that this word is a corruption for the name of a well-known character in some play, who reappeared when he was supposed to be dead.

7. Causam amoris, 'the plea of love to urge.'

8. Tuos. So Halm from the Vatican reading 'tus,' and from other MSS. Al. 'suos.'

Praedes tuos. Caesar having apparently given orders to the praefecti urbis, of whom L. Plancus was one, that, if Antony did not pay the price of Pompey's house within the time appointed, a distress should be levied, and that, as was usual, not on those of goods of Antony himself, but on those of his sureties. 'Praedes,' properly the sureties themselves, is here used for their goods. Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 1. 54. 142 'Praedibus praediisque vendendis.'

Productus in contionem, in order that the news which occasioned the mission of a special messenger might be made publicly known. When Antony declared that he had merely returned 'on urgent private affairs,' ('res tua' having moreover a special reference to 'love affairs,') the very people made jokes at his expense.

c. 32. When Caesar was returning home,

Antony went some way to meet him, and not only regained his favour,—to that his villainy was sufficient passport,—but obtained from him the consulship. In this Dolabella was cheated, first by Caesar grasping for himself what he had promised Dolabella, and secondly, by the conduct of Antony. Abject enough in all his demeanour towards his master, he had the face to declare beforehand that he, as Consul, would usurp the augur's duty, and pronounce the auspices faulty, whatever their real character might be.

13. Isti, redisti. So c. 35, 89: the omission of the copula marking more strongly the restlessness of the proceeding.

14. Strenuum, 'active,' especially in travelling. Cp. Att. 15. 6, 2 'Noli me tam strenuum putare, ut ad nonas recurram.' Antony's reputation for bravery, Cicero says, was lost when he stopped short at Narbo; he sought to regain favour by his energy.

Habebat, &c., 'this was exactly Caesar's way.' Cp. Pliny Ep. 1. 12, 7 'Habebat enim hoc moris'; and Hor. S. 1. 3, 3

'Sardus habebat

Ille Tigellius hoc.'

19. Impulsus, inductus, elusus. The two latter words are explained by what follows; 'impulsus' probably means, excited

Qua in re quanta fuerit uterque vestrum perfidia in Dolabellam, quis ignorat? Ille induxit ut peteret, promissum et receptum intervertit ad seque transtulit: tu eius perfidiae voluntatem tuam adscripsisti. Veniunt Kalendae Ianuariae: cogimur in senatum; invecus est copiosius multo in istum et paratius Dolabella quam nunc ego. Hic autem iratus quae dixit, di boni! 80 Primum cum Caesar ostendisset se, prius quam proficisceretur, Dolabellam consulem esse iussurum—quem negant regem, qui et faceret semper eius modi aliquid et diceret:—sed cum Caesar 10 ita dixisset, tum hic bonus augur eo se sacerdotio praeditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel impedire vel vitare posset, idque se facturum esse asseveravit. In quo primum incredibilem stupiditatem hominis cognoscite. Quid enim? istud, quod te sacer- 81 dotii iure facere posse dixisti, si augur non esses et consul esses, 15 minus facere potuisses? Vide ne etiam facilius. Nos enim nuntiationem solum habemus, consules et reliqui magistratus

with the hope of being Consul; cp. ad Brut. 1. 10, 3 'Caesarem impulerunt in spem certissimam consulatus;' Suet. Ner. 35 'In spem imperii impellere.'

2. Receptum adds to 'promissum' the further idea of 'guaranteeing': cp. Att. 13. 1, 2 'De aestate polliceris vel potius recipis.'

4. Kalendae Ianuariae, when the Consuls entered on their office, 44 B.C.

5. In istum. Against Antony, as the instrument of Caesar, whom he dared not attack directly for his treachery.

7. Proficisceretur. On the expedition which, beginning with the subjugation of the Parthians, was intended to extend over Hyrcania, and the parts about the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus, and passing through Scythia, to work its way back to Italy through Germany, completing thus the circle of his conquest. Plut. Caes. 58.

8. Iussurum. Cp. § 79 'iussus es,' the word being intentionally chosen to mark the despotic nature of the act, as Cicero himself points out in the words that follow.

9. Sed. See on I. 11, 27.

11. Impedire, vel vitare, 'could prevent their being held, or, if they were, could make them null and void,' neither of which he had any right to do as augur. The several steps in the ceremony of taking the auspices were as follows:—First the Consul or other presiding magistrate ordered the inspection to be made. This order the augurs carried out, and made their report

('nuntiatio'), which the Consul then considered; and if he thought the omens unfavourable, he declared the business to be postponed ('obnuntiatio'). Hence the augurs' office was purely ministerial, as they could neither initiate the proceedings, nor decide on the result; though doubtless there were many cases in which the 'obnuntiatio' necessarily followed on their report. It is not clear to which part of the proceedings the term 'spectio' applies, though probably to the estimation of the auspices by the Consul, previous to his 'obnuntiatio.' Festus says it applies also to the actual inspection; but this is not borne out by Cicero's argument. Cp. Varr. L. L. 5. 8 'Et quod in auspiciis distributum est, qui habeant spectationem, qui non habeant.' A wholly different rite is referred to in the words 'de caelo servare,' the process there consisting in looking for omens in the heavens. This was only in the power of the presiding magistrate, and as the mere determination on his part 'to observe the sky' sufficed, whether omens were observed or not, it was possible to know beforehand that the business would be thus postponed. Probably it was the immense power thus conveyed to one man in determining elections that led to the prohibition of this means of stopping them. Cp. de Dom. 15. 39 'Negant (augures) fas esse agi cum populo, cum de caelo servatum sit.'

15. Nos enim, 'we augurs,' see on c. 2, 3.

etiam spectionem. Esto: hoc imperite; nec enim est ab homine numquam sobrio postulanda prudentia: sed videte impudentiam. Multis ante mensibus in senatu dixit se Dolabellae comitia aut prohibiturum auspiciis aut id facturum esse, quod fecit. Quisquamne divinare potest, quid vitii in auspiciis futurum sit, nisi 5 qui de caelo servare constituit? quod neque licet comitiis per leges, et, si qui servavit, non comitiis habitis, sed prius quam habeantur debet nuntiare. Verum implicata inscientia impudentia est; nec scit quod augurem, nec facit quod pudentem decet. 82 Itaque ex illo die recordamini eius usque ad Idus Martias consulationum. Quis umquam apparitor tam humilis, tam abiectus? Nihil ipse poterat; omnia rogabat; caput in aversam lecticam 33 inserens beneficia, quae venderet, a collega petebat. Ecce Dola-

4. Aut id, &c., or make them void, by breaking them off in the middle. See c. 32, 82.

5. Nisi qui, &c. It is true that, as Abrami urges, the man who had determined 'de caelo servare' could not tell what bad omen he would see, and so Cicero's argument is informally expressed; but his meaning is clear, that by that determination alone could a man resolve beforehand that he would bring augury to bear in stopping the proceedings, since it was the only kind of divination in which, as we have seen above, it made no practical difference what was the result of his observations.

6. Per leges. He apparently refers to a 'Lex Clodia,' passed by P. Clodius in his tribuneship, 58 B.C., and repealing the 'Lex Aelia et Fufia.' This latter law, (or laws, for it is doubtful whether there was one or two, see Orelli, *Onomast.* 3, p. 130,) secured to the magistrates the right of stopping the 'comitia' if the omens were unfavourable, and also reserved to the tribunes their privilege of 'intercessio.' Cicero elsewhere denounces its repeal as the removal of one of the main bulwarks of the constitution. (In *Vatin.* 9, 23; *pro Sest.* 15, 33.)

11. Apparitor, a public servant of one of the minor magistrates, standing in the same relation to them as the lictors to the Consuls.

12. In aversam lecticam, 'into the back of the litter.' He would respectfully follow his colleague's litter, and from time to time reach forward his head to the back of the litter as it was carried from him. The reading 'adversam,' which is found in several MSS., would represent him as bold

enough to stop the litter when he met it in the street.

c. 33. *This monstrous rôle he carried out. After the election was concluded, he declared that it should not take place; and then again, when it so suited him, he acted as though it had been regular. On the consequences of his conduct Cicero would not utter an opinion, lest he should anticipate the formal judgment of the augurs, but at least it served to show the fellow's impudence.*

13. Ecce Dolabellae comitiorum dies, &c. The key to this much disputed passage appears to be found in the description of the 'Comitia Centuriata' given by Cicero in his treatise *de Republica* (3, 22, 39). That passage is itself corrupt, but it seems agreed that in the main the Vatican MS., as corrected by the second copyist, fairly represents its meaning. (See Halm on the passage, and Orelli, *Onomast.* 3, p. 374.) It is as follows: 'Nunc rationem videtis esse talem, ut equitum centuriae cum sex suffragiis et prima classis, addita centuria quae ad summum usum urbis fabris tignariis est data, LXXXVIII centurias habeat: quibus ex cent. quattuor (sic) centuriis, tot enim reliquae sunt, octo solae si accesserunt, confecta est vis populi universa: reliquaeque multo maior multitudo sex et nonaginta centuriarum neque excluderetur suffragiis, ne superbum esset, nec valeret nimis, ne esset periculosum.' From this account we gain the following facts, bearing on the passage before us. 1. That the first class contained 70 centuries, probably one of seniors and one of juniors in each tribe. 2. That the whole number of centuries was 193, of which only 104 belonged to the lower

bellae comitiorum dies; sortitio praerogativae; quiescit. Renuntiatur; tacet. Prima classis vocatur, renuntiatur; deinde, ita ut assolet, suffragia; tum secunda classis vocatur: quae omnia sunt citius facta quam dixi. Confecto negotio bonus augur— 8:

classes. 3. That the votes of the knights, the first class, and a very small portion (8 centuries) of the second class, constituted an absolute majority, and if they agreed, rendered further voting unnecessary. 4. That the knights appear to have been associated in voting with the first class, but that the 'sex suffragia,' probably the representatives of the old patrician centuries, which Livy tells us (1. 43) were retained by Servius Tullius, still were kept distinct. It must also be observed that in the original rendering of the Vatican MS. the number 'sex' is not expressed, so that we may readily suppose either that Cicero omitted it in both passages as superfluous, or that in both cases it has dropped out by the carelessness of the copyist. Any explanation of its absence in the Republic would apply, though with less apparent plausibility, to the less corrupt passage before us.

Applying these remarks to our text, and observing that the knights appear to have lost their right of voting first, in order to gratify the superstition involved in giving the first vote to a century chosen by lot ('praerogativa'), we get the following interpretation of the passage: 'Now we come to the day of Dolabella's election; the lot is cast which century shall vote first. He remains quiet. Its vote is declared. He holds his tongue. Then the first class (including the 12 centuries of knights, and the odd century of smiths, &c.) is called within the barriers. Then, as usual, come the "sex suffragia." Then the second class is called: all this taking less time than I have spent in telling it. When all is over (the votes of a few centuries in the second class finishing the business), our excellent augur, a second Laelius, adjourns the election to another day.' The only difficulty in this interpretation lies in the necessity of introducing or understanding 'sex,' and it is possible that the true reading may be 'suffragia equitum,' the word 'equitum' having dropped out from the influence of the following 'tum.'

The explanation here given differs from the ordinary views in supposing that the only change introduced into the 'Comitia centuriata' by the admixture of the forms of the 'Comitia tributa,' consisted in an alteration of the number of centuries, adapting them to the number of tribes. This

adaptation is confirmed by the expressions in Livy that the right of voting first fell on different occasions to the 'Aniensis iuniorum' (24. 7), the 'Veturia iuniorum' (26. 22), and the 'Galeria iuniorum' (27. 6). Many commentators have even supposed (following the conjecture of Pantagathus) that the same arrangement prevailed in all the classes, and that there were two centuries of each class in every tribe, or 350 centuries in all, excluding the knights; but besides the adverse testimony of the passage in the Republic, Niebuhr's objection (Hist. Rome 3. p. 334, Eng. Trans.) would be fatal to this theory, that in an ordinary day there would not be time for 350 centuries to vote. How the 104 centuries were divided among the lower classes we cannot tell. Orelli (Onomast. 1. c.) conjectures that the fourth and fifth classes, which originally had fewer votes in proportion to their numbers than the others, were actually disfranchised by the change, and points out that this was the more feasible when the citizens no longer paid any taxes to the treasury. Madv. (Opusc. 1. p. 169) thinks that the whole account refers to the voting of the 'centuria praerogativa,' the several classes voting separately in each century, but he gives no authority to support his view, which is at least opposed by the words 'confecto negotio.' His theory also makes it necessary to expunge the second 'renuntiatur.' Another reading is 'suffragatum secunda classis vocatur,' with which the words 'ut assolet' are hopelessly otiose, nor is the matter much amended by the conjecture of L. Ulrichs (Rhein. Mus. for 1847, p. 153), that the second 'vocatur' is an interpolation, arising from the conscious want of a verb, which he supposes is to be sought in the last letters of 'assolet,' so that the reading would be 'deinde ut assolet *it* suffragatum secunda classis,' then the second class comes forth in order as usual to stand by the first.'

1. Praerogativa, sc. 'centuriae,' the election to the consulship always being made at the 'Comitia centuriata,' though the candidates naturally arranged their canvassing according to tribes: Cp. Q. Cic. de Pet. Cons. 8, 32 'Qui apud tribules suos gratia plurimum possunt, tui studiosos in centuriis habebis.' It has been urged from Livy 5. 18 'Haud invitis patribus P. Licinium

- C. Laelium dices—alio die inquit. O impudentiam singularem! Quid videras? quid senseras? quid audieras? neque enim te de caelo servasse dixisti, nec hodie dicis. Id igitur obvenit vitium, quod tu iam Kalendis Ianuariis futurum esse provideras et tanto ante praedixeras. Ergo hercule magna, ut spero, tua; potius quam rei publicae calamitate ementitus es auspicia, obstrinxisti religione populum Romanum, augur auguri, consul consuli obnuntiasti. Nolo plura, ne acta Dolabellae videar convellere, quae necesse est aliquando ad nostrum collegium deferantur. Sed arrogantiam hominis insolentiamque cognoscite. 10 Quam diu tu voles, vitiosus consul Dolabella: rursus, cum voles, salvis auspiciis creatus. Si nihil est, cum augur iis verbis nuntiat, quibus tu nuntiasti, confitere te, cum alio die dixeris, sobrium non fuisse: sin est aliqua vis in istis verbis, ea quae sit augur a collega requiro. 15
- 34 Sed ne forte ex multis rebus gestis Antonii rem unam pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad Lupercalia veniamus. Non dissimulat, patres conscripti: apparet esse commotum; sudat, pallet.

Calvum praerogativa tribunum militum (*consulari potestate*) creant, . . . omnesque deinceps ex collegio eiusdem anni recti apparebat; . . . qui priusquam renuntiarentur, iure vocatis *tribubus* permissu interregis P. Licinius Calvus ita verba fecit,' that the election also took place according to tribes, but Niebuhr has shown (*Hist. Rome* 3. p. 339) that the election to the military tribuneship, unlike that to the consulship, took place at the 'Comitia tributa.'

1. C. Laelium: cp. *Nat. Deor.* 3. 2, 5 'Habeo C. Laelium augurem eundemque sapientem, quem potius audiam de religione in illa oratione nobili quam quemquam principem Stoicorum.'

Alio die. This was the regular formula for declaring the 'Comitia' to be adjourned; cp. de *Legg.* 2. 12, 31 'Quid gravius quam rem susceptam dirimi, si unus augur "alio die" dixerit.'

3. De caelo servasse. See on § 81. 8. Obnuntiasti. See on § 80.

Convellere, 'to nullify'; cp. pro *Caec.* 18. 51 'Quae iudicia aut stipulationes aut pacti et conventi formula non infirmari ac convelli potest, si ad verba rem deflectere velimus.'

9. Deferantur, 'the validity of which must at some future time be referred to the college of augurs for their decision.'

14. Ea quae sit, 'show us what mean-

ing they can possibly bear that shall be consistent with your present recognition of Dolabella as Consul.'

c. 34. *The worst was at the Lupercalia, when Antony not only so far forgot the dignity of the consulship as to run about the streets half naked, but tried to make himself and the Roman people openly the slaves of Caesar, by offering him a crown: and when Caesar had the grace to reject it, instead of letting the matter drop, he openly proclaimed, and caused it to be recorded in the public annals, that he had tried to establish as Rome such a tyranny as in olden times had caused the death or exile of all those who aimed at it.*

16. Unam pulcherrimam, 'the very fairest action': cp. *Lael.* 1. 1 'Scaevolam contuli, quem unum nostrae civitatis et ingenio et iustitia praestantissimum audes dicere'; and *Virg. Aen.* 2. 426 'Cedit et Rhipheus, iustissimus unus Qui fuit.'

17. Ad Lupercalia. On the 15th of February. Plutarch (*Caes.* 61) describes the licence that prevailed during this festival, τῶν εὐγενῶν νεανίσκων καὶ ἀρχόντων πολλοὶ διαθέουσιν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν γυμνοὶ σκῆπτροις λαοῖς τοὺς ἐμποδὼν ἐπὶ παιδὶ καὶ γέλωτι παύοντες. In his life of Antony, c. 12, he tells us that Antony took part in this; and in both places he gives a full account of his offering the crown to Caesar. Cp. 13. 15, 31.

Quidlibet, modo ne nauseet, faciat, quod in porticu Minucia fecit. Quae potest esse turpitudinis tantae defensio? Cupio audire, ut videam, ubi rhetoris sit tanta merces, id est ubi campus Leontinus appareat. Sedebat in rostris collega tuus, amictus toga
 5 purpurea, in sella aurea, coronatus. Escendis, accedis ad sellam—ita eras Lupercus, ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes—, diadema ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde diadema? non enim abiectum sustuleras, sed attuleras domo meditatam et cogitatum scelus. Tu diadema imponebas cum plangore populi: ille cum
 10 plausu reiciebat. Tu ergo unus, scelerate, inventus es qui, cum auctor regni esses, eum, quem collegam habebas, dominum habere velles; idem tentares, quid populus Romanus ferre et pati posset. At etiam misericordiam captabas: supplex te ad pedes abiciebas. 8
 Quid petens? ut servires? Tibi uni peteres, qui ita a puero
 15 vixeras, ut omnia paterere, ut facile servires: a nobis populoque Romano mandatum id certe non habebas. O praeclaram illam eloquentiam tuam, cum es nudus contionatus! Quid hoc turpius? quid foedius? quid suppliciiis omnibus dignius? Num expectas, dum te stimulis fodiamus? haec te, si ullam partem habes sensus,

1. In porticu Minucia, in the region of the Circus Flaminius, a little south-west of the circus itself, and adjoining the theatre of Balbus, close to the modern Ghetto. As assemblies of the people were often held there, the misconduct of Antony here alluded to is probably the same that is described in c. 25, 63.

3. Ubi campus Leontinus appareat, 'what we have to show for the Leontine territory.' See c. 17, 43 note.

4. Amictus toga purpurea, &c. ἐπὶ δὲ χρυσοῦ θριαμβικῇ κόσμησιν, Plut. Caes. 61. Suetonius tells us that the senate decreed to Caesar the right of wearing a crown of laurel, a privilege which he especially valued, as a means of concealing his incipient baldness. Suet. Caes. 45; cp. *ib.* 76.

6. Ita . . . ut, 'your being Lupercus was subject to the condition of your remembering that you were Consul; you were bound, Lupercus as you were, to remember the obligations of your consulship.' Cp. Off. 1. 25, 88 'Ita probanda est mansuetudo atque clementia, ut adhibeatur reipublicae causa severitas.'

9. Diadema. δὴ δὲ σφάνη δόνησιν περιελεγεμένον, Plut. Caes. 61. The crime was intensified by the fact that it sprung from no momentary impulse, but had been care-

fully planned and rehearsed ('meditatum') at home, as was proved by his bringing the crown with him.

Imponebas, &c., 'again and again you tried to place it on his brow, amid the hooting of the people, and so often he refused it amid their applause.' Plutarch tells us (l. c.) that Caesar ordered the crown to be deposited in the Capitol. Cp. 3. 5, 12.

11. Auctor regni. See c. 22, 53 note.

14. Peteres. Abrami takes this as equivalent to 'petere debebas'; but granting that the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive may sometimes express what *ought to have been done* (see *Madv.* § 351 b. Obs. 4), it seems better here to take it, with Halm, 'you might ask, if you would, for yourself.' Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 5. 66, 168 'Etiamne id magnum fuit, Panormum literas mittere? Adservasses hominem, . . . aliquid de summo supplicio remitteres.'

17. Nudus, cp. 3. 5, 12. The customary dress of the Luperci at their festival being only an apron of goatskin, (cp. Ov. Fast. 5. 101 'Semicaper coleris cinctutis, Faune, Lupercis,' *ib.* 2. 283 foll.) the reproach to Antony consists not in his being thus half naked, but in his coming forward in such a guise to harangue the people as Consul.

19. Stimulis fodiamus. An ox goad was commonly used to punish offending

lacerat, haec cruentat oratio. Vereor ne imminuam summorum virorum gloriam; dicam tamen dolore commotus. Quid indignius quam vivere cum qui imposuerit diadema, cum omnes fateantur
87 iure interfectum esse qui abiecerit? At etiam adscribi iussit in fastis ad Lupercalia: C. Caesari, dictatori perpetuo, M. Antonium consulem populi iussu regnum detulisse, Caesarem uti noluisse. Iam iam minime miror te otium perturbare; non modo urbem odisse, sed etiam lucem; cum perditissimis latronibus non solum de die, sed etiam in diem vivere. Ubi enim tu in pace consistes? qui locus tibi in legibus et in
iudiciis esse potest, quae tu, quantum in te fuit, dominatu regio sustulisti? Ideone L. Tarquinius exactus, Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius necati, ut multis post saeculis a M. Antonio, quod fas non est, rex Romae constitueretur?

35 Sed ad auspicia redeamus, de quibus Idibus Martiis fuit in 15
88 senatu Caesar acturus. Quaero: tum tu quid egisses? Audiebam

slaves: cp. *Plant. Curc.* 1. 2, 43 'Etiam mihi quoque stimulo fodere lubet te.'

1. Haec oratio, 'this speech of mine.'

2. Quid indignius quam. Cicero himself says, *Att.* 16. 11, 2, that he thinks this would be better changed: 'Illud etiam malo, "indignissimum est hunc vivere," quamp, "quid indignius." The original reading is however found in the Vatican MS.

5. In fastis. In the 'fasti annales,' the public records of the chief events in the year. Cp. *Hor. Od.* 4. 13, 14

'Nec clari lapides (referunt) tempora, quae semel

Notis condita fastis

Incluit volucris dies.'

Ad Lupercalia, 'under the heading of the Lupercalia,' 'at its date.'

9. De die evidently means 'extravagantly,' and perhaps is to be explained by *Hor. Od.* 1. 1, 20 'Nec partem solido demere de die spernit.' the extravagance consisting in abstracting from business hours some extra time for feasting. Cp. *Id. Epp.* 1. 14, 34 'Media de luce,' *Livy* 23. 8 'Coeperunt epulari de die, et convivium non ex more Punico aut militari disciplina esse, sed ut in civitate atque etiam domo diti ac luxuriosa omnibus voluptatis illecebris instructum.' So *Catull.* 47, 5

'Vos convivia lauta sumtuose

De die facitis.'

Halm takes it of living on what the day brings forth.

In diem, 'only for the day,' without thought for the morrow: cp. 5. 9, 25 'Qui in horam viverent,' de *Orat.* 2. 40, 169 'Si barbarorum est in diem vivere.'

12. Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius. See § 26 notes. From the omission of the second 'Spurius' in the Vatican MS., some editors have written here 'Spurii Cassius, Maelius,' as if the 'praenomen' could be used once for the two names. *Madvig* (*Opusc.* 1. p. 70) points out the barbarism of this, and suggests the reading in the text, from a comparison of c. 44, 114.

cc. 35, 36. The death of Caesar had prevented Antony from giving an explanation about the auspices. It also caused him, under the influence of terror, to make more show of patriotic feeling than Cicero could possibly believe would last. It was true that he stirred up the riot which took place at Caesar's funeral; but then he passed those excellent decrees, forbidding the recall of exiles, or the granting of immunities, and abolishing for ever the office of dictator. Yet, even at the time, he was violating these decrees; and not content with squandering the public funds, he was selling pardons and immunities by wholesale at his home.

15. Fuit acturus. As Caesar was intending to start on his Parthian expedition on the 19th of March, it was necessary that the validity of Dolabella's election, as Consul in his place, should be determined before his departure; and it seems that on the very day of his death he was going to bring the matter before the senate.

equidem te paratum venisse, quod me de ementitis auspiciis, quibus tamen parere necesse erat, putares esse dicturum. Sustulit illum diem Fortuna rei publicae. Num etiam tuum de auspiciis iudicium interitus Caesaris sustulit? Sed incidi in id tempus, 5 quod iis rebus, in quas ingressa erat oratio, praevertendum est. Quae tua fuga! quae formido praeclaro illo die! quae propter conscientiam scelerum desperatio vitae! cum ex illa fuga beneficio eorum, qui te, si sanus esses, salvum esse voluerunt, clam te domum recepisti. O mea frustra semper verissima auguria rerum 80 10 futurarum! Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cum me ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam rem publicam te adhortarer: quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum; simul ac timere desisses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque cum ceteri consulares irent redirent, in sententia mansi: neque te illo die neque postero 15 vidi, neque ullam societatem optimis civibus cum importunissimo hoste foedere ullo confirmari posse credidi. Post diem tertium veni in aedem Telluris, et quidem invitus, cum omnes aditus armati obsiderent. Qui tibi dies ille, Antoni, fuit! Quamquam 80 mihi inimicus subito exstitisti, tamen me tui miseret, quod tibi 20 invideris. Qui tu vir, di immortales, et quantus fuisses, si illius 36 diei mentem servare potuisses! Pacem haberemus, quae erat

1. Ementitis auspiciis. Cp. c. 33, 83; 3. 4. 9. Fictitious however though they were, yet being formally declared, these auspices could not be ignored till they had been as formally annulled: hence 'parere necesse erat.'

2. Putares. For this use of the subjunctive see c. 4, 7 note.

Sustulit, 'rendered unavailable for public business.' Cp. de Dom. 17. 45 'Si qua res illum diem aut auspiciis aut excusatione sustulit, tota causa iudiciumque sublatum sit.'

3. Tuum de auspiciis iudicium. Since nothing more was heard of any objections to the validity of Dolabella's election.

5. Quod . . . praevertendum est, 'which claims precedence of the other matters.' 'Praeverto' (rarely 'praevertō', as in Tac. Ann. 4. 32) is commonly used in the sense of 'turning first to,' though seldom, as here, with an accusative case after it. Cp., however, Livy 8. 13 'Coacti novi consules omnibus eam rem praeverti.'

6. Quae tua fuga. We learn from

Plutarch (Ant. c. 14) that Antony, on hearing of Caesar's assassination, hid himself in the disguise of a slave.

8. Si sanus esses, 'if you would but entertain sound views about the state:' cp. c. 21, 51 'Ipsi C. Caesari, si sana mente esset, consulere velletis.'

14. Irent redirent. See c. 31, 78 note.

16. Post diem tertium, 'two days after,' on the 17th of March, according to the Roman inclusive mode of reckoning: cp. de Div. 1. 25, 52 'Est apud Platonem Socrates . . . dicens Critoni sibi post tertium diem esse moriendum;' and Tac. Ann. 1. 63 'Post sextum cladis annum.'

17. Veni in aedem Telluris. See 1. 1, 1 note.

18. Qui tibi dies ille! 'what a day of glory was that for you!' as being marked by his zeal for the real interests of the state. See 1. 1, 2. For the expression cp. 'Qui tu vir!' just below.

20. Invideris, 'you have grudged yourself the fame you had achieved,' 'have interfered with your own interests.'

facta per obsidem puerum nobilem, M. Bambalionis nepotem. Quamquam bonum te timor faciebat, non diuturnus magister officii, improbum fecit ea, quae, dum timor abest, a te non discedit, audacia. Etsi tum, cum optimum te putabant me quidem dissentiente, funeri tyranni, si illud funus fuit, sceleratissime 5
 91 praefuisti. Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio; tu, tu, inquam, illas faces incendisti et eas, quibus semustilatus ille est, et eas, quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus deflagravit. Tu illos impetus perditorum hominum et ex maxima parte servorum, quos nos vi manuque reppulimus, in nostras domos im- 10
 misisti. Idem tamen quasi fuligine abstersa reliquis diebus in Capitolio praeclara senatus consulta fecisti, ne qua post Idus Martias immunitatis tabula neve cuius beneficii figeretur. Meministi ipse de exsulibus, scis de immunitate quid dixeris. Optimum vero, quod dictaturae nomen in perpetuum de re publica 15
 sustulisti: quo quidem facto tantum te cepisse odium regni videbatur, ut eius omne nomen propter proximi dictatoris metum
 92 tolleres. Constituta res publica videbatur aliis, mihi vero nullo modo, qui omnia te gubernante naufragia metuebam. Num igitur me fefellit? aut num diutius sui potuit dissimilis esse? In- 20
 spectantibus vobis toto Capitolio tabulae figebantur, neque solum singulis venibant immunitates, sed etiam populis universis: civitas

1. Per puerum. See 1. 1, 2 note.

M. Bambalionis. That Bambalio was the nickname of M. Fulvius, the father of Fulvia, not of the father of Fadia, Antony's second wife, as some have thought, is proved both by the praenomen, Fadius' name being Quintus, c. 2, 3; and by 3. 6, 16, where he explains the meaning of the name.

2. Diuturnus. Cp. Off. 2. 7, 23 'Malus est custos diuturnitatis metus.' His meaning is, that where fear is the only monitor to duty, the removal of the fear will cause the immediate neglect of the duty.

5. Si illud funus fuit. Cp. 1. 2, 5 'Illam insepultam sepulturam;' and note.

7. Semustilatus, 'scorched.' The taunt is not only unworthy of Cicero, but also untrue, as Caesar's body was consumed to ashes: cp. Att. 14. 10, 1 'Ille etiam in foro combustus.' Ferrarius compares pro Mil. 13. 33 'Tu P. Clodii cruentum cadaver . . . infelicissimis lignis semustulatum, nocturnis canibus dilaniandum reliquisti.'

8. L. Bellieni. Perhaps the same man

whom Caelius mentions (Cic. Fam. 8. 15, 2) as 'verna Demetrii,' Demetrius being a favourite freedman of Antony's. The burning of his house, and the murder, by mistake, of Helvius Cinna, appear to have been the only serious deeds of mischief done by the mob after Caesar's funeral.

11. Idem tamen, &c. For the following acts of Antony, see 1. 1, 3 notes.

17. Omne nomen. So Halm, with Muretus, from the Vatican reading 'omen nomen.' The common reading is 'omnem propter proximum dictatorem tolleres metum.' It seems probable that in the Vatican reading 'omen' is superfluous, brought in from 'nomen' following, as in the next line in the same MS. 'res' is written twice. Madvig points out that 'omne nomen tollere' would not be good Latin for 'funditus nomen tollere.'

22. Populis universis. In c. 38, 97 he specifies Crete. Cp. also 3. 12, 30 'Vendiderit immunitates? civitates liberaverit? provincias totas ex imperii populi Romani iure sustulerit?' and 1. 10, 24 note.

non iam singillatim, sed provinciis totis dabatur. Itaque si haec manent, quae stante re publica manere non possunt, provincias universas, patres conscripti, perdidistis, neque vectigalia solum, sed etiam imperium populi Romani huius domesticis nundinis 5 deminutum est. Ubi est septiens miliens, quod est in tabulis, 37 quae sunt ad Opis? funestae illius quidem pecuniae, sed tamen, 98 quae nos, si iis, quorum erat, non redderetur, a tributis posset vindicare. Tu autem quadringentiens sestertium, quod Idibus Martiis debuisti, quonam modo ante Kalendas Apriles debere 10 desisti? Sunt ea quidem innumerabilia, quae a tuis emebantur non insciente te, sed unum egregium de rege Deiotaro, populi Romani amicissimo, decretum in Capitolio fixum: quo proposito nemo erat, qui in ipso dolore risum posset continere. Quis enim 94 cuiquam inimicior quam Deiotaro Caesar? aequae atque huic 15 ordini, ut equestri, ut Massiliensibus, ut omnibus, quibus rem publicam populi Romani caram esse sentiebat. Igitur a quo vivo

4. Domesticis nundinis. See on c. 14. 35.

c. 37. *The most absurd thing was a decree in favour of Deiotarus, professedly proceeding from Caesar, who was to the last his bitterest enemy; really a piece of jobbery on the part of Antony, who hoped to get ten million sesterces for granting to Deiotarus the territory of which he had already taken possession, without waiting for his aid.*

5. Septiens milliēns, sc. 'sestertium.' See introduction to the first oration; c. 14, 35 note; and i. 7, 17 note. Two MSS. supply 'sestertium.' As in such expressions 'sestertium' is always treated as a singular noun (whence the singular relative 'quod'), so that here it would be the nominative case, 'funestae pecuniae' is not in apposition with it, but rather depends on 'tabulis;' cp. 5. 6, 15 'Direptio eius pecuniae, cuius ratio in aede Opis confecta est.' See also on § 95.

7. A tributis. The 'tributum,' or war tax, levied on all real property, had been discontinued since the time of the Macedonian war, in 147 B.C., in consequence of the influx of revenue from the provinces. It became necessary to reimpose it in the year following this speech. Cp. Fam. 12. 30, 4 'Incredibiles angustiae pecuniae publicae, quae conquirunt undique, ut optime meritis militibus promissa solvantur; quod quidem fieri sine tributo posse non arbitror.'

8. Quadringentiens sestertium. Forty millions of sesterces, or nearly 360,000.

The enormous scale of the incomes and debts of the leading Romans of this period is well illustrated by M. Boissier, in his pamphlet *Sur la Vie privée des Romains*.

Idibus . . . Kalendis. The usual times for settling accounts between debtor and creditor. Cp. Hor. S. i. 3, 87 'Tristes Kalendae;' ib. 6, 75 'Octonis referentes Idibus aera;' id. Epod. 2, 69

'Omne redegit Idibus pecuniam, Quaerit Kalendis ponere.'

11. Deiotaro. Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, was invested by the Romans with the title of king in gratitude for his services in the war with Mithridates. Having aided Pompey in the civil war, he was deprived of his dominions by Caesar, but resumed them on hearing of the dictator's death, and induced Antony to confirm his title by a bribe of ten millions of sesterces, or nearly £90,000.

15. Massiliensibus. Cp. pro Font. 1. 3 'Urbs Massilia fortissimorum fidelissimorumque sociorum, qui Gallicorum belorum pericula a populo Romano copiis armisque propulsarunt;' ib. 16, 35 'Ea conditione atque eo fato se in his terris collocatam esse arbitrat, ne quid nostris hominibus illae gentes nocere possint.' Hence when Caesar reduced it, in 48 B.C., in consequence of its adherence to Pompey, Cicero tells us that the Roman citizens mourned over its humiliation as their own. See 8. 6, 17.

16. Igitur. In consequence of the rare use by Cicero of 'igitur' at the beginning of

nec praesens nec absens rex Deiotarus quidquam aequi boni impettravit, apud mortuum factus est gratus. Compellarat hospitem praesens, computarat, pecuniam impetrarat, in eius tetrarchia unum ex Graecis comitibus suis collocarat, Armeniam abstulerat a senatu datam. Haec vivus eripuit: reddit mortuus. 5
 96 At quibus verbis? modo aequum sibi videri, modo non iniquum. Mira verborum complexio! At ille numquam—semper enim ab-
 senti adfui Deiotaro—quidquam sibi, quod nos pro illo postulare-
 mus, aequum dixit videri. Syngrapha sestertii centiens per legatos,
 viros bonos, sed timidos et imperitos, sine nostra, sine reliquorum 10
 hospitem regis sententia facta in gynaeceio est, quo in loco
 plurimae res venierunt et veneunt. Qua ex syngrapha quid sis
 acturus meditare censeo: rex enim ipse sua sponte, nullis com-

a clause, various emendations, such as 'is igitur,' 'sed igitur,' 'figitur' &c., have been suggested. Madvig (Opusc. 1. p. 206) defends the simple 'igitur,' comparing c. 16, 41, and urging that Cicero's meaning is obvious enough, that having shown that Caesar was Deiotarus' bitterest foe, he concludes ironically, from Antony's decree, that they must have been reconciled after Caesar's death. See also Zumpt, § 357.

1. Aequi boni. See on I. 1, 1.

2. Compellarat hospitem praesens, 'he had sent for him when staying in his house'; cp. in Senatu 13, 32 'Nominatim alii compellabantur, alii citabantur, alii relegabantur.' Caesar passed through Galatia in 47 B.C., returning from his campaign in Pontus against Pharnaces.

3. Impetrarat. So Halm, from the Vatican MS.; Orelli, from another MS., 'impararat.'

4. Unum . . collocarat. Mithridates of Pergamus, a natural son of Mithridates the Great, on whom at the same time Caesar conferred the title of king of the Bosphorus.

Armeniam. The little Armenia, which Caesar probably gave to Ariobarzanes III, king of Cappadocia: cp. de Div. 2. 37, 79 'Is cum ei Trogonum tetrarchiam eripisset et adseculae suo Pergameno nescio cui dedisset eidemque detraxisset Armeniam a senatu datam, cumque ab eo magnificentissimo hospite acceptus esset, spoliatum reliquit et hospitem et regem.'

7. Mira verborum complexio, 'a strange combination of words'; viz. the indiscriminate use of 'aequum' and 'non iniquum' in the same decree. Cicero again finds fault with Antony's Latinity, 3. 9, 22; and 13, 19, 43.

8. Adfui. The last cause that Cicero pleaded was that of Deiotarus, when he was accused by his grandson Castor of designs on Caesar's life. The case was heard before Caesar, 45 B.C., on which occasion Cicero delivered his extant speech, *pro Rege Deiotaro*, but the dictator postponed the decision of the case till he should have made personal inquiries on the spot.

9. Syngrapha was the special term for a contract which did not necessarily involve the receipt of a valuable consideration by the person who paid the money. Hence it would be appropriate to the present case, when the benefit which Antony proposed to confer on Deiotarus was at once illegal, and beyond his power. See Asconius on Verr. Act. 2. 1. 36, 91. For the story cp. Att. 14. 12, 1 'Quid? Deiotari nostri causa non similis? Dignus ille quidem omni regno, sed non per Fulviam;' and see c. 44, 113; 36, 92 notes.

Sestertii centiens. In such expressions it would seem that the contracted genitive plural of 'sestertius' is treated as a singular neuter noun, = 1000 sesterces (see on 5. 3, 8), and that its case is determined by the construction required for the expression of the whole sum. Hence in § 93 'quadringentiens sestertium' is 'a sestertium reckoned 400 times,' or, as this mode of reckoning always implied an addition of a hundred-fold, 40,000,000 sesterces. So here 'sestertii' depends, not on 'centiens,' but on 'syngrapha,' 'a contract for 10,000,000 sesterces.' So in the ablative, Pliny N. H. 8. 48, 74 'Quae Neroni principi quadragies sestertio nuper stetera.'

13. Sua sponte. So that Antony's contract, even if otherwise not fraudulent,

mentariis Caesaris, simul atque audivit eius interitum, suo Marte res suas recuperavit. Sciebat homo sapiens ius semper hoc fuisse, 96 ut, quae tyranni eripuissent, ea tyrannis interfectis ii, quibus erepta essent, recuperarent. Nemo igitur iure consultus, ne iste 5 quidem, qui tibi uni est iure consultus, per quem haec agis, ex ista syngrapha deberi dicit pro iis rebus, quae erant ante syngrapham recuperatae: non enim a te emit, sed prius, quam tu suum sibi venderes, ipse possedit. Ille vir fuit, nos quidem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus. Quid ego de 38 10 commentariis infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus chirographis 97 loquar? quorum etiam institores sunt, qui ea tamquam gladiatorum libellos palam venditent. Itaque tanti acervi nummorum apud istum construuntur, ut iam expendantur, non numerentur pecuniae. At quam caeca avaritia est! Nuper fixa tabula est, qua civitates 15 locupletissimae Cretensium vectigalibus liberantur, statuiturque ne post M. Brutum pro consule sit Creta provincia. Tu mentis

fell to the ground, as being based upon a promise to give Deiotarus what was already in his actual possession.

4. Iure consultus. So Halm, from the Vatican reading 'iureis,' which he conceives to be a confusion of the right and wrong readings. In 9. 5, 10 Cicero uses the form 'iuris consultus,' but there, as in pro Mur. 13. 28, and de Orat. 1. 55, 235 the participial force of the word, 'experienced in jurisprudence,' is strongly dwelt on, and where the term is simply used for 'a lawyer,' 'iure consultus' seems to be the ordinary form. Yet Horace, A. P. 369 has 'consultus iuris,' evidently meaning no more than 'a lawyer.'

Iste. Supposed by Manutius to be Sext. Clodius, the tool of P. Clodius, whose recall from exile Antony procured. See 1. 1, 3 note.

8. Suum sibi venderes. The subjunctive mood and the reflexive pronoun are used for the same reason, because the clause expresses the state of Deiotarus' mind. 'He entered on possession of his rights, without waiting to know that you had sold him what was his already.'

9. Auctorem odimus. Halm compares 13. 1, 2 'Quid ego de proximo (sc. Caesare) dicam, cuius acta defendimus, auctorem ipsum iure caesum fatemur?'

c. 38. To tell of all the forgeries of Antony would take too long. Decrees were issued under Caesar's name without waiting for the meeting of the committee which the senate had appointed to examine the dictator's papers;

Caesar was represented as foreseeing all the changes which his death should cause in his arrangements for the provinces; Crete was henceforth to be lost to Rome; enough exiles were restored to render it injustice not to bring back all; his uncle, L. Antonius, was neglected, insulted, and betrayed; and to crown all, he brought a false and cowardly charge of faithlessness against his wife, that uncle's daughter, that he might make room for her successor.

11. Institores. So Halm, from Panta-gathus, and Madvig from his own independent conjecture. He urges (Opusc. 1. p. 173) that the MS. reading 'imitatores' is obviously false, not only because no one would have dared to forge the documents except Antony, but even if they had, and further had found purchasers for their forgeries, that would have brought no gain to Antony, whereas Cicero directly states that the circumstance he relates was the source of enormous profit to him. 'Institores' are 'hawkers,' as in Ov. A. Am. 1. 421

'Institor ad dominam veniet distinctus emacem,

Expediet merces teque sedente suas.'

12. Libellos, 'programmes;' cp. Tac. Dial. de Or. 9 'Subsellia conducit et libellos dispergit.'

13. Expendantur, 'are weighed,' as is customary with large sums of money, which would take too long a time to count.

16. Post M. Brutum pro consule,

es compos? tu non constringendus? In Caesaris decreto Creta post M. Bruti decessum potuit liberari, cum Creta nihil ad Brutum Caesare vivo pertineret? At huius venditione decreti, ne nihil actum putetis, provinciam Cretam perdidistis. Omnino nemo ullius rei fuit emptor, cui defuerit hic venditor. Et de exsulibus legem, quam fixisti, Caesar tulit? Nullius insector calamitatem: tantum queror, primum eorum reditus inquinatos, quorum causam Caesar dissimilem iudicavit; deinde nescio cur non reliquis idem tribuas: neque enim plus quam tres aut quattuor reliqui sunt. Qui simili in calamitate sunt, cur tua misericordia non simili fruuntur? cur eos habes in loco patruī? de quo ferre, cum de reliquis ferres, noluisti: quem etiam ad censuram petendam impulisti, eamque petitionem comparasti, quae et risus hominum et querellas moveret. Cur autem ea comitia non habuisti? an quia tribunus pl. sinistrum fulmen nuntiabat? Cum tua quid interest, nulla auspicia sunt, cum tuorum, tum fis religiosus. Quid? eundem in septemviratu nonne destituisti? intervenit enim, cui metuisti, credo, ne salvo capite negare non posses. Omnibus eum contumeliis onerasti, quem patris loco, si ulla

'after the proconsulship of M. Brutus.' Cicero argues that Antony here betrays the falseness of the decrees attributed to Caesar, by making one of them refer to Brutus' proconsulship in Crete, though his only connexion with that province arose out of Antony's alteration of Caesar's arrangements, after Caesar's death.

1. Constringendus, 'put in confinement:' cp. in Pis. 20. 48 'Si familiam tuam dimisisses, amici te constringendum putarent.'

4. Nemo ullius, &c., there has been nothing which Antony would not sell, if he could only find a purchaser.

6. Fixisti, as being one of Caesar's laws.

7. Eorum reditus inquinatos, the slur thrown upon the more respectable exiles, by being coupled in their restoration with such reprobates.

11. Patruī. See c. 23, 56 note.

13. Risus et querellas. Men laughed at the idea of a man who had been exiled for extortion in his province being a candidate for such a magistracy as the censorship: they grieved at the unnatural conduct of Antony, in exposing his uncle to such contempt. That C. Antonius had been

recalled from exile is clear from § 99. The real reason for not carrying through the election of censors probably was the people's obvious disapproval of the candidate whom Antony proposed.

15. Sinistrum fulmen. It was at the Comitia only that this was an unfavourable sign: see de Div. 2. 18, 43 'Comitiorum solum vitium est fulmen, quod idem omnibus rebus optimum auspiciū habemus, si sinistrum fuit.'

Tua... tuorum. Cp. Fam. 2. 4, 1 'Si quid esset, quod eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset;' and for different views as to the case of 'tua,' see Zumpt, § 449 note, Madvig § 295, Donaldson § 152 c.

17. In septemviratu. The commission for dividing lands in Campania and the Leontine territory (see 8. 8, 26) among the veterans. The acts of this commission were afterwards annulled on the ground that its appointment had been procured by intimidation. See 11. 6, 13.

18. Cui metuisti. So Madvig (Opusc. 1, p. 171) from the Vatican reading 'cū.' The other MSS. read 'quem,' but the object of Antony's fear was not Nucula or Lento, but the danger of disobliging whichever of these worthies Cicero here refers to.

in te pietas esset, colere debebas. Filiam eius, sororem tuam, eiecisti, alia conditione quaesita et ante perspecta. Non est satis: probri insimulasti pudicissimam feminam. Quid est quod addi possit? contentus eo non fuisti. Frequentissimo senatu
 5 Kalendis Ianuariis sedente patruo hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella causam odii dicere ausus es, quod ab eo sorori et uxori tuae stuprum esse oblatum comperisses. Quis interpretari potest, impudentiorne, qui in senatu, an improbius, qui in Dolabellam, an impurior, qui patruo audiente, an crudelior, qui in illam
 10 miseram tam spurce, tam impie dixeris? Sed ad chirographa 39 redeamus. Quae tua fuit cognitio? Acta enim Caesaris pacis 100 causa confirmata sunt a senatu, quae quidem Caesar egisset, non ea, quae egisse Caesarem dixisset Antonius. Unde ista erumpunt? quo auctore proferuntur? si sunt falsa, cur probantur? si
 15 vera, cur veneunt? At sic placuerat, ut Kalendis Iuniis de Caesaris actis cum consilio cognosceretis. Quod fuit consilium? quem umquam convocasti? quas Kalendas Iunias expectasti? an eas, ad quas te peragratis veteranorum coloniis stipatum armis rettulisti?
 20 O praeclaram illam percursionem tuam mense Aprili atque Maio, tum cum etiam Capuam coloniam deducere conatus es!

1. Debebas. See *Madv.* § 348 c.

Sororem. His first cousin, Antonia, whom he divorced on the pretext of an intrigue with Dolabella, in order to marry Fulvia, the other 'match' ('conditio') referred to here.

8. In Dolabellam. This, at least, is a mere rhetorical licence. Dolabella was notoriously one of the most profligate men of his time.

10. Tam spurce, tam impie, 'with such want of decency and good feeling.'

11. Quae... cognitio? 'what was the nature of your investigation?' The senate had appointed a committee ('consilium') to investigate Caesar's papers with the two Consuls on the 1st of June; but Antony submitted the papers to the cognizance of no one but himself; and when the appointed day arrived, he had surrounded himself with such a force as to bear down all cavil or opposition.

17. Quas Kalendas, 'what was the aspect of the Kalends you awaited?'

cc. 39, 40. In the spring he made a progress through Campania, which he tried to

divide among a party of actors and actresses: just as he had given Leontini to his doctor and his tutor, who alike had failed in doing any good with him: he founded a new colony at Casilinum, in spite of Cicero's remonstrances, on the site of one which then existed; and then, to crown his sacrilege with robbery, he seized on M. Varro's villa at Casinum, under the pretence that he had purchased it from Caesar, who had really even ordered him to give it up.

21. Etiam Capuam. Capua had been made a Roman colony by Caesar, who in 59 B.C. settled 20,000 Roman citizens in the 'ager Campanus.' It was therefore illegal (see c. 40, 102) to found a new colony there, and Antony's proceedings would nominally be limited to the reassignment of lots which had reverted to the state by the death or relinquishment of their original holders. He would doubtless in some cases oust existing occupiers, so as to give some ground for the sweeping charge which Cicero brings against him. (See *Merivale*, 3. p. 61.)

Quem ad modum illinc abieris vel potius paene non abieris,
 101 scimus. Cui tu urbi minitaris. Utinam conere, ut aliquando
 illud paene tollatur! At quam nobilis est tua illa peregrinatio!
 Quid prandiorum apparatus, quid furiosam vinolentiam tuam
 proferam? Tua ista detrimenta sunt, illa nostra. Agrum Cam-
 panum, qui cum de vectigalibus eximebatur ut militibus daretur,
 tamen infligi magnum rei publicae vulnus putabamus, hunc tu
 compransoribus tuis et collusoribus dividebas. Mimos dico et
 mimas, patres conscripti, in agro Campano collocatos. Quid iam
 querar de agro Leontino? quoniam quidem hae quondam arationes 10
 Campana et Leontina in populi Romani patrimonio grandiferae
 et fructuosae ferebantur. Medico tria milia iugerum: quid, si te
 sanasset? rhetori duo: quid, si te disertum facere potuisset? Sed
 40 ad iter Italiamque redeamus. Deduxisti coloniam Casilinum, quo
 102 Caesar ante deduxerat. Consuluisti me per litteras de Capua tu 15
 quidem, sed idem de Casilino respondi: possesne, ubi colonia
 esset, eo coloniam novam iure deducere. Negavi in eam coloniam,
 quae esset auspicato deducta, dum esset incolumis, coloniam
 novam iure deduci: colonos novos adscribi posse rescripsi. Tu
 autem insolentia elatus omni auspiciorum iure turbato Casilinum 20
 coloniam deduxisti, quo erat paucis annis ante deducta, ut vexillum

1. Paene non abieris. See on 12.
 3. 7.

5. Illa nostra, 'ours are yet to be told.'

6. De vectigalibus eximebatur, 'was struck out of the list of "agri vectigales."' This was the natural result of the land being taken out of the hands of the subject population, who paid 'decumae' to the Roman treasury, and divided among colonists, who held it in absolute ownership, subject to no payment of any sort.

7. Tamen, 'notwithstanding the goodness of the object.'

Hunc. For this redundant use of the demonstrative pronoun, after a long relative clause, see *Madv.* § 489 a.

10. Arationes. This word is especially applied to the Roman state lands, farmed on the principle of paying tithes to the treasury: cp. *Verr. Act.* 2. 3. 50, 119 'Arationes et agros vectigales vastasse atque exinanisse.' Among them the lands of Campania and Leontini were pre-eminent in fertility: cp. 8. 8, 26 'Campanus ager et Leontinus, quae duo maiores nostri annonae perfugia ducebant;' and *Verr. Act.* 2. 3. 46, 109

'Leontinos, qui principes rei frumentariae fuerint.'

11. Grandiferae. Orelli, following one MS., reads 'grandi fenore,' to avoid a word which seems not to occur again in classical Latin; but 'grandiferae' is not only the reading of the Vatican and other MSS., but is stated by the satirist Marcius Capella (5. § 511) to have been used by Cicero, while it certainly suits better in combination with 'fructuosae.'

12. Quid, si. So the Vatican MS. The others read 'quasi,' but there is more force in the reading of the text, 'He got 3,000 iugera for failing; what would have been his fee, had he succeeded?'

14. Casilinum, where Caesar had planted another colony of veterans, was on the Volturnus, only three miles west of Capua, and on the site of the modern town of that name.

15. Tu quidem, 'your question, it is true, referred to Capua.'

21. Ut vexillum tolleres, 'going so far as to display your standard,' using all the formalities customary in taking possession of a military colony.

tolleres, ut aratrum circumduceres : cuius quidem vomere portam Capuae paene perstrinxisti, ut florentis coloniae territorium minueretur. Ab hac perturbatione religionum advolas in M. Var-¹⁰³ronis, sanctissimi atque integerrimi viri, fundum Casinatem. ⁸ Quo iure ? quo ore ? Eodem, inquires, quo in heredum L. Rubrii, quo in heredum L. Turselii praedia, quo in reliquas innumerabiles possessiones. Et si ab hasta, valeat hasta, valeant tabulae, modo Caesaris, non tuae ; quibus debuisti, non quibus tu te liberavisti. Varronis quidem Casinatem fundum quis venisse dicit ? quis ¹⁰ hastam istius venditionis vidit ? quis vocem praeconis audivit ? Misisse te dicis Alexandream, qui emeret a Caesare. Ipsum enim exspectare magnum fuit ! Quis vero audivit umquam—nullius ¹⁰⁴ : autem salus curae pluribus fuit—de fortunis Varronis rem ullam esse detractam ? Quid ? si etiam scripsit ad te Caesar ut redderes, ¹⁵ quid satis potest dici de tanta impudentia ? Remove gladios parumper illos, quos videmus : iam intelliges aliam causam esse hastae Caesaris, aliam confidentiae et temeritatis tuae ; non enim te dominus modo illis sedibus, sed quivis amicus, vicinus, hospes, procurator arcebit. At quam multos dies in ea villa turpissime ⁴¹ ²⁰ es perbacchatus ! Ab hora tertia bibebatur, ludebatur, vomebatur.

3. M. Varronis. This was M. Terentius Varro, 'vir Romanorum eruditissimus,' as Quintilian (10. 1, 95) terms him. He himself describes the aviary in this villa at Casinum, de Re Rust. 3. 5. 9. He belonged to the Pompeian party.

5. L. Rubrii . . . L. Turselii. See c. 16, 40 and 41.

8. Quibus debuisti, sc. for the property of Pompey, which he had bought when they were sold by auction. See c. 26, 64.

Quibus tu te liberavisti. This, by a play on the word 'tabulae,' refers to the forged 'acta Caesaris,' through which Antony had replenished his ruined fortunes.

11. Ipsum enim exspectare. Caesar did not return to Rome till September, and then unexpectedly, in consequence of the disturbances resulting from the quarrels of the tribunes, P. Dolabella and L. Trebellius, so that Caesar's accusation of unnecessary haste is hardly fair. It is however only a rhetorical introduction to the real burden of the charge, consisting in the fact that, so far from sanctioning the sale of Varro's property, Caesar had actually commanded restitution to be made.

12. Nullius autem salus, &c. And therefore the negative evidence, that no one had heard of it, went far to prove that no such spoliation had taken place.

15. Remove gladios. See on c. 18, 46.

16. Aliam causam esse, &c., i.e. in consenting to ratify the acts of Caesar, we do not sanction every act of your rapacity.

19. Procurator, an agent, with full powers to act for his absent employer : cp. pro Caec. 20, 31 'Is qui legitime procurator dicitur, omnium rerum eius, qui in Italia non sit absitve rei publicae causa, quasi quidam paene dominus, hoc est, alieni iuris vicarius.'

c. 41. In that villa, formerly the seat of learned study, he indulged his usual profligacy, neglecting all the ordinary courtesies expected from a Roman Consul towards his neighbours in the country ; and on his journey back to Rome he treated those who came to greet him with the same disdain. Some, who had adopted Cassius and the Bruti as their patrons, he took upon himself to chide in most abusive language.

20. Ab hora tertia. From about 8.30 a.m. ; the usual time for feasts to begin

O tecta ipsa misera quam dispari domino! Quamquam quo modo iste dominus? sed tamen quam ab dispari tenebantur! studiorum enim suorum M. Varro voluit illud, non libidinum
 105 deversorium. Quae in illa villa antea dicebantur! quae cogitabantur! quae litteris mandabantur! Iura populi Romani, monimenta maiorum, omnis sapientiae ratio omnisque doctrinae. At vero te inquilino—non enim domino—personabant omnia vocibus ebriorum, natabant pavimenta vino, madebant parietes, ingenui pueri cum meritoriis, scorta inter matres familias versabantur. Casino salutatum veniebant, Aquino, Interamna. Admissus est
 108 nemo. Iure id quidem; in homine enim turpissimo obsolefiebant dignitatis insignia. Cum inde Romam proficiscens ad Aquinum accederet, obviam ei processit, ut est frequens municipium, magna sane multitudo. At iste operata lectica latus per oppidum est ut mortuus. Stulte Aquinates: sed tamen in via habitabant. 15 Quid, Anagnini? Qui cum essent devii, descenderunt, ut istum, tamquam si esset, consulem salutarent. Incredibile dictu, † sed tum nimis inter omnes constabat neminem esse resalutatum, praesertim cum duos secum Anagninos haberet, Mustelam et

being the ninth hour (cp. Fam. 9. 26, 1 'Accubueram hora nona'; and Mart. 4. 8, 6 'Imperat exstructos frangere nona toros'), or in winter the tenth, to balance the variation of the time. (See Becker's Gallus, p. 456. Eng. Tr.)

1. Quam dispari domino. A quotation from some tragedy, given more fully in Off. 1. 139 'O domus antiqua, heu quam dispari dominare domino.' The ablative here is probably merely retained from the familiar quotation, without any consideration of its possible dependence on 'misera.'

5. Iura populi Romani, &c. Distinct reference is here made, as Halm points out, to the treatises of Varro de Iure Civili, in fifteen books; de Vita Pop. Rom., in four books; Annales, in three books; Antiquitates, in forty-one books; de Forma Philosophiae; and his nine books Disciplinarum.

6. Ratio, &c., 'the theory or method of all philosophy and learning.'

7. Inquilino, 'tenant.' So Catiline says, 'sibi patricio homini perdita republica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius inquilinus civis urbis Romae' (Sall. Cat. 31. 7), with reference to Cicero being a native of Arpinum.

11. Iure id quidem, 'so far you did well, not to let provincials see the tarnished glory of the Roman magistracy.'

15. Sed tamen, 'yet they had the excuse of living on his road.' The Via Latina passed through Aquinum, seven miles from Casinum, whereas it left Anagnia on an eminence slightly to the right.

17. Tamquam si esset, 'as though he had not forfeited the dignity.'

Sed tum nimis, 'all testimony at the time was too unanimous to be discredited.' So Halm in his large edition, following two MSS., for the unintelligible reading of the Vatican MS. 'sed cum unius.' In his edition of 1858 he has a conjectural reading 'verum vicinos.' Madvig (Opusc. 2. p. 330) suggests 'sed sum vicinus,' Cicero's personal knowledge from having a villa near being brought forward to counterbalance antecedent improbability. Nipperdey (Philologus 3. p. 144) conjectures 'uisu,' introducing a somewhat weak antithesis to 'dictu,' 'from the evidence of eye witnesses.'

19. Praesertim cum, 'even though.' See on c. 24, 60.

Duos Anagninos. Cp. Att. 16. 11, 3 'Anagnini sunt, Mustela τριῖς ἀφ' ἑνὸς et Laco, qui plurimum bibit.'

Laconem, quorum alter gladiatorum est princeps, alter poculorum. Quid ego illas istius minas contumeliasque commemorem, quibus 107
 inductus est in Sidicinos, vexavit Puteolanos, quod C. Cassium
 et Brutos patronos adoptassent? Magno quidem studio, iudicio,
 5 benevolentia, caritate, non, ut te et Basilum, vi et armis, et alios
 vestri similes, quos clientes nemo habere velit, non modo illorum
 cliens esse. Interea dum tu abes, qui dies ille collegae tui fuit, 42
 cum illud, quod venerari solebas, bustum in foro evertit! qua re
 tibi nuntiata, ut constabat inter eos, qui una fuerunt, concidisti.
 10 Quid evenierit postea nescio—metum credo valuisse et arma—;
 collegam quidem de caelo detraxisti effecistisque, non tu quidem
 etiam nunc ut similis tui, sed certe ut dissimilis esset sui.

Qui vero inde reditus Romam! quae perturbatio totius urbis! 108
 Memineramus Cinnam nimis potentem, Sullam postea dominantem,
 15 modo regnantem Caesarem videramus. Erant fortasse gladii, sed
 absconditi nec ita multi. Ista vero quae et quanta barbaria est!
 Agmine quadrato cum gladiis sequuntur: scutorum lecticas portari
 videmus. Atque his quidem iam inveteratis, patres conscripti,
 consuetudine obduruimus. Kalendis Iuniis cum in senatum, ut
 20 erat constitutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffu-
 gimus. At iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit quem- 109

4. Patronos adoptassent. This was not an uncommon compliment for the provincial towns to pay to their benefactors among the Roman citizens. Cp. in Pis. 11. 25 'Me inaurata statua donarant; me patronum unum adsciverant.'

6. Non modo, 'to say nothing of being their client.' See *Madv.* § 461 b, *Obs.* 3.

c. 42. *Once more in Rome, he made his colleague lay aside his patriotic zeal. And for himself, he outdid all the tyranny of former tyrants; he took possession of the city by force; he prevented the senate from assembling by his violence; and treated laws and wills alike with contempt, destroying the safeguards of the constitution, and robbing the people of the legacies which Caesar had bequeathed to them.*

8. Bustum. See I. 2, 5 note.

9. Concidisti, 'you collapsed.' cp. 5. 9, 23 'Quo ille nuntio audito, . . . repente concidit.'

10. Metum. So in I. 12, 29 he repudiates the notion of Dolabella being actuated by corrupt motives. See note.

11. De caelo detraxisti. Cp. *Att.* 14. 18, 1 'Saepius me iam agitas, quod rem gestam Dolabellae nimis in caelum videar efferre;' *ib.* 6. 2, 9 'Salamini nos in caelum decretis suis sustulerant.'

14. Memineramus . . . videramus. Cicero was about 20 years old when Cinna was in power (87–84 B.C.), but it was during the dictatorship of Sulla (82–79 B.C.) that he first came forward into public life: cp. 5. 6, 17 'Cinnam meminini, vidi Sullam, modo Caesarem.'

16. Nec ita multi, 'and not so very many:' not by way of direct comparison with those of Antony, but absolutely, to show that Caesar had a certain moderation in his lawlessness.

Barbaria, 'Asiatic despotism' (*Halm*).

17. Lecticas. Cp. 5. 6, 18 'Lecticae collocabantur, non quo illa scuta occulta esse vellet, sed ne familiares, si scuta ipsi ferrent, laborarent.'

21. At iste, &c. The connection of the clauses is not very clear; 'qui . . . egeret' is explanatory; 'statimque . . . effecit' answers to 'neque desideravit quemquam:' cp. *Cat.*

quam, et potius discessu nostro laetatus est, statimque illa mirabilia facinora effecit. Qui chirographa Caesaris defendisset lucri sui causa, is leges Caesaris easque praeclaras, ut rem publicam concutere posset, evertit. Numerum annorum provinciis prorogavit, idemque, cum actorum Caesaris defensor esse deberet, et in publicis et in privatis rebus acta Caesaris rescidit. In publicis nihil est lege gravius, in privatis firmissimum est testamentum. Leges alias sine promulgatione sustulit, alias ut tolleret, promulgavit. Testamentum irritum fecit, quod etiam infimis civibus semper obtentum est. Signa, tabulas, quas populo Caesar una cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos Pompei deportavit, partim in villam Scipionis.

- 43 Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligens? tu illum amas mortuum?
110 Quem is honorem maiorem consecutus erat, quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem? Est ergo flamen, ut Iovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Iulio M. Antonius. Quid

2. 13, 28 'Perficiam . . . ut neque bonus quisquam intereat paucorumque poena vos omnes salvi esse possitis;' and 'et . . . laetatus est' is parenthetical. 'Yet Antony, standing in no need of a senate, showed no dismay at anybody's absence, being indeed rather rejoiced at our departure, and immediately carried out his marvellous atrocities.' Halm reads 'sed . . . laetatus est,' but on no authority, and the intervening 'et' perhaps accounts for the unusual combination of 'neque . . . que.' See Madv. § 458 c.

4. Numerum annorum. See 1. 8, 19 note, and 5. 3, 7.

8. Sine promulgatione sustulit, 'he abolished without ever publishing the "abrogatio."' Cicero complains of the same irregularity in the opposite direction, 1. 10, 25 'illae enim (leges) sine ulla promulgatione latae sunt ante quam scriptae.'

Alias . . . promulgavit, 'to abolish other laws, he published bills to a contrary effect;' as in the case of the 'iudicium,' when Caesar had reduced the 'decuriae' to two, and Antony proposed a law reconstituting a third.

10. Obtentum est, 'has ever been maintained, even in the interests of the lowest citizens.' Cp. Tusc. 5. 41, 118 'lex, quae in Graecorum convivii obtinetur.' 'Civibus' is a 'dativus commodi.'

11. Cum hortis. These were on the Etruscan side of the Tiber, (cp. Hor. S. 1. 9, 18 'Trans Tiberim longe cubat is, prope Caesaris hortos,') below the city, about a

mile distant from the Porta Portuensis.

c. 43. And even in his love for Caesar he was not consistent. He was Caesar's flamen, the minister of the divine honours lately voted to him. Now was the time for the celebration of his festival, yet Antony was not preparing for the task. To account for this neglect far clearer eloquence was needed than his grandfather's, who however never clothed his thoughts in so thin a disguise as Antony had worn at the Lupercalia.

15. Pulvinar, &c., 'a couch to support his image at the "lectisternium," an image to adorn his temple, a temple with a pediment, a special priest to do him service.' Cp. Flor. 4. 2 'Non ingratis civibus, omnes unum in principem congesti honores: circa templa imagines; in theatro distincta radiis corona; suggestus in curia; fastigium in domo; mensis in caelo.'

Simulacrum is generally, like 'signum,' the statue of a god, but not universally: see Verr. Act. 2. 2. 65, 159 'Forsitan vix convenire videretur, quem ipsum hominem cuperent (Rhodii) evertere, eius (sc. Mithridatis) effigiem simulacrumque servare.'

16. Ut Iovi, &c. The Flamines of these three gods were always patricians, and were called 'flamines maiores.' Hence the bathos of the descent, from Jupiter to Caesar, from the flamen Dialis to Antony. Antony had sought and obtained this office of flamen during Caesar's life, but had not been consecrated, and after Caesar's death had shrunk from it.

igitur cessas? cur non inauguraris? Sume diem, vide qui te inauguret: collegae sumus; nemo negabit. O detestabilem hominem, sive quod Caesaris sacerdos es, sive quod mortui! Quaero deinceps, num hodiernus dies qui sit ignotes? Nescis heri quartum in circo diem ludorum Romanorum fuisse? te autem ipsum ad populum tulisse ut quintus praeterea dies Caesari tribueretur? Cūr non sumus praetextati? cur honorem Caesaris tua lege datum deserī patimur? an supplicationes addendo diem contaminari passus es, pulvinaria contaminari noluisti? Aut undique religionem tolle aut usque quaque conserva. Quaeris placeatne mihi pulvinar esse, fastigium, flaminem. Mihi vero nihil istorum placet: sed tu, qui acta Caesaris defendis, quid potes dicere cur alia defendas, alia non cures? nisi forte vis fateri te omnia quaestu tuo, non illius dignitate metiri. Quid ad haec tandem?—exspecto enim eloquentiam tuam: disertissimum cognovi avum tuum, at te etiam apertiore in dicendo; ille numquam nudus est contionatus, tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus—: respondebisne ad haec aut omnino hiscere audebis? ecquid reperies ex tam longa oratione mea, cui te respondere posse confidas?

Sed praeterita omittamus: hunc unum diem, unum, inquam, hodiernum diem, hoc punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, si potes. Cur armatorum corona senatus saeptus est? cur me tui

3. Mortui. See on 1. 6, 13.

5. In Circo. The 'Ludi Romani in Circo' appear to have been a continuation, after two days' interval, of the 'Ludi Magni': these latter lasting from the 4th to the 12th of September, the former generally from the 15th to the 18th, but this year, in honour of Caesar, was added the 19th, on which day Cicero represents himself as speaking.

8. Supplicationes, &c., 'were you so inconsistent, that, while permitting the profanation of the supplications, by allowing one in honour of a dead man, you respected the "lectisternium" too much to allow a mortal to encroach upon it?' The clause 'supplicationes ... passus es,' though grammatically parallel to 'pulvinaria ... noluisti,' is really subordinate. This arrangement, called by the grammarians 'parataxis,' is common in Greek. See Dissen on Dem. Cor. p. 281, 7 αἰσχρὸν ἐστίν, ὃ ἄνθρωπος Ἀθηναῖος, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴδὲ τοῦτ' λόγους ἀνέφεσθε; and cp. Cic. Tusc. 5. 32, 90 'An Scythas Anacharis potuit pro nihilo pecuniam ducere, nostrates philosophi facere non potuerunt?'

16. Apertiore in dicendo, 'you showed less reserve.' Cicero plays on the double meaning of 'apertus,' referring to Antony's naked harangue at the Lupercalia (see c. 34, 86), and to his openness of speech. Cp. pro Mur. 25, 51 'Ille, ut semper fuit, apertissimus, non se purgavit, sed indicavit atque induit.'

18. Hiscere, 'to gasp out broken words.' Cp. Virg. Aen. 3. 314

'Vix pauca furenti
Subiicio, et raris turbatus vocibus
hisco.'

c. 44. Even while Cicero was speaking, Antony was acting unconstitutionally in blockading the senate with a mercenary force. At the best, it was mistaken policy, since love, not terror, was the best protection for a Roman magistrate; and if he used a tyrant's arms, Romans would never forget, and never shrink from following the glorious examples of those who, in the spirit of their ancestors, asserted with the sword the sacred cause of liberty.

22. Cur armatorum, &c. See on c. 18, 46.

satellites cum gladiis audiunt? cur valvae Concordiae non patent? cur homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros, Itryaeos, cum sagittis deducis in forum? Praesidii sui causa se facere dicit. Non igitur miliens perire est melius quam in sua civitate sine armatorum praesidio non posse vivere? Sed nullum est istud, 5 mihi crede, praesidium: caritate te et benevolentia civium saeptum 113 oportet esse, non armis. Eripiet et extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus, utinam salvis nobis / sed quoquo modo nobiscum egeris, dum istis consiliis uteris, non potes, mihi crede, esse diuturnus. Etenim ista tua minime avara coniunx, quam ego sine contumelia 10 describo, nimium diu debet populo Romano tertiam pensionem. Habet populus Romanus ad quos gubernacula rei publicae deferat: qui ubicumque terrarum sunt, ibi omne est rei publicae praesidium vel potius ipsa res publica, quae se adhuc tantum modo ulta est, nondum recuperavit. Habet quidem certe res publica adolescentes 15 nobilissimos, paratos defensores: quam volent illi cedant otio consulentes, tamen a re publica revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res salutaris; sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum interest. Pax est tranquilla libertas, servitus postremum malorum omnium, non modo bello, sed morte etiam repellendum. 114 Quod si se ipsos illi nostri liberatores e conspectu nostro abstu-

2. Itryaeos. See on c. 8, 19.

5. Sed nullum, &c. Cp. i. 14, 33; and Off. 2. 7, 25 'Nec vero ulla vis imperii tanta est, quae premente metu possit esse diuturna; Pliny Pan. 49, 3 'Frustra se terrore succinxerit, qui septus caritate non fuerit: armis enim arma irritantur.'

8. Salvis nobis, 'without destroying the leaders of the senatorial party.'

10. Minime avara coniunx, 'most liberal of wives.' She had sacrificed two husbands to the Roman people already—P. Clodius and C. Curio;—the third and last instalment of her debt was overdue. 'Pensio' is the technical word for instalments to be paid at regular intervals, and is especially applied to the restitution of the dowry of a divorced wife by her husband, which he was required to make in three annual payments.

Sine contumelia. See on c. 12, 30.

12. Ad quos, sc. Brutus and Cassius, and the other conspirators.

14. Ipsa res publica. Cp. Thuc. 7. 77, 7 ἡ πόλις γὰρ πόλις καὶ οὐ τεύχεα οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεφαλ.

15. Nondum recuperavit, having

merely exchanged the yoke of Caesar for that of Antony.

Adolescentes. Brutus and Cassius were both upwards of 40 years old, Brutus having been born in 85 B.C., and Cassius having been quaestor, and therefore at least 32, in 53 B.C. See on c. 21, 52.

16. Quam volent illi cedant, 'let them retire as far as they will,' 'however far they shall retire.' Cp. de Div. i. 26, 56 'Quam vellet cunctaretur, tamen eodem sibi leto, quo ipse interisset, esse pereundum.' This transitional usage, in which the verb, though still conjugated, has yet nearly the same force as the conjunction 'quamvis,' illustrates both the original meaning of that conjunction, 'in whatever degree,' 'however much,' and also the reason of its ordinary construction with the subjunctive. Similarly we find 'licebit' with nearly the force of 'licet' in its conjunctive use, in Hor. Epod. 15, 19 'Sis pecore et multo dives tellure licebit,' 'you may be rich, for aught I care;' and Ov. Trist. 5. 14, 3 'Detrahat auctori multum fortuna licebit.'

18. Inter pacem, &c. Cp. Livy 10. 17 'Petisse pacem (Samnites) a populo Romano,

lerunt, at exemplum facti reliquerunt. Illi, quod nemo fecerat, fecerunt. Tarquinius Brutus bello est persecutus, qui tum rex fuit, cum esse Romae licebat; Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius propter suspicionem regni appetendi sunt necati: hi primum
 5 cum gladiis non in regnum appetentem, sed in regnantem impetum fecerunt. Quod cum ipsum factum per se praeclarum est atque divinum, tum expositum ad imitandum est, praesertim cum illi eam gloriam consecuti sint, quae vix caelo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi facti fructus erat,
 10 tamen mortali immortalitatem non arbitror esse contemnendam.

Recordare igitur illum, M. Antoni, diem, quo dictaturam **45** sustulisti; pone ante oculos laetitiam senatus populique Romani, **115** confer cum hac immani nundinatione tua tuorumque: tum intelliges quantum inter lucrum et laudem intersit. Sed nimirum,
 15 ut quidam morbo aliquo et sensus stupore suavitatem cibi non sentiunt, sic libidinosi, avari, facinerosi verae laudis gustatum non habent. Sed si te laus allicere ad recte faciendum non potest, ne metus quidem a foedissimis factis potest avocare? Iudicia non metuis. Si propter innocentiam, laudo: sin propter
 20 vim, non intelligis, qui isto modo iudicia non timeat, ei quid timendum sit. Quod si non metuis viros fortes egregiosque cives, **116** quod a corpore tuo prohibentur armis, tui te, mihi crede, diutius non ferent. Quae est autem vita dies et noctes timere a suis? nisi vero aut maioribus habes beneficiis obligatos, quam ille
 25 quosdam habuit ex iis, a quibus est interfectus, aut tu es ulla

cum bellum tolerare non possent: rebellasse, quod pax servientibus gravior, quam liberis bellum, esset.

4. Primum. So Halm, following the Vatican MS., for 'primi.' He compares 9. 6, 13 'Statua . . . qualis L. Sullae primum statuta est;' and Cat. 3, 6, 15 'Quod mihi primum . . . togato contigit.'

9. Etsi enim satis, &c. Cp. pro Mil. 35, 97 'Addit haec . . . fortes et sapientes viros non tam praemia sequi solere recte factorum, quam ipsa recte facta . . . sed tamen ex omnibus praemiis virtutis, si esset habenda ratio praemiorum, amplissimum esse praemium gloriam.'

cc. 45, 46. Finally, Cicero adjures him to return to better counsels, as the safest policy. Caesar was in every way a nobler man than Antony, his friends were personally devoted to him; yet he fell by the hands of those very friends, because he placed him-

self before the laws. Antony should take warning by his fate; his armed adherents would not long be faithful to him; the example of tyrannicide was fresh among the citizens; and Cicero himself would rather die to free the state from slavery than live when life had lost the sweetness which is only found in liberty.

11. Igitur, as with your present counsels you cannot long be safe.

Dictaturam sustulisti. See 1. 2, 4 note.

13. Cum hac immani nundinatione. So Halm from the unintelligible reading of the Vatican MS., 'cum hac immanum latione.' Cp. c. 14, 35. Kayser adopts a conjecture of Jeep's: 'Cum hac immani mutatione.' The other MSS. have 'Cum nundatione.'

25. Quosdam. Notably C. Trebonius and L. Tillius Cimber; see c. 11, 27. M.

re cum eo comparandus. Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, litterae, cura, cogitatio, diligentia; res bello gesserat quamvis rei publicae calamitosas, at tamen magnas; multos annos regnare meditatus magno labore, multis periculis quod cogitarat effecerat; muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, epulis multitudinem imperi-
 tam delenierat; suos praemiis, adversarios clementiae specie devin-
 46 xerat: quid multa? attulerat iam liberae civitati partim
 117 metu, partim patientia consuetudinem serviendi. Cum illo ego
 te dominandi cupiditate conferre possum, ceteris vero rebus nullo
 modo comparandus es. Sed ex plurimis malis, quae ab illo rei 10
 publicae sunt inusta, hoc tamen boni est, quod didicit iam populus
 Romanus, quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a
 quibus caveret. Haec non cogitas? neque intelligis satis esse
 viris fortibus didicisse, quam sit re pulchrum, beneficio gratum,
 fama gloriosum tyrannum occidere? An, cum illum homines non 15
 118 tulerint, te ferent? Certatim posthac, mihi crede, ad hoc opus
 curretur neque occasionis tarditas expectabitur.

Respice, quaeso, aliquando [rem publicam, M. Antoni]; quibus

Brutus and C. Cassius were bound to Caesar by the same obligation as Cicero to Antony, that he had spared their lives.

1. Ingenium, ratio, 'genius and method.'

Memoria. Abrami compares pro Deiot. 15, 42 'Memoriam tuam implorat, quae vales plurimum.'

2. Litterae. Besides his histories, Caesar was famous as an orator. See Cic. Brut. 72, 252; Quint. 10. 1, 114 'C. Caesar si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur'; Tac. Ann. 13. 3 'Caesar summis oratoribus aemulus'; and he also wrote works on the Latin language (de Analogia), on the movements of the stars, and on the auspices.

5. Muneribus gladiatoriiis. Especially a very splendid show on the occasion of his daughter's death; Suet. Jul. 26; cp. *ib.* 39.

Monumentis. The chief public buildings of Caesar were the Forum Iulium, to the north of the Forum Romanum, enclosing a temple of Venus Genetrix (Pliny N. H. 35. 12, 45); the Basilica Iulia (completed by Augustus), whose area, paved with precious marbles, has recently been uncovered, on the south side of the Forum Romanum; and the Circus Maximus, which he extended to the dimensions of three stadia in length,

and one in breadth, and completed with great magnificence (*ib.* 36. 15, 102).

Congiaris. The 'congius' being a liquid measure (holding about three quarts), 'congiaria' were strictly largesses of wine or oil, but the word was afterwards applied to presents of money: cp. Suet. Tib. 20 'Populo congiarium trecentos nummos viritum dedit.' Though generally used of presents to the people (id. Ner. 7 'Populo congiarium, militi donativum proposuit'), yet Cicero applies it to a largess offered by Antony to the legions from Macedonia (Att. 16. 8, 2 'Congiarium ab Antonio accipere noluerunt').

11. Inusta, 'whose brand he has indelibly impressed upon the state.' The term appears to combine the two notions of compulsory infliction, and indelible impression. Cp. Livy 9. 3 'Vivet semper in pectoribus illorum, quidquid istuc praesens necessitas inusserit.' So Cic. Cat. 1. 6, 13 'Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis non inusta vitae tuae est?'

12. A quibus caveret, 'against whom he should be on his guard.'

18. Respice, &c. The Vatican reading is 'Respice quaeso ali quibus, &c.', with a small lacuna after 'ali,' too small, apparently, to leave room for the words in brackets, which are found in the other MSS.

ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas considera; mecum, uti voles: redi cum re publica in gratiam. Sed de te tu videris, ego de me ipse profitebor. Defendi rem publicam adolescens, non deseram senex: contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam
 5 corpus libenter obtulerim, si repraesentari morte mea libertas civitatis potest, ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat, quod iam diu parturit. Etenim si abhinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso
 110 in templo negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius nunc negabo seni! Mihi vero, patres conscripti, iam
 10 etiam optanda mors est, perfuncto rebus iis, quas *adeptus sum quasque gessi*. Duo modo haec opto, *unum*, ut moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam—hoc mihi maius ab dis immortalibus dari nihil potest—; alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de re publica quisque mereatur.

Halm, in his school edition of 1858, omits them. Kayser, following Jeep, reads 'Resipisce.'

1. Mecum, uti voles, sc. 'be reconciled to me ('in gratiam redibis') or not as you will.' Abrami compares Livy 8. 35 'Mecum, ut voles, reverteris in gratiam.' The use of the future, where we less accurately use the present, is to be noticed, cp. c. 44, 113 'quam volent illi cedant.'

5. Repraesentari, 'be *presently* secured.' Cp. Fam. 5. 16, 6 'Neque *expectare* temporis medicinam, quam *repraesentare* ratione possimus.'

7. Abhinc annos viginti. 'Abhinc' is used both with the accusative and ablative, according to Hand (Tursell. 1. 64), with no difference of meaning; but the double use in Cic. pro Rosc. Com. 13, 37 'abhinc annis xv.,' in the oratio obliqua, and in the next line 'repromittis abhinc tri-

ennium Roscio,' in the oratio recta, seems to favour the distinction drawn by Mr. Mayor, that with the accusative it means 'before *this* time,' with the ablative 'before *that* time.' Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 1. 57, 130 'Herodotus... offendit eum mensem qui consequitur mensem comitalem, comitiis iam abhinc diebus triginta factis.'

10. Quas adeptus sum, &c., 'having achieved the honours which I have attained, and the exploits I have performed.' The words in italics Halm thinks of very doubtful genuineness, both from their being added in the Vatican MS. by a later hand, and from the internal evidence of the singular expression 'res adeptus sum,' and the unclassical ring of 'duo modo haec opto.'

13. Cuique... quisque. Cp., for the double 'quisque,' 3. 10, 24 'Ut, quae cuique apta esset, ea cuique obveniret.'

INTRODUCTION

TO THE THIRD ORATION.

THE third oration brings before us a new scene in the struggle between the different parties in the state, and is directed against an attempt on the part of Antony which gave occasion, more or less directly, to all the remaining orations except the eleventh. We have seen that one of the first measures which Antony proposed, after the death of Caesar, was a change in the disposition of the provinces, whereby he was to obtain Macedonia, and Dolabella Syria. Not content with this, he shortly afterwards, probably in July (see Merivale 3. 98), proposed that Macedonia should be transferred to his brother Caius, and that he himself should supplant Decimus Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul, apparently with the object of remaining in command of a powerful force within easy reach of the city. The senate refused to listen to the proposal, but Antony brought it before the people in the 'comitia,' and gained their assent by persuading them that Decimus was preparing to attack the party of Caesar, and uphold the cause of his assassins by force of arms. He also obtained leave to recall four legions from Macedonia, and on the 9th of October proceeded to Brundisium to place himself at their head. On his way he put some soldiers to death at Suessa Auruncorum, and finding at Brundisium that two of the legions, the Martia and Quarta, despised the largess which he offered them, he treacherously massacred their centurions in the presence of his wife. Finding that the troops were not to be depended on, probably owing to the temptations offered by agents of Octavianus, he sent the second and thirty-fifth legions, which still in the main adhered to him, (see 5. 19, 53; Fam. 10. 30, 1), in detachments towards Cisalpine Gaul, appointing a rendezvous at Ariminum; and returned himself to Rome, at the head of the Gaulish legion Alauda, which he had probably brought with him from Rome; as we know that it was there in the earlier part of the summer (Att. 16. 8, 2).

Octavianus had meanwhile been levying troops, and winning over the veterans in Campania, by a largess of 500 denarii apiece. By Cicero's advice he returned to Rome, shortly before the arrival of Antony, but finding that the veterans were not yet prepared for open conflict with the Consul, he thought it prudent to retire to Arretium.

Antony left the bulk of his troops at Tibur, but entered the city, contrary to the laws, at the head of an armed force, to whom, as he marched through the streets, he promised the houses and property of

his enemies for plunder. He convened the senate for the 24th of November, denouncing any senator who should absent himself as an enemy to him and to his country. On the appointed day he was himself absent, being, according to Cicero (*Phil.* 3. 8, 20), too drunk to make his appearance. He summoned another meeting in the Capitol for the 28th, at which he forbade three tribunes, whom he knew to be hostile to him, to be present.

The object of the meeting was to denounce the conduct of Octavianus, but when the day arrived his resolution failed him, and the only proposal laid before the senate was for a 'supplicatio' in honour of M. Lepidus. In the midst of the debate on this, a message reached him that the fourth legion had openly declared in favour of Octavianus and joined the Martia, which had already taken up a position at Alba. Feeling that to stay in Rome was dangerous, he took a hurried division on the question before the senate, and hastened to Alba, in hopes of yet recovering the allegiance of his troops. Finding the gates shut against him, he proceeded to Tibur, and confirming the fidelity of the forces there by a present of 2000 sesterces to every soldier, he set forth at their head towards Cisalpine Gaul, with a view of dispossessing Decimus Brutus of his province.

At this juncture Cicero published his second oration, and used the influence which it gave him in strengthening the cause of Octavianus, and inflaming all parties against Antony. On the 20th of December the tribunes, in the absence of both the Consuls, convened the senate for the transaction of some formal business, and to arrange for its safe meeting on the 1st of January; and Cicero availed himself of the occasion to deliver the third Philippic oration.

In it he denounces Antony as a public enemy, declaring that his conduct was worse than that of Tarquin; and having reviewed the lawlessness and cowardice of his proceedings, by which he had forfeited all claim to be regarded as Consul, he exposes the absurdity of his attempt to insult Octavianus by reproaching him with the position of his mother; and ridicules the badness of the Latin of his proclamations. On the other hand he highly extols the conduct of Octavianus, of Decimus Brutus, and the fourth and Martian legions; and he ends his speech by formally proposing that the thanks of the senate should be given them for what they had done, and that the recent changes in the disposition of the provinces should be annulled. His proposals were accepted by the senate, and A. Hirtius and C. Pansa, the Consuls elect, were instructed to take the earliest possible opportunity for carrying them into effect,

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER TERTIUS.

^{1. 11} 1 ^{at least} **SERIOUS** omnino, patres conscripti, quam tempus rei publicae
1 postulabat, aliquando tamen convocati sumus: quod flagitabam
equidem quotidie, quippe cum bellum nefarium contra aras et
focos, contra vitam fortunasque nostras ab homine profligato ac
perdito non comparari, sed geri iam vidērem. Expectantur 5
Kalendae Ianuariae, quas non expectat Antonius, qui in provin-
ciam D. Bruti, summi et singularis viri, cum exercitu impetum
facere conatur; ex qua se instructum et paratum ad urbem ven-
2 turum esse minitatur. Quae est igitur expectatio aut quae vel
minimi dilatio temporis? quamquam enim adsunt Kalendae 10
Ianuariae, tamen breve tempus longum est imparatis. Dies enim
affectu vel hora potius, si nihil provisum est, magnas saepe clades.
Certus autem dies non ut sacrificiis, sic consiliis expectari solet.

c. 1. Cicero urges on the senate that they should take instant action, instead of needlessly waiting for the 1st of January; a dangerous delay, when so unscrupulous an enemy was already actively engaged against the state.

1. *Serius omnino, &c.* In 5. 11, 30 Cicero says that he began to press for the meeting of the senate 'ut primum post discessum latronis vel potius desperatam fugam libere haberi potuit.' Antony, however, had left the city on the 28th of November, and Cicero did not return to it till the 9th of December. The senate was summoned by the tribunes of the commons, who entered on office on the 10th, for the 20th of the same month,

on which day Cicero delivered this oration.

6. In provinciam D. Bruti, sc. Cisalpine Gaul.

12. Si nihil. So Halm, from the Vatican reading, 'nihil.' Vulg. 'nisi.' The sentiment seems to be borrowed from Dem. Phil. 1. p. 50, 24 τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πράττειν χρόνον εἰς τὸ παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσκομεν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι καιροὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν.

13. Sacrificiis is Halm's emendation for the Vatican reading, 'sacrificii sic consiliis.' The other MSS. have 'sacrificii sic consilii.'

Quod si aut Kalendae Ianuariae fuissent eo die, quo primum ex urbe fugit Antonius, aut eae non essent expectatae, bellum iam nullum haberemus. Auctoritate enim senatus consensuque populi Romani facile hominis amentis fregissemus audaciam. Quod
 5 confido equidem consules designatos, simul ut magistratum inierint, esse facturos; sunt enim optimo animo, summo consilio, singulari concordia: mea autem festinatio non victoriae solum avida est, sed etiam celeritatis.

Quo enim usque tantum bellum, tam crudele, tam nefarium
 10 privatis consiliis propulsabitur? cur non quam primum publica accedit auctoritas? C. Caesar adolescens, paene potius puer,
 2 incredibili ac divina quadam mente atque virtute, cum maxime furor arderet Antonii cumque eius a Brundisio crudelis et pestifer reditus timeretur, nec postulantis nec cogitantibus, ne optantibus
 15 quidem nobis quia non posse fieri videbatur, firmissimum exercitum ex invicto genere veteranorum militum comparavit patrimoniumque suum effudit: quamquam non sum usus eo verbo quo debui; non enim effudit: in rei publicae salute collocavit. Cui
 quamquam gratia referri tanta non potest quanta debetur, habenda
 20 tamen est tanta, quantam maximam animi nostri capere possunt. Quis enim est tam ignarus rerum, tam nihil de re publica cogitans,

2. Fugit. Cp. 5. 11, 30, quoted above on § 1.

5. Consules designatos. Aulus Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa, who were to enter office on the 1st of January 43 B.C.

cc. 2, 3. C. Caesar, on his own responsibility, and at his own expense, had saved the state, by giving over the legions at Brundisium, which Antony had hoped to have as instruments of his cruelty, that he might overwhelm the citizens of Rome, as he had murdered the centurions at Brundisium. To C. Caesar therefore, and the soldiers who had shown their patriotism by deserting Antony, thanks, honours, and the confirmation of their deeds were due from the senate.

9. Quo enim usque. For the division of the adverb, cp. Mart. 2. 64, 9 'Eia age, rumpe moras, quo te sperabimus usque?'

10. Privatis consiliis, by the irregular proceedings of Octavianus, which he goes on to describe, and the unauthorised resistance of Dec. Brutus (see c. 4, 8); for both of which thanks are proposed by Cicero in the formal vote which closes this oration.

11. Adolescens. Octavianus was at this time eighteen years of age.

14. Ne optantibus quidem. The Vatican MS. reads 'nec optantibus quidem;' but Madvig (on Cic. Fin. Excursus 3. p. 822 foll.) shows that the expression 'ne... quidem,' never in writers of this age absorbs into itself the copulative conjunction. The only other passages in Cicero where 'nec... quidem' rests on any good authority are de Sen. 9, 27 'nec nunc quidem,' where 'nec... quidem' is a condensation of 'ac non... quidem,' 'nor do I now indeed;' and Nat. Deor. 3. 9, 23 'nec cur animantem quidem esse,' where the 'c' seems due to the initial of the following word. Here he thinks 'nec' has crept in from the double 'nec' preceding. Halm admits his reasoning, and reads 'ne... quidem.' See also Hand's Tursellinus, 4. 162 foll.

16. Patrimonium... effudit. Octavianus expended, or rather invested, 'collocavit,' his private means in giving the veterans 500 denarii apiece. Cp. Att. 16. 8, 1 'Veteranos, quique Casilini et Calatinae sunt, perduxit ad suam sententiam. Nec mirum: quingenos denarios dat.'

qui hoc non intelligat, si M. Antonius a Brundisio cum iis copiis, quas se habiturum putabat, Romam, ut minabatur, venire potuisset, nullum genus eum crudelitatis praeteriturum fuisse? quippe qui in hospitis tectis Brundisii fortissimos viros optimosque cives iugulari iusserit; quorum ante pedes eius morientium sanguine os uxoris, respersum esse constabat. Hac ille crudelitate imbutus, cum multo bonis omnibus veniret iratior, quam illis fuerat, quos trucidat, cui tandem nostrum aut cui omnino bono pepercisset? Quae peste privato consilio rem publicam—neque enim fieri potuit aliter—Caesar liberavit. Qui nisi in hac re publica natus esset, rem publicam scelere Antonii nullam haberemus. Sic enim perspicio, sic iudico, nisi unus adolescens illius furentes impetus crudelissimosque conatus cohibuisset, rem publicam funditus interituram fuisse. Cui quidem hodierno die, patres conscripti,—nunc enim primum ita convenimus, ut illius beneficio possemus ea, quae sentiremus, libere dicere—tribuenda est auctoritas, ut rem publicam non modo a se susceptam, sed etiam a nobis commendatam possit defendere.

3 Nec vero de legione Martia, quoniam longo intervallo loqui nobis de re publica licet, sileri potest. Quis enim unus fortior, quis amior umquam rei publicae fuit quam legio Martia universa? quae cum hostem populi Romani Antonium iudicasset, comes esse eius amentiae noluit: reliquit consulem, quod profecto non fecisset, si eum consulem iudicasset, quem nihil aliud agere, nihil moliri nisi caedem civium atque interitum civitatis videret. Atque ea legio consedit Albae. Quam potuit urbem eligere aut opportuniorem ad res gerundas aut fideliorem aut fortium virorum

4. Fortissimos viros. 'Martiae legionis centuriones' 13. 8, 18. The massacre however was not confined to the centurions, unless Cicero in c. 4, 10 of this oration exaggerates the number ('Brundisii ad trecentos fortissimos viros civesque optimos trucidavit'), as there were only 60 centurions to a legion. Cp. also 5. 8, 22.

7. Bonis omnibus. So the Vatican MS. Halm, following an early conjecture, reads 'nobis,' as agreeing better with the context. The other MSS. have 'bonis hominibus.'

9. Privato consilio, 'on his own responsibility.'

10. Caesar. So henceforward Cicero designates Octavianus.

16. Ut rempublicam, &c., 'that he may assume the defence of the state, not merely as an office voluntarily taken on himself, but as a charge entrusted to him by the senate.'

26. Consedit Albae, at Alba Longa, on the east shore of the Alban Lake, and only fourteen miles from Rome. It was the news of this occupation of Alba that had induced Antony hurriedly to leave the city (see on c. 1, 1). When he found that he could not shake the resolution of the Martian legion, he retired to Tibur, and thence proceeded towards Cisalpine Gaul.

27. Fortium... amicorum. This is the reading of the Vatican MS., defended (though not adopted) by Wernsdorf, who shows

aut amicorum rei publicae civium? Huius legionis virtutem 7
imitata quarta legio duce L. Egnatuleio quaestore, civi optimo et
fortissimo, C. Caesaris auctoritatem atque exercitum persecuta est.
Faciendum est igitur nobis, patres conscripti, ut ea, quae sua
s sponte clarissimus adolescens atque omnium praestantissimus
gessit et gerit, haec auctoritate nostra comprobentur, veterano-
rumque, fortissimorum virorum, tum legionis Martiae quartaeque
mirabilis consensus ad rem publicam recuperandam laude et testi-
monio nostro confirmetur, eorumque commoda, honores, praemia,
10 cum consules designati magistratum inierint, curae nobis fore
hodierno die spondeamus.

Atque ea quidem, quae dixi de Caesare deque eius exercitu, 4
iam diu nota sunt nobis. Virtute enim admirabili Caesaris
constantiaque militum veteranorum legionumque earum, quae
15 optimo iudicio auctoritatem vestram, libertatem populi Romani,
virtutem Caesaris secutae sunt, a cervicibus nostris est depulsus
Antonius. Sed haec, ut dixi, superiora: hoc vero recens edictum
D. Bruti, quod paulo ante propositum est, certe silentio non potest
praeteriri. Pollicetur enim se provinciam Galliam retenturum
20 in senatus populiue Romani potestate. O civem natum rei

that Cicero's meaning probably is 'what city that contains either brave citizens or friendly allies could have been found either more convenient or more to be depended on?' Bravery and good feeling towards Rome were necessary conditions in the citizens of the place which they should occupy;—of the cities which exhibited these the veterans might choose the most convenient. Halm adopts the reading of the Junta edition (1515), which is slightly altered from the other MSS., 'aut fortiorum virorum aut amiciorum.' This however has evidently arisen from not distinguishing the independence of the two pairs of 'aut . . . aut.'

2. Civi. So the Vatican MS. here, and 5. 19, 52, and the other MSS. in c. 15, 39. Priscian, 7. 13, 68, brings several passages (e.g. pro Sest. 12, 12 'quod ausus esset pro civi, pro bene merito civi') to prove that this form of the ablative is used by Cicero.

3. Persecuta est, 'attached itself to the army under C. Caesar's command.'

4. Ea . . . haec. For this redundant use of 'haec,' to recall emphatically to mind the subject which had been separated from its verb by an intervening relative clause, cp. 7. 5, 15 'cogitatis enim, qui Mutinam,

coloniam populi Romani firmissimam, oppugnavit . . . hunc in eum ordinem recipi;' and contrariwise de Orat. 2. 28, 125 'haec ipsa, quae nunc ad me delegare vis, ea semper in te eximia fuerunt.' See Madv. § 489 a.

c. 4. More recently Decimus Brutus, following the example of his ancestor, who drove out a king for merely being proud, had published an edict, maintaining the liberty and authority of the state, menaced now by Antony, who in wickedness, arbitrary self-assumption, and contempt of all religion, in meanness, cruelty, and disloyalty, went beyond the worst that any man had ventured to assert of Tarquin.

17. Edictum D. Bruti. Cicero tells Decimus Brutus himself (Fam. 11. 6, a) that the sight of this edict was what induced him to come into the senate on the day when this oration was delivered: 'Nefas esse duxi aut ita haberi senatum, ut de tuis divinis in rempublicam meritis sileretur—quod factum esset, nisi ego venissem—aut, etiam si quid de te honorifice diceretur, me non adesse.'

20. In potestate. So Halm, following the Vatican MS. Orelli, from the other

publicae, memorem sui nominis imitatoremq̃ue maiorum! Neque enim Tarquinio expulso maioribus nostris tam fuit optata libertas, quam est depulso iam Antonio retinenda nobis. Illi regibus parere iam a condita urbe didicerant: nos post reges exactos servitutis oblivio ceperat. Atque ille Tarquinius, quem maiores nostri non tulerunt, non crudelis, non impius, sed superbus est habitus et dictus: quod nos vitium in privatis saepe tulimus, id maiores nostri ne in rege quidem ferre potuerunt. L. Brutus regem superbum non tulit: D. Brutus sceleratum atque impium regnare patietur Antonium? Quid Tarquinius tale, qualia innumerabilia et facit et fecit Antonius? Senatum etiam reges habebant: nec tamen, ut Antonio senatum habente, in consilio regis versabantur barbari armati. Servabant auspicia reges; quae hic consul augurque neglexit, neque solum legibus contra auspicia ferendis, sed etiam collega una ferente eo, quem ipse ementitis auspiciis vitiosum fecerat. Quis autem rex umquam fuit tam insignite impudens, ut haberet omnia commoda, beneficia, iura regni venalia? Quam hic immunitatem, quam civitatem, quod praemium non vel singulis hominibus vel civitatibus vel universis provinciis vendidit? Nihil humile de Tarquinio, nihil sordidum accepimus: at vero huius domi inter quasilla pendebatur aurum, numerabatur pecunia; unā in domo omnes, quorum intererat, totum imperium populi Romani nundinabantur. Supplicia vero

MSS., reads 'in potestatem,' a construction which is found after 'esse' and 'habere' in a few legal and political expressions: cp. Div. in Q. Caec. 20, 66 'quae in amicitiam populi Romani dicionemque essent.' See Madv., § 230. Obs. 2.

1. Imitatorem maiorum. See I. 6, 13 note.

Neque enim Tarquinio, &c., 'nor indeed was the desire of our ancestors to gain liberty on the expulsion of Tarquinius so great as should be our desire to retain it by throwing off the yoke of Antony.'

6. Non crudelis. Yet cp. Flor. I. 7 'Ipse in senatum caedibus, in omnes superbia, quae crudelitate gravior est bonis, grassatus, cum saevitiam domi fatigasset, tandem in hostes conversus est. . . . Tum quoque cruentus in suos;' Livy I. 49 'Metu regnum tutandum esset: quem ut pluribus incuteret . . . occidere, in exilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil aliud quam praedam sperare posset.'

9. Sceleratum atque impium regnare, 'to play the part of a king both impious and wicked.'

13. Barbari armati. See 2. 8, 19 note.

15. Collega una ferente, 'proposing them in conjunction with Dolabella, whose election he had nullified.' See on 2. 33, 82.

16. Tam insignite impudens, 'so egregiously devoid of shame.'

18. Immunitatem. See on I. 1, 3.

20. Nihil humile, &c. Of the value of such commendation from the mouth of Cicero we may judge from a comparison of I. 13, 33, where he uses exactly the same expressions of Antony: 'nihil umquam in te sordidum, nihil humile cognovi.'

21. Inter quasilla. 'Domesticis nundinis,' 2. 36, 92; 'in gynaeceio,' *ib.* 37, 95. 'Quasillum' (whence the contracted form 'quallum') is especially used of women's spinning baskets; cp. Prop. 5. 7, 41 'Et graviora rependit iniquis pensa quasillis.'

in cives Romanos nulla Tarquinii accepimus: at hic et Suessae iugulavit eos, quos in custodiam dederat, et Brundisii ad trecentos fortissimos viros civesque optimos trucidavit. Postremo Tarquinus pro populo Romano bellum gerebat tum, cum est expulsus: 5 Antonius contra populum Romanum exercitum adducebat tum, cum a legionibus relictus nomen Caesaris exercitumque pertimuit neglectisque sacrificiis sollempnibus ante lucem vota ea, quae numquam solveret, nuncupavit, et hoc tempore in provinciam populi Romani conatur invadere. Maius igitur a D. Bruto beneficium 10 populus Romanus et habet et exspectat, quam maiores nostri acceperunt a L. Bruto, principe huius maxime conservandi generis et nominis. Cum autem omnis servitus est misera, tum vero 5 intolerabilis est servire impuro, impudico, effeminato, numquam 12 ne in metu quidem sobrio. Hunc igitur qui Galliā prohibet, 15 privato praesertim consilio, iudicat verissimeque iudicat non esse consulem. Faciendum est igitur nobis, patres conscripti, ut D. Bruti privatum consilium auctoritate publica comprobemus. Nec vero M. Antonium consulem post Lupercalia debuistis putare. Quo enim ille die populo Romano inspectante nudus, unctus, 20 ebrius est contionatus et id egit ut collegae diadema imponeret,

1. Suessae. Cp. 4. 2, 4; 13. 8, 18. This massacre seems to have taken place when Antony was on his way to Brundisium.

2. Ad trecentos. See on c. 2, 4.

4. Pro populo Romano. Against the Rutulians of Ardea. Livy 1. 57.

7. Vota nuncupavit, 'uttered solemn vows.' 'Vota nuncupata' were those which Consuls and praetors made in solemn form, on their departure for their provinces, and they were generally registered in the presence of many witnesses. Cp. Livy 41. 10 'Cum consul more maiorum, secundum vota in Capitolio nuncupata, paludatus profectus ab Urbe esset.'

Quae numquam solveret, 'which he was never doomed to pay;' i.e. Cicero expresses his belief that Antony's prayers would not be granted, and that so he would not be obliged to pay his vows; as in the case of Pallas, 'nil iam caelestibus ullis debentem' Virg. Aen. 11. 51.

8. In provinciam... invadere, 'to usurp by force.' Cp. 11. 2, 4 'In Galliam invasit Antonius, in Asiam Dolabella, in alienam uterque provinciam.'

c. 5. *It was true that he was nominally Consul, but on this score he had forfeited all*

right, by offering to become the slave of Caesar, in the hope that he might one day emulate his despotism. Therefore the senate ought to honour Brutus for resisting him, and with Brutus all Cisalpine Gaul, which had come forward with the utmost unanimity to defend the authority of that senate, which had now met to take measures for its own protection.

13. Intolerabilis. So Halm, from almost all the MSS. 'Servitus' is easily supplied from the preceding clause. Vulg. 'intolerabile.'

14. Ne in metu quidem sobrio. Plutarch records his wonderful power of abstinence under pressure, Ant. 17 'Ο δ' οὐν Ἀντώνιος τότε θαυμαστὸν ἦν παρὰ δέγμα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀπὸ τρυφῆς τοσούτης καὶ πολυτελείας ὅσῳ τε πίνων διεφθαρμένον ἐκδόλως καὶ καρποῦς ἀγρίους καὶ ῥίζας προσφερόμενος.

15. Privato consilio. Cp. c. 1, 3 note.

18. Lupercalia. See 2. 34, 84 note.

20. Id egit ut imponeret, 'used every effort to crown his colleague.' So 2. 34, 85 'imponebas,' 'again and again you tried to crown him.'

eo die se non modo consulatu, sed etiam libertate abdicavit. Esset enim ipsi certe statim serviendum, si Caesar ab eo regni insignia accipere voluisset. Hunc igitur ego consulem, hunc civem Romanum, hunc liberum, hunc denique hominem putem, qui foedo illo et flagitioso die et quid pati C. Caesare vivo posset 5
 13 et quid eo mortuo consequi ipse cuperet ostendit? Nec vero de virtute, constantia, gravitate provinciae Galliae taceri potest. Est enim ille flos Italiae, illud firmamentum imperii populi Romani, illud ornamentum dignitatis. Tantus autem est consensus municipiorum coloniarumque provinciae Galliae, ut omnes ad 10 auctoritatem huius ordinis maiestatemque populi Romani defendendam conspirasse videantur. Quam ob rem, tribuni pl., quamquam vos nihil aliud nisi de praesidio, ut senatum tuto consules Kalendis Ianuariis habere possent, rettulistis, tamen mihi videmini in magno consilio atque optima mente potestatem nobis de tota re publica 15 fecisse dicendi. Cum enim tuto haberi senatum sine praesidio non posse iudicavistis, tum statuistis etiam intra muros Antonii scelus audaciamque versari.
 6 Quam ob rem omnia mea sententia complectar, vobis, ut
 14 intelligo, non invitis, ut et praestantissimis ducibus a nobis detur 20 auctoritas, et fortissimis militibus spes ostendatur praemiorum,

8. Ille flos Italiae. For this attraction of the demonstrative out of the gender of the noun which it represents into that of the predicate cp. Virg. Aen. 7, 4 'si qua est ea gloria,' *ib.* 10. 828 'si qua est ea fama.' A similar usage is also found in Greek, as Aesch. Prom. 754 αὐτῇ γὰρ (sc. τὸ θανεῖν) ἦν ἂν πημάτων ἀπαλλαγὴ. See Madv. § 313; and Riddell on Plat. Apol. p. 195.

10. Municipiorum coloniarumque. By the 'Lex Iulia,' passed in the consulship of L. Julius Caesar, 90 B.C., all the allied towns in Italy and Gallia Cispadana received the Roman 'civitas,' and became 'municipia.' In 49 B.C. the dictator Caesar extended this privilege to the 'transpadani,' so that it is not easy to see what distinction is here implied between 'municipia' and 'coloniae.' Most probably by 'coloniae' he means to distinguish those cities which were 'coloniae' before they became 'municipia,' as in the oration pro Sest. 14, 32, he preserves the old distinctions: 'nullum erat Italiae municipium, nulla colonia, nulla praefectura, . . . quod non tum honorificentissime

de mea salute decrevisset.' Cp. Phil. 4-3, 7 'municipia, colonias, praefecturas.' So a 'Lex Municipalis' found near Heraclea, probably of the year 45 B.C., contains provisions for the constitutions of the various 'municipia, colonias, praefecturae, fora, conciliabula civium Romanorum.'

14. Rettulistis, 'brought forward a motion.' See on 1. 1, 2.

cc. 6, 7. The honours paid to Brutus and to Gaul would render it imperative to treat Antony as a public enemy, since otherwise they must be rebels against the highest lawfully constituted authority. But he had further shown himself unworthy of his office, by the insulting language of his edicts, in which he found fault with C. Caesar for profligacy peculiar to himself; and reproached him with an origin which many noble senators were proud to claim, and which at least was not inferior to his own. He had even gone out of his way to accuse Cicero's nephew of having meditated parricide, not seeing that his abuse is really praise, just as in his attacks on Cicero himself he never knew whether he was eulogising or injuring him.

et iudicetur non verbo, sed re non modo non consul, sed etiam hostis Antonius. Nam si ille consul, fustuarium meruerunt legiones, quae consulem reliquerunt; sceleratus Caesar, Brutus nefarius, qui contra consulem privato consilio exercitus comparaverunt: si autem militibus exquirendi sunt honores novi propter eorum divinum atque immortale meritum, ducibus autem ne referri quidem potest gratia, quis est qui eum hostem non existimet, quem qui armis persequantur, conservatores rei publicae iudicantur? At quam contumeliosus in edictis! quam barbarus! quam rudis! Primum in Caesarem maledicta congestit deprompta ex recordatione impudicitiae et stuprorum suorum. Quis enim hoc adolescente castior? quis modestior? quod in iuventute habemus illustrius exemplum veteris sanctitatis? quis autem illo, qui male dicit, impurior? Ignobilitatem obiicit C. Caesaris filio, cuius etiam natura pater, si vita suppeditasset, consul factus esset.—Aricina mater.—Trallianam aut Ephesiam putes dicere. Videte quam despiciamur omnes, qui sumus e municipiis, id est omnes plane: quotus enim quisque nostrum non est? Quod autem municipium non contemnit is, qui Aricium tanto opere despicit, vetustate antiquissimum, iure foederatum, propinquitate paene

2. Fustuarium, 'cudgelling to death,' a military punishment described by Polybius, 6. 35 τὸ δὲ τῆς ξυλοκοπίας ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον. λαβὼν ξύλον ὁ χιλιάρχος τοῦ κατακριθέντος ὁλον ἤφατο μόνον. οὐ γενομένου, πάντες οἱ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τύπτοντες τοῖς ξύλοις καὶ τοῖς λίθοις, τοὺς μὲν πλείους ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ στρατοπέδῳ καταβάλλουσι. It was the punishment for deserters, cp. Livy 5. 6 'Fustuarium meretur, qui signa relinquit, aut praesidio recedit.' It must be distinguished both from the 'flagellatio servorum,' and the lighter 'fustium animadversio' to which free civilians were liable. See also Kritze on Sall. fragm. 4. 27.

6. Ne referri quidem potest, 'cannot even be expressed in words.'

8. Persequantur. So Halm, from the Vatican MS. for the ordinary reading 'persequuntur.' The subjunctive seems to be required, as conveying the description of the men who were considered patriots. 'When, if any men pursue him under arms, they are thought to be the saviours of their country.'

13. Qui male dicit. So Halm, from the original reading of the Vatican MS., 'qui maledict.' A corrected reading, followed by the other MS., is 'maledico.'

15. Natura pater. Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 3. 69, 162 'Si est tuus natura filius.' C. Octavius, the father of Octavianus, died when he was only four years old, 58 B.C. He was praetor 61 B.C., which itself secured Octavianus from the reproach of 'ignobilitas,' even if he could not claim to inherit the honours of his adoptive father, all being 'nobiles,' by any of whose ancestors any curule magistracy had been held. Octavius had just returned to Rome before his death, to be a candidate for the consulship.

16. Aricina mater, or Aricia, a Latin town, only 16 miles from Rome (cp. Hor. S. 1. 5. 1; Juv. 4. 117), which had gained the full Roman franchise so early as 340 B.C., at the close of the great Latin war; and therefore not deserving such contemptuous mention, as though it had been a barbarous Asiatic town, like Ephesus or Tralles.

17. Omnes qui sumus: Cicero himself being but a 'municipalis' of Arpinum.

18. Quotus quisque, 'one in every how many?' and so 'how few among the whole of us?'

20. Iure foederatum, 'whose privileges are secured by treaty, not merely granted as favours.'

16 finitimum, splendore municipum honestissimum? Hinc Voconiae, hinc Atiniae leges; hinc multae sellae curules et patrum memoria et nostra; hinc equites Romani lautissimi et plurimi. Sed si Aricinam uxorem non probas, cur probas Tusculanam? Quamquam huius sanctissimae feminae atque optimae pater, M. Atius Balbus, in primis honestus, praetorius fuit: tuae coniugis, bonae feminae, locupletis quidem certe, Bambalio quidam pater, homo nullo numero. Nihil illo contemptius, qui propter haesitantiam linguae stuporemque cordis cognomen ex contumelia traxerat.—At avus nobilis.—Tuditanus nempe ille, qui cum palla et cothurnis annuos populo de rostris spargere solebat. Vellem hanc contumeliam pecuniae suis reliquisset! Habetis nobilitatem generis gloriosam. Qui autem evenit ut tibi † Iulia natus ignobilis videatur, cum tu eodem materno genere soleas gloriari? Quae porro amentia est cum dicere aliquid de uxorum ignobilitate, cuius pater Numitoriam Fregellanam, proditoris filiam, habuerit uxorem, ipse ex libertini filia susceperit liberos? Sed hoc clarissimi viri viderint, L. Philippus, qui habet Aricinam uxorem, C. Marcellus, qui Aricinae filiam: quos certo scio dignitatis optimarum feminarum non paenitere. Idem etiam Q. Ciceronem, fratris mei filium, compellat edicto, nec sentit amens commenda-

1. Hinc Voconiae, hinc Atiniae leges. These laws are mentioned together also in Verr. Act. 1. 42, 109. The 'Lex Voconia de Hereditatibus' was proposed by Q. Voconius Saxa, 169 B.C. Its principal provision was 'ne quis heredem mulierem institueret.' Livy Epit. 41. There were two 'Leges Atiniae,' one 'de rebus furtivis,' passed in 197 B.C., the other probably about 130 B.C., giving senatorial rank to the tribunes of the commons. It is only from this passage that we know that the proposers of any of these laws were natives of Aricia.

4. Tusculanam. M. Fulvius Bambalio (see on 2. 36, 90) being apparently a Tusculan.

6. Praetorius. He was praetor in 62 B.C., and obtained the province of Sardinia.

8. Homo nullo numero. See on 2. 29, 71.

10. Traxerat. So Halm, from the Vatican reading 'tarxerat.' Vulg. 'traxerit,' but the reference being only to the facts of an individual case, the subjunctive is unnecessary.

Tuditanus. Of Tuditanus we know

only what is mentioned in the text. He is quoted by Val. Max. (7. 8, 1) as a notorious madman, but he grounds the fact of his madness on the same story.

Cum palla et cothurnis, 'in full tragic costume.'

13. Iulia natus. So the Vatican MS., though 'natus' nowhere else seems to be used in the sense of 'prognatus.' Hence we have various conjectures: 'Iuliae filia natus,' 'Iuliae nepos,' 'Iuliae nata,' &c. The other MSS. have 'Aricina,' which is inappropriate, as the point of Cicero's argument is that Octavianus, equally with Antony, could boast of being sprung from a Julia.

16. Numitoria was the first wife of M. Antonius Creticus. Her father, Q. Numitorius Pullus, betrayed his native town to the Romans under L. Opimius, 125 B.C.

17. Ex libertini filia, Fadia. See 2. 2, 3 note.

18. L. Philippus married Atia herself, after the death of C. Octavius.

19. C. Marcellus married her daughter Octavia, afterwards the wife of Antony himself.

21. Compellat, 'abuses;' cp. Att. 2. 2,

tionem esse compellationem suam. Quid enim accidere huic adolescenti potuit optatius quam cognosci ab omnibus Caesaris consiliorum esse socium, Antonii furoris inimicum? At etiam 18 gladiator ausus est scribere hunc de patris et patrum parricidio cogitasse. O admirabilem impudentiam, audaciam, temeritatem! in eum adolescentem hoc scribere audere, quem ego et frater meus propter eius suavissimos atque optimos mores praestantissimumque ingenium certatim amamus omnibusque horis oculis, auribus, complexu tenemus! Nam me isdem edictis nescit laedat 10 an laudet. Cum idem supplicium minatur optimis civibus, quod ego de sceleratissimis ac pessimis sumpserim, laudare videtur, quasi imitari velit: cum autem illam pulcherrimi facti memoriam refricat, tum a sui similibus invidiam aliquam in me commoveri putat.

15 Sed quid fecit ipse? Cum tot edicta posuisset, edixit ut ad-8 esset senatus frequens a. d. VIII Kalendas Decembres: eo die 10 ipse non adfuit. At quo modo edixit? Haec sunt, ut opinor, verba in extremo: Si quis non adfuerit, hunc existimare omnes poterunt et interitus mei et perditissimorum 20 consiliorum auctorem fuisse. Quae sunt perditia consilia?

3 'Nigidium minari in contione se iudicem compellaturum esse.'

4. Hunc de patris, &c. By betraying to Caesar their intention of leaving Italy, 49 B.C. Cicero himself laments over the same story of his nephew in a letter to Atticus (10. 4, 6), and though he afterwards had reason to believe the story false (*ib.* 7, 4), yet even then he charges his nephew with excessive avarice, and a little later with arrogance and insolence; while two years afterwards (47 B.C.) he tells Atticus that he has heard that the young man had been expressing himself in madly hostile terms against him (Att. 11. 10, 1).

9. Laedat an laudet, 'whether he is tending to my hurt or to my praise.' The antithesis, as explained in the concluding sentence of the chapter, is less direct than the similarity of sound would lead one to expect, especially as 'laedo' is sometimes used as the contrary of 'laudo,' in the sense of 'to upbraid;' cp. pro Font. 15, 35 'cum laedat nemo bonus, laudent omnes vestri cives atque socii.'

13. Refricat, 'excites afresh;' the metaphor being taken from chafing an old

wound; cp. de Leg. Agr. 3. 2, 4 'Refricare obductam reipublicae cicatricem;' in Pis. 33, 82 'Reipublicae praeterita fata refricabis.' The allusion is to the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy.

c. 8. With similar inconsistency he issued a proclamation, aimed especially at Cicero, requiring all senators, under pain of being held guilty of treason, to attend a meeting on the 24th of November, and when the day came, he was himself absent at a disorderly feast. And on the 28th, when he once more convened the senate, expressly to impeach C. Caesar, he dared not carry out his shameful project, even though by dropping it he convicted himself.

15. Posuisset. I have restored the reading of all the MSS. here, and of the Vatican MS. in 4. 4, 9, because although 'proponere' would be more in accordance with usage in both cases, yet there is sufficient authority for this use of 'ponere' in such expressions as 'tabulas in publico ponere' (pro Flacc. 9, 21); while the usage in 4. 4, 9 finds a parallel in Fam. 9. 15, 4 'cum in mentem venit, ponor ad scribendum.'

an ea, quae pertineant ad libertatem populi Romani recuperandam? quorum consiliorum Caesari me auctorem et hortatorem et esse et fuisse fateor. Quamquam ille non eguit consilio cuiusquam, sed tamen currentem, ut dicitur, incitavi. Nam interitus quidem tui quis bonus non esset auctor, cum eo salus et vita optimi cuiusque, libertas populi Romani dignitasque consisteret? Sed cum tam atroci edicto nos concitavisset, cur ipse non adfuit? Num putatis aliqua re tristi ac severa? vino atque epulis retentus, si illae epulae potius quam popinae nominandae sunt. Diem edicti obire neglexit: in ante diem quartum Kalendas 10 Decembres distulit. Adesse in Capitolio iussit: quod in templum ipse nescio qua per Gallorum cuniculum adscendit. Convenerunt corrogati, et quidem ampli quidam homines, sed immemores dignitatis suae. Is enim erat dies, ea fama, is qui senatum vocarat, ut turpe senatori esset nihil timere. Ad eos tamen ipsos, 15 qui convenerant, ne verbum quidem ausus est facere de Caesare, cum de eo constituisset ad senatum referre: scriptam attulerat 21 consularis quidam sententiam. Quid est aliud de eo referre non audere, qui contra se consulem exercitum duceret, nisi se ipsum hostem iudicare? Necesse erat enim alterutrum esse hostem; 20 nec poterat aliter de adversariis iudicari ducibus. Si igitur Caesar hostis, cur consul nihil referat ad senatum? sin ille a senatu

1. Quae pertineant, 'such as are concerned with the recovery of our liberty.' So Halm, from the corrupt Vatican reading 'pertinenat.' Vulg. 'pertinent;' but it is not individual counsels, but the kind of counsel, that Cicero is specifying.

4. Currentem incitavi, 'I spurred a willing horse.'

5. Eo. See on 2. 22, 53.

6. Optimi cuiusque. See on 1. 12, 29.

9. Retentus. Sc. 'non adfuit.' Some MSS. unnecessarily add 'est.'

10. Diem obire. As we say, 'to meet his engagement.' Cp. Att. 13. 14. 1 'Obire auctionis diem facile poterunt.'

In ante diem. The expression 'ante diem quartum Kalendas' (itself attracted from the proper construction 'die quarto ante Kalendas') came to be looked on so completely as a single term, as to be combined with other prepositions. Cp. Att. 3. 17, 1 'Nec varii (nuntii) venerant ex ante diem Non. Iun. usque ad prid. Kal. Sext.;

Livy 43. 16 'In ante dies octavum et septimum Kal. Oct.' The expression can even be used as the predicate of a sentence, Cic. Cat. 1. 3, 7 'Qui dies futurus esset ante diem sextum Kal. Nov.' See Hand's Tursellinus, 1. 378 foll.

12. Gallorum cuniculum. Cp. pro Caec. 30, 88 'Non eos in cuniculum, qua aggressi erant, sed in Capitolium restitui oporteret.' The account given by Livy of the attempt upon the Capitol by the Gauls not only makes no mention of any mine, but is incompatible with the idea of one. See Livy 5. 47.

18. Quid est aliud... iudicare. In most MSS. the words 'nisi se ipsum hostem iudicare' immediately follow 'quid est aliud,' but the order in the text is not only that of the Vatican MS., but also that most in accordance with Cicero's usage. Cp. de Sen. 2, 5 'Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis nisi naturae repugnare?'

22. Referat, 'why was he to make no

notandus non fuit, quid potest dicere, quin, cum de illo tacuerit, se hostem confessus sit? Quem in edictis Spartacum appellat, hunc in senatu ne improbum quidem dicere audet. At in rebus 9 tristissimis quantos excitat risus! Sententio las edicti cuiusdam memoriae mandavi, quas videtur ille peracutas putare: ego autem qui intelligeret, quid dicere vellet, adhuc neminem inveni. Nulla contumelia est, quam facit dignus. Primum quid 22 est dignus? nam etiam malo multi digni, sicut ipse. An quam facit is, qui cum dignitate est? quae autem potest esse maior? 10 Quid est porro facere contumeliam? quis sic loquitur? Deinde: nec timor, quem denuntiat inimicus. Quid ergo? ab amico timor denuntiari solet? Horum similia deinceps. Nonne satius est mutum esse quam quod nemo intelligat dicere? En, cur magister eius ex oratore arator factus sit, possideat in 15 agro publico campi Leontini duo milia iugerum immunia, ut hominem stupidum magis etiam infatuet mercede publica. Sed 23 haec leviora fortasse: illud quaero, cur tam mansuetus in senatu fuerit, cum in edictis tam ferus fuisset. Quid enim attinuerat

proposal?' So the Vatican MS. Halm 'referebat;' vulg. 'refert.' For the use of the subjunctive, see Madv. § 353.

2. Spartacum. Spartacus, by birth a Thracian, was leader of the gladiators in the Servile war, 73-71 B.C. In 4. 6, 14 Cicero calls Antony himself a 'Spartacus,' as the climax of all that was atrocious.

c. 9. His very language was barbarous and unintelligible, though this was a trifle compared with his outrageous conduct towards most virtuous and loyal citizens. His ultimate departure was marked by a combination of panic and disorder, equally unworthy of a Consul; when on bearing of the defection of his soldiers he took a hurried division on the popular question of a 'supplicatio' for Lepidus, and fled in panic from the city.

7. Quid est dignus? Cicero's argument is that 'dignus' used absolutely is not Latin, and if it meant anything, would probably mean 'a man of worth.' Consequently insult proceeding from 'dignus' would be the worst of all, as being probably well-deserved. Antony probably meant 'contumelia dignus,' a man himself deserving to be insulted; so that his fault in Latinity consists only in a rather obscure ellipsis.

10. Quis sic loquitur? The expres-

sion, if not classical in Cicero's time, was used before him by Plautus, *Asin.* 2. 4, 82 'Tu contumeliam alteri facias, tibi non dicatur?' and Terence, *Eun.* 5. 2, 26 'Nam etsi ego digna hac contumelia sum maxime, at tu indignus qui faceres tamen,' and in later times by Seneca. It is curious that Quintilian, remarking on the change of usage, whereby 'facere contumeliam' had become classical in his day, seems to understand it as meaning 'to suffer insult,' like 'iacturam facere;' *Inst.* 9. 3, 13 'Ut nunc evault... contumeliam fecit, quod a Cicerone reprehendi notum est: affici enim contumelia dicebant;' so that some commentators have thought that Cicero is objecting to Antony using the expression in so unusual a sense. See Gronov. *Observ.* 3. 8. Gronovius himself thinks that Cicero's criticism is really directed against the extreme compression of the whole clause, rather than against the barbarism of any special phrase.

11. Quem denuntiat inimicus, 'which arises from the threatening of an enemy;' cp. *Att.* 2. 23, 3 'Non mediocres terrores facere atque denuntiare.'

14. Magister. Sext. Clodius of Leontini. See 2. 17, 42 and 43; *ib.* 39, 101 notes.

Ex oratore arator, 'has left the platform for the plough.'

- L. Cassio, tribuno pl., fortissimo et constantissimo civi, mortem denuntiare, si in senatum venisset, D. Carfulenum, bene de re publica sentientem, senatu vi et minis mortis expellere, Ti. Canutium, a quo erat honestissimis contentionibus et saepe et iure vexatus, non templo solum, verum etiam aditu prohibere Capitolii? Cui senatus consulto ne intercederent verebatur? De supplicatione, credo, M. Lepidi, clarissimi viri. Atque id erat periculum, de cuius honore extraordinario quotidie aliquid cogitabamus, ne
 24 eius usitatus honos impediretur. Ac ne sine causa videretur edixisse ut senatus adesset, cum de re publica relaturus fuisset, 10 allato nuntio de legione quarta mente concidit, et fugere festinans senatus consultum de supplicatione per discessionem fecit, cum id factum esset antea numquam.
- 10 Quae vero profectio postea! quod iter paludati! quae vitatio oculorum, lucis, urbis, fori! quam misera fuga! quam foeda! 15 quam turpis! Praeclara tamen senatus consulta illo ipso die

1. L. Cassio . . . D. Carfulenum . . . Ti. Canutium. See on i. 15, 36. L. Cassius was reconciled to Antony after the battle of Philippi, but Carfulenus fell in the battle before Mutina, in which Antony was defeated, April 15, 43 B.C., and Canutius was killed by Octavianus, after the capture of Perusia, 40 B.C.

6. Intercederent, 'oppose their tribunicial veto.'

7. M. Lepidi, afterwards the triumvir. Antony had sent him to Spain to effect a reconciliation with Sex. Pompeius, and for his success in this mission the senate granted him a 'supplicatio.' See on i. 6, 13. The terms of the reconciliation were that Pompey should be allowed to return to Rome, and be indemnified for the loss of his father's property.

12. Per discessionem. The usual mode of taking the votes in the Roman senate consisted in the Consuls asking each man severally how he wished to vote. On being asked his vote he had the right to speak, and so we find most of Cicero's speeches in the senate ending with a formal declaration of his vote. Where the opinion of the house, however, was very decided, so that there was nothing to be gained by listening to the speeches of all the senators, it was not unusual for the majority, with the permission of the Consuls, to group themselves round one of the speakers on their side, during his speech, and so show on

which side the decision lay. This was called 'discessio,' and the senators were said 'discedere,' or 'pedibus ire in sententiam illorum quorum sententiae assentirentur.' Cp. 6. i, 3; 14. 7, 21; Livy 3. 41 'In hanc sententiam ut discederetur, iuniores Patrum evincebant.' In the case of the decree for a 'supplicatio,' the strangeness of a 'discessio' is obvious, since it took away all opportunity of panegyric.

cc. 10, 11. *From that day forth all had gone well in Rome. The magistrates were showing energy befitting the occasion; even Antony's friends had given up the provinces which fortune had assigned them so marvellously in accordance with their wishes; by the loyalty and judgment of C. Caesar the wolf had been driven from the gate of the fold, and the Roman people, well rid of so profligate a tyrant, could once more take measures to secure the freedom which Cicero had ever laboured to maintain.*

14. Paludati, 'wearing the general's cloak,' the symbol of military command, formally assumed by the Consul on setting out for a campaign, and as formally laid aside before he could re-enter the city.

16. Praeclara senatus consulta, &c. The irony is to be noticed throughout. The decrees were not only not admirable, but actually illegal, being passed after sunset (see Sen. Dial. 9. 17, 7 'Maiores nostri novam relationem post horam decimam in senatu fieri vetabant'); the allotment of the

vespertina, provinciarum religiosa sortitio, divina vero oportunitas, ut, quae cuique apta esset, ea cuique obveniret. Praeclare igitur facitis, tribuni pl., qui de praesidio consulum senatusque referatis, meritoque vestro maximas vobis gratias omnes et agere et habere debemus. Qui enim periculo carere possumus in tanta hominum cupiditate et audacia? ille autem homo afflictus et perditus quae de se exspectat iudicia graviora quam amicorum suorum? Familiarissimus eius, mihi homo coniunctus, L. Lentulus et P. Naso, omni carens cupiditate, nullam se habere provinciam, nullam Antonii sortitionem fuisse iudicaverunt. Quod idem fecit L. Philippus, vir patre, avo, maioribus suis dignissimus. In eadem sententia fuit homo summa integritate atque innocentia, C. Turranius. Idem fecit Sp. Oppius; ipsi etiam, qui amicitiam M. Antonii veriti plus ei tribuerunt, quam fortasse vellent, M. Piso, necessarius meus, et vir et civis egregius, parique innocentia M. Vehilius senatus auctoritati se obtemperaturos esse dixerunt. Quid ego de L. Cinna loquar? cuius spectata multis magnisque rebus singularis integritas minus admirabilem facit huius honestissimi facti gloriam: qui omnino provinciam neglexit, quam item magno animo et constanti C. Cestius repudiavit. Qui sunt igitur reliqui, quos sors divina delectet? † L. Annii, M. Antonius. O felicem utrumque! nihil

provinces was managed in defiance of all the sanctions of religion; and the interference of heaven had never before shown so happy a disposition of the lots as that each person should gain exactly what he wished.

2. Cuique . . . cuique. See 2. 46, 119 note.

5. Et agere et habere, 'both to express and feel gratitude.'

Periculo carere. So the Vatican MS. The rest have 'carere metu et periculo,' perhaps borrowed from 7. 9, 27. Cp. c. 8, 20 'ut turpe senatori esset nihil timere.'

7. Afflictus, 'overwhelmed with wickedness.' This use of the word is seemingly without a parallel, though in almost every other sense of 'perditus' it is common to find 'afflictus' combined with it by Cicero.

9. L. Lentulus had been the accuser of A. Gabinius, on the charge of 'maiestas,' in 54 B.C., when he was suspected of 'praevaricatio.' See on 2. 11, 25. Of Naso nothing further is known.

11. L. Philippus, probably the son of Octavianus' stepfather, who was Consul in 56 B.C., and grandson of the famous orator, distinguished by Horace, *Epp.* 1. 7, 46, as 'Strenuus et fortis causisque Philippus agendis Clarus.'

13. C. Turranius. Of Turranius and the following three nothing else is known.

17. L. Cinna was praetor at the time of Caesar's death, and so far identified himself with the conspirators, as to incur the enmity of the mob exasperated by Antony, so that they murdered Helvius Cinna in mistake for him.

18. Minus admirabilem, &c., 'makes us wonder less at it.'

21. Qui sunt igitur reliqui, &c., 'whom have we then remaining, to testify by their delight the interference of heaven in the lots.'

23. L. Annii. Perhaps L. Annii Bellienus, whose house was burnt after Caesar's death. The name however is doubtful. Some MSS. have T. Antonius, which Orelli thinks is a mistake for

enim maluerunt. C. Antonius Macedoniam. Hunc quoque felicem! hanc enim habebat semper in ore provinciam. C. Calvisius Africam. Nihil felicius! modo enim ex Africa decesserat et quasi divinsans se rediturum duos legatos Uticae reliquerat. Deinde M. † Cusini Sicilia, Q. Cassii Hispania. Non habeo
 11 quid suspicer: duarum credo provinciarum sortes minus divinas
 12 fuisse. O C. Caesar—adolescentem appello—, quam tu salutem
 27 rei publicae attulisti! quam improvisam! quam repentinam! qui
 enim haec fugiens fecit, quid faceret insequens? Etenim in con-
 tione dixerat se custodem fore urbis seque usque ad Kalendas
 10 Maias ad urbem exercitum habiturum. O praeclarum custodem
 ovium, ut aiunt, lupum! custosne urbis an direptor et vexator
 esset Antonius? Et quidem se introiturum in urbem dixit
 exiturumque, cum vellet. Quid illud? nonne audiente populo
 sedens pro aede Castoris dixit, nisi qui vicisset, victurum nemi-
 15 nem?

L. Antonius, but he was tribune of the commons at the time.

M. Antonius. It seems strange that his name should occur in the allotment, as Gaul had been assigned to him by a law, passed indeed with violence, (Livy Epit. 117,) and therefore ignored by Cicero, (see on c. 4. 11,) but still superseding the necessity of any share in the 'sortitio.' Some commentators have supposed that there is an error in his name also.

1. C. Antonius, the second of the three brothers, fell into the hands of M. Brutus, in trying to maintain his province, and by him was put to death in 42 B.C.

Hunc quoque felicem. For the accusative in an exclamation, without an interjection, cp. pro Cael. 26, 63 'In balneis delituerunt: testes egregios.'

3. Africam. This was at present held by Q. Cornificius, a friend of Cicero, who was commissioned, with the other governors of provinces, by the decree passed in the senate on the day of this speech, to hold his province against Calvisius Sabinus, or any successor not sanctioned by the senate, 'quoad ex senatus consulto cuique eorum successum sit,' c. 15, 38; cp. Fam. 12, 22; Att. 12, 14.

5. M. Cusini Sicilia. So the Vatican MS. Orelli reads 'M. Iccius Siciliam, Q. Cassius Hispaniam,' from very confused readings of the inferior MSS. Some error probably underlies the name of 'Cusinus,' as we nowhere hear of such a man. Cicero's

argument is that here the hand of heaven is less visible, since two of Antony's opponents had obtained these provinces. Q. Cassius was probably son of the Q. Cassius whom Cicero, Att. 5. 21, 2, calls 'frater' (probably cousin) of C. Cassius the tyrannicide.

9. Fecit. So the Vatican MS. The others have 'fecerit,' expressing not only the fact, but the character of the man who could have taken such measures in the midst of flight. The subjunctive, however, though expressive, is not necessary.

10. Custodem ovium. The proverb is as old as Herodotus, 4. 149 ἡφ' αὐτὸν καταλείψεν δὲν λόκοισι. Cp. Plaut. Pseud. 1. 2, 8

'Hoc eorum opus: ut lupos mavelis
 Apud oves linquere, quam hos custodes
 domi.'

13. Introiturum exiturumque. When a general had once left the city, he could not re-enter it without laying down his 'imperium.' It was one of the charges against Verres, 'quod, cum paludatus exisset, votaue . . . nuncupasset, noctu lectica in urbem introferri solitus est' Verr. Act. 2. 5. 13, 34. See on 1. 2, 6.

15. Victurum. Cp. 4. 5, 12 'Agitur enim non qua conditione victuri, sed victurine simus an cum supplicio ignominiaque perituri.' The epigrammatic turning of the sentence, arising from the identity in form of the participles of 'vivo' and 'vinco,' is untranslatable.

Hodierno die primum longo intervallo in possessionem libertatis 28
 pedem ponimus: cuius quidem ego, quoad potui, non modo de-
 fensor, sed etiam conservator fui. Cum autem id facere non
 possem, quievi, nec abiecte nec sine aliqua dignitate casum illum
 5 temporum et dolorem tuli. Hanc vero taeterrimam beluam quis
 ferre potest aut quo modo? Quid est in Antonio praeter libi-
 dinem, crudelitatem, petulantiam, audaciam? Ex his totus con-
 glutinatus est. Nihil apparet in eo ingenuum, nihil moderatum,
 nihil pudens, nihil pudicum. Quapropter, quoniam res in id dis- 29
 10 crimen adducta est, utrum ille poenas rei publicae luat an nos
 serviamus, aliquando, per deos immortales! patres conscripti,
 patrium animum virtutemque capiamus, ut aut libertatem pro-
 priam Romani et generis et nominis recuperemus aut mortem
 servituti anteponamus. Multa, quae in libera civitate ferenda
 15 non essent, tulimus et perpessi sumus: alii spe forsitan recu-
 perandae libertatis, alii vivendi nimia cupiditate: sed, si illa
 tulimus, quae nos necessitas ferre coëgit, quae vis quaedam paene
 fatalis, quae tamen ipsa non tulimus: etiamne huius impuri la-
 tronis feremus taeterrimum crudelissimumque dominatum? Quid 12
 20 hic faciet, si poterit, iratus, qui cum suscensere nemini posset, 20
 omnibus bonis fuerit inimicus? quid hic victor non audebit, qui
 nullam adeptus victoriam tanta scelera post Caesaris interitum
 fecerit? refertam eius domum exhauserit? hortos compilaverit?

1. In possessionem. The ablative would have been more in accordance with Cicero's usage, cp. pro Caec. 11, 31 'Si in fundo pedem posuisses;' pro Lig. 8, 24 'In provincia pedem ponere.' Ferrarius quotes two passages in which the accusative is used after 'vestigium ponere, facere' (de Fin. 5. 2, 5; pro Caec. 14, 39), but in both of these the best MSS. have the ablative.

3. Conservator fui. Up to the time of Caesar's usurpation.

Cum non possem, 'on ceasing to be able,' the subjunctive marking that his rest was both subsequent to, and consequent on, his loss of power.

5. Beluam. Cp. 8. 4, 13 'Quid te facturum de belua putas.'

9. Pudens, pudicum. For the distinction, see 2. 7, 15 note.

12. Propriam. Cp. 6. 7, 19 'Aliae nationes servitutem pati possunt, populi Romani est propria libertas.'

18. Quae tamen ipsa, &c., 'though

even these we found at length too much to bear.' Even Caesar's power fell at last before the Roman passion for liberty.

cc. 12-14. *Recapitulating the crimes which Antony had committed since the death of Caesar, and showing how, with his brother Lucius, he was carrying on the same mad career of wanton cruelty in Gaul, Cicero calls upon the senate not to lose the opportunity, but with the Roman people eager to support them, himself ever ready with his counsels, and C. Caesar and Brutus in the field, to choose the wise and energetic course of crushing Antony while he was entangled on every side in Gaul. They should be prepared for death rather than slavery, though with such new Consuls as Hirtius and Pansa, there could be but little doubt of soon securing the freedom which was a Roman's birthright.*

23. *Compilaverit, 'has stripped whole gardens of their decorations?' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 4. 24, 53 'Qui uno imperio ostiatum totum oppidum compilaverit.'*

ad se ex iis omnia ornamenta transtulerit? caedis et incendiorum causam quaesierit ex funere? duobus aut tribus senatus consultis bene et e re publica factis reliquas res ad lucrum praedamque revocaverit? vendiderit immunitates? civitates liberaverit? provincias universas ex imperii populi Romani iure sustulerit? 5 exsules reduxerit? falsas leges C. Caesaris nomine et falsa decreta in aes incidenda et in Capitolio figenda curaverit earumque rerum omnium domesticum mercatum instituerit? populo Romano leges imposuerit? armis et praesidiis populum et magistratus foro excluserit, senatum stiparit [armatis]? armatos in cella 10 Concordiae, cum senatum haberet, incluserit? ad legiones Brundisium cucurrerit? ex iis optime sentientes centuriones iugulaverit? cum exercitu Romam sit ad interitum nostrum et ad 31 dispersionem urbis venire conatus? Atque is ab hoc impetu abstractus consilio et copiis Caesaris, consensu veteranorum, 15 virtute legionum, ne fortuna quidem fractus minuit audaciam, nec ruere demens nec furere desinit. In Galliam mutilatum ducit exercitum, cum una legione et ea vacillante L. fratrem exspectat, quo neminem reperire potest sui similiorem. Ille autem ex myrmillone dux, ex gladiatore imperator, quas effecit 20

1. Caedis, &c., 'has sought to find in the celebration of a funeral a pretext for murder and incendiarism?' See on 1. 2, 5.

2. Senatus consultis. See 1. 1, 3 notes.

3. Liberaverit, 'has freed from paying tribute.' See 2. 36, 92 note; and for the use of the word cp. de Prov. Cons. 5, 10 'Vectigales multos ac stipendarios liberavit.'

6. Exsules. See 2. 23, 56.

8. Domesticum mercatum. See on 2. 14, 35.

10. Armatis. Madvig (in a letter to Halm) says that he thinks this reading has crept in from its not being observed that 'armis et praesidiis' belongs to 'stiparit,' as well as to 'excluserit.' The word suggests a false antithesis between 'armis et praesidiis,' and 'armatis,' and might easily have been borrowed from the following 'armatos.' I have therefore followed Halm in placing it between brackets.

11. Haberet, incluserit, 'has been in the habit of placing armed men, on the several occasions when he convened the senate.'

14. Dispersionem, 'the breaking up of our city.' So the Vatican MS. If this word is right, (other readings being 'disper-

ditionem' and 'dispertitionem,') it may be compared with the Greek *ἀνδροαγία*, the dispersion and removal of the citizens in either case implying the ruin of the city.

16. Ne fortuna quidem, &c., 'showed no diminution of his rashness even under the crushing influence of fortune.'

18. Cum una legione. Yet see on c. 2, 4.

Vacillante. I have restored this reading from the Vatican MS., on the authority of Nonius, p. 34. Cp. Munro on Lucr. 3. 504, apparently the only passage in poetry where the first syllable is long. He says that this spelling would confirm its derivation from the waddling gait of the 'vacca.' Halm reads 'vacillante.'

20. Myrmillone. Cp. 5. 7, 20; 7. 6,

17. The 'myrmillo' fought in Gallic arms, with a fish ('mormyr') for his crest. He usually was the antagonist of a 'Thrax,' or of a 'retiarius.'

Effecit. The Vatican MS. has 'effecerit,' whence Halm thinks it probable that after 'vestigium' some such clause as 'quis vestrum ignorat' has fallen out. This is the more likely from the fact that the words 'fundit apothecas' are also not to be

strages, ubicumque posuit vestigium! Fundit apothecas, caedit
 greges armentorum reliquique pecoris, quodcumque nactus est;
 epulantur milites; ipse autem se, ut fratrem imitetur, obruit
 vino; vastantur agri, diripiuntur villae, matres familiae, virgines,
 5 pueri ingenui abripiuntur, militibus traduntur. Haec eadem,
 quacumque exercitum duxit, fecit M. Antonius. His vos tae-
 13 terrimis fratribus portas aperietis? // hos umquam in urbem reci-
 32 pietis? non tempore oblato, ducibus paratis, animis militum
 incitatis, populo Romano conspirante, Italia tota ad libertatem
 10 recuperandam excitata, deorum immortalium beneficio utemini?
 Nullum erit tempus hoc amisso. A tergo, fronte, lateribus tene-
 bitur, si in Galliam venerit. Nec ille armis solum, sed etiam
 decretis nostris urgendus est. Magna vis est, magnum numen
 unum et idem sentientis senatus. Videtisne refertum forum po-
 15 pulumque Romanum ad spem recuperandae libertatis erectum?
 qui longo intervallo cum frequentes hic videt nos, tum sperat
 etiam liberos convenisse. // Hunc ego diem exspectans M. Antonii
 33 scelerata arma vitavi tum, cum ille in me absentem invehens
 non intelligebat, ad quod tempus me et meas vires reservarem.
 20 Si enim tum illi caedis a me initium quaerenti respondere volu-
 issem, nunc rei publicae consulere non possem. Hanc vero
 nactus facultatem, nullum tempus, patres conscripti, dimittam
 neque diurnum neque nocturnum, quin de libertate populi Romani
 et dignitate vestra quod cogitandum sit cogitem, quod agendum
 25 atque faciendum, id non modo non recusem, sed etiam appetam
 atque deposcam. Hoc feci, dum licuit: intermisi, quoad non
 licuit. Iam non solum licet, sed etiam necesse est, nisi servire
 malumus quam, ne serviamus, armis animisque decernere. // Di 34

found in any of the MSS., being restored from a quotation by Servius, on Virg. E. 6. 55.

1. Apothecas. See on 2. 27, 67.

2. Armentorum, &c., 'of cattle, and any *smaller* beasts that he could lay his hands upon.'

9. Conspirante, 'joining together heart and soul.'

13. Numen, 'the prestige.' Cp. Post Red. ad Quir. 10, 25 'Cum vobis, qui apud me deorum immortalium vim et numen tenetis;' pro Mil. 30, 83 'Qui nullam vim esse ducit numenve divinum.'

18. Invehens. In the speech, delivered

on the 19th of September, which provoked the second Philippic.

20. Caedis, &c. Cp. 5. 7, 20.

21. Hanc vero, &c., 'now that this opportunity is given me, be assured, senators, that I will not let a moment pass, by day or by night, without making the liberty of the Roman people and your honour the subject of my thoughts where thought is required; while, where deed and action are needed, so far from shrinking, I will strive, even with importunity, to make that deed and action mine.'

26. Dum licuit, 'as long as ever I could.' See Adv. § 336. Obs. 2.

immortales nobis haec praesidia dederunt: urbi Caesarem, Brutum Galliae. Si enim ille opprimere urbem potuisset, statim, si Galliam tenere, paulo post optimo cuique pereundum erat, reliquis
 14 serviendum. Hanc igitur occasionem oblatam tenete, per deos immortales! patres conscripti, et amplissimi orbis terrae consilii principes vos esse aliquando recordamini. Signum date populo Romano consilium vestrum non deesse rei publicae, quoniam ille virtutem suam non defuturam esse profitetur. Nihil est quod moneam vos. Nemo est tam stultus qui non intelligat, si indormierimus huic tempori, non modo crudelem superbamque
 dominationem nobis, sed ignominiosam etiam et flagitiosam fe-
 35 rendam esse. Nostis insolentiam Antonii, nostis amicos, nostis totam domum. Libidinis, petulantibus, impuris, impudicis, aleatoribus, ebriis servire, ea summa miseria est summo dedecore coniuncta. Quod si iam—quod di omen avertant!—fatum ex-
 tremum rei publicae venit, quod gladiatores nobiles faciunt ut honeste decumbant, faciamus nos, principes orbis terrarum gentiumque omnium, ut cum dignitate potius cadamus quam cum
 36 ignominia serviamus. Nihil est detestabilius dedecore, nihil foedius servitute. Ad decus et ad libertatem nati sumus: aut haec teneamus aut cum dignitate moriamur. Nimum diu teximus quid sentiremus: nunc iam apertum est; omnes patefaciunt, in utramque partem quid sentiat, quid velit. Sunt impii cives, sed pro caritate rei publicae nimium multi, contra multitudinem

3. Erat. So Halm from his own conjecture. Most MSS. omit the verb. Orelli, following two MSS., reads 'cset.'

9. Si indormierimus, 'if we let this time pass by in sleep.'

10. Crudelem superbamque, 'marked with cruelty and pride,' the latter epithet probably referring to the reign of Tarquin, (see above, c. 4, 9,) the former to the tyrannies of Cinna, Sulla, and Caesar, cp. 2. 42, 108. To submit to such rule as this was a sign of weakness, but it did not involve disgrace and infamy.

16. Ut honeste decumbant. Cp. Tusc. 2. 17, 41 'Quis mediocris gladiator ingemuit? quis non modo stetit, verum etiam decubuit turpiter?'

17. Faciamus ut, &c., 'let us take care to fall with dignity rather than submit to the disgrace of slavery.' For this periphrastic use of 'facere ut,' to add length and weight

to an apodosis, see Zumpt, §§ 619, 816.

23. Quid sentiat, quid velit. So the Vatican MS., 'quisque' being apparently understood from the collective 'omnes.' Halm follows the ordinary reading 'sentiant,' 'velint.'

24. Sed really opposes admodum pauci to sunt impii cives; pro caritate reipublicae nimium multi being parenthetical. 'Disloyal citizens exist, it is true, but, though more than in one's love for the state one would desire, yet they are but few against the multitude of well-affected.' Halm compares pro Sest. 49, 105 'Graves et magni homines habebantur; sed valebant in senatu multum, apud bonos viros plurimum, multitudini iucundi non erant;' 'yet, despite their influence in the senate, and with all good men, they were unpopular with the crowd.' Orelli, following the later MSS., omits 'sed.'

bene sentientium admodum pauci: quorum opprimendorum di
 immortales incredibilem rei publicae potestatem et fortunam
 dederunt. Ad ea enim praesidia, quae habemus, iam accedent
 consules summa prudentia, virtute, concordia, multos menses de
 5 rei publicae libertate commentati atque meditati. His auctori-
 bus et ducibus, dis iuvantibus, nobis vigilantibus et multum in
 posterum providentibus, populo Romano consentiente, erimus
 profecto liberi brevi tempore. Iucundiores autem faciet liber-
 tatem servitutis recordatio.

- 10 Quas ob res, quod tribuni pl. verba fecerunt, uti senatus Ka-15
 lendis Ianuariis tuto haberi sententiaeque de summa re publica 37
 libere dici possint, de ea re ita censeo, uti C. Pansa A. Hirtius,
 consules designati, dent operam uti senatus Kalendis Ianuariis
 tuto haberi possit: quodque edictum D. Bruti, imperatoris, con-
 15 sulis designati, propositum sit, senatum existimare D. Brutum,
 imperatorem, consulem designatum, optime de re publica mereri,
 cum senatus auctoritatem populiue Romani libertatem imperium-
 que defendat: quodque provinciam Galliam citeriorem, optimorum 38
 et fortissimorum amicissimorumque rei publicae civium, exer-
 20 citumque in senatus potestate retineat, id eum exercitumque
 eius, municipia, colonias provinciae Galliae recte atque ordine
 exque re publica fecisse et facere: senatum ad summam rem
 publicam pertinere arbitrari ab D. Bruto et L. Planco, impera-
 toribus, consulibus designatis, itemque a ceteris, qui provincias
 25 obtinent, obtineri ex lege Iulia, quoad ex senatus consulto cuique
 eorum successum sit; eosque dare operam ut eae provinciae

8. Iucundiores, &c. Muretus com-
 pares Eur. fragm. Andr. 144 ἡδὺ τοι σω-
 θέντα μεμνησθαι πόλεως.

c. 15. Cicero concludes the oration with
 his formal vote, that the new Consuls should
 provide for the safe meeting of the senate on
 the 1st of January; that thanks should be
 given to Decimus Brutus, C. Caesar, and the
 forces under their command; and that the
 existing provincial governors should hold
 their appointments till successors were duly
 chosen by the senate.

10. Verba fecerunt, &c., 'have opened
 this debate in order to enable the senate to
 be held in safety.' The difference of mood
 between quod verba fecerunt, and quod
 edictum... propositum sit is to be
 noticed. The former states the reason of

Cicero giving his vote at all, without any
 regard to the substance of it, while the
 latter is one of the arguments influencing his
 decision. Hence the latter forms an integral
 part of his vote, the former is merely an
 external circumstance leading to it.

12. Ita censeo. With these words begin
 his formal vote; see on c. 9, 24; and cp. I.
 7, 16 note.

16. Consulem designatum. D.
 Brutus and L. Plancus were nominated by
 Caesar to the consulship for 42 B.C., in
 succession to C. Pansa and Aul. Hirtius.

21. Municipia, colonias. See on c.
 5, 13.

24. Qui provincias obtinent. See
 c. 10, 26 note.

atque exercitus in senati populiue potestate praesidioque rei publicae sint : cumque opera, virtute, consilio C. Caesaris summoque consensu militum veteranorum, qui eius auctoritatem secuti rei publicae praesidio sunt et fuerunt, a gravissimis periculis
 30 populus Romanus defensus sit et hoc tempore defendatur / cum-
 5 que legio Martia Albae constiterit, in municipio fidelissimo et fortissimo, seseque ad senatus auctoritatem populiue Romani libertatem contulerit; et quod pari consilio eademque virtute legio quarta usa L. Egnatuleio duce, civi egregio, senatus auctoritatem populiue Romani libertatem defendat ac defenderit :
 10 senatui magnae curae esse ac fore, ut pro tantis eorum in rem publicam meritis honores eis habeantur gratiaeque referantur : senatui placere uti C. Pansa A. Hirtius, consules designati, cum magistratum inissent, si eis videretur, primo quoque tempore de his rebus ad hunc ordinem referrent, ita uti e re publica fideque
 15 sua videretur.

1. Senati. So the Vatican MS. F. Ritschl (Rhein. Mus. for 1853, p. 495) quotes in favour of this form Divin. in Caec. 5, 19 'Beneficio senati populiue Romani;' where it rests on the authority of Charisius; Fam. 2. 7. 4 'Ut et senati consultum et leges defendas;' *ib.* 8. 8, 6 'Quominus de R. P. P. R. Q. referri senatique consultum fieri possit.' This last passage is from a complete decree of the senate, quoted in its integrity by M. Caelius, in a letter to Cicero.

9. Duce, civi egregio. So Halm, following some of the MSS. The reading of the Vatican MS. is 'L. egnatuleio que opti egregio mo;' in which F. Bücheler (Rhein. Mus. for 1857, p. 467) contends that 'egregio' is a mere gloss, and that the right reading is 'L. Egnatuleio, quaestore optimo.' He inserts ['duce'] conjecturally before 'L. Egnatuleio.' His view is supported by J. Frey (*ib.* p. 631), except that the latter thinks that 'cive' (more probably 'civi') is the word represented by 'que.'

INTRODUCTION

TO THE FOURTH ORATION.

THE senate having passed a decree in accordance with the terms of the resolution proposed by Cicero, he proceeded immediately to the Forum, and announced to the people, at the suggestion of M. Servilius, and the other tribunes of the commons, the determination to which the senate had come; showing that though Antony was not yet declared an enemy to the state, yet that the senate, by the measures they had taken, were practically acting on the supposition of his treason. The speech, delivered in the excitement of the moment, is naturally less finished than those which he had carefully prepared, and in many parts contains a repetition, less happily expressed, of ideas on which he had enlarged before the senate.

The genuineness of the oration has been often questioned, especially by F. G. Jentzen, in a pamphlet published at Lubeck in 1820, and by A. Krause, in an address delivered at Neu Stettin in 1847. The arguments of the former call for the less consideration, because they are based on the theory that Cicero only published any of his orations for one of two reasons; either to gratify some client whose cause he had pleaded, or because he thought them likely to prove useful to the youth of Rome, as models of oratory. He entirely ignores the historical interest which by itself would justify the publication of a speech like this, and is naturally led by his hypothesis to criticise details in the oration with a severity that makes no allowance for the circumstances under which it was delivered.

Krause attacks it on grounds both of external and internal evidence. The former he acknowledges to be partly on the other side, since the end of the third chapter is quoted both by Quintilian (9. 3, 86) and by the Spanish grammarian Isidorus (Orig. 2. 21, 11); while the words 'Incumbite in causam' (c. 5, 12) are quoted by Arusianus Messius.

Against this testimony he brings the fact that Nonius (p. 373) quotes, as from the fourth Philippic, the words 'si cum fascibus clam te ex urbe proieceris,' which do not occur in the oration as we have it, and which he says are specially appropriate, as supplying a natural allusion to Antony's flight. He also thinks that the words 'Laudat an compellat edicto,' quoted by Acron (on Hor. S. 2, 3, 297) as from the Philippics, probably belonged to the genuine fourth Philippic. Now, even granting the accuracy of Nonius, it is a less violent supposition to allow that the words which he quotes may have dropped out from the oration, than to condemn it altogether; and the supposition that Acron, if quoting correctly, is quoting from the fourth oration, is entirely gratuitous, especially as we know that at least one of this series of orations is lost.

His internal evidence is of two kinds, from the subject-matter, and from details in the language of the speech. The first is mainly negative, from the absence of certain topics which he thinks that Cicero must have introduced. He observes that he does not mention in detail the several points of the senate's decree; that there is no mention of the flight of Antony from the city; that there is no defence of Octavianus, whose conduct was technically illegal; and that there is no abuse of the brothers of Antony. Now, in the first place, the whole of this argument rests on the assumption that because Cicero might naturally have introduced these topics in his speech, therefore he must necessarily have done so, which is at once illogical and arbitrary; and even in detail, most of the positions fail. In the senate, Cicero was giving his formal vote on the matters before the house, and therefore necessarily mentioned every separate clause in the resolutions he supported; but some of them were comparatively unimportant, as the decree that the provinces should remain in the power of the existing magistrates; and to one at any rate, that the tribunes should provide for the safe meeting of the senate on the 1st of January, Cicero was in his heart opposed, because it interfered with his wish for immediate action. (See Phil. 3. 1, 1; and cp. Drumann, *Geschicht. Rom.* 1. 224 notes 95 and 96.) The second point, the flight of Antony, we have already seen, was possibly mentioned, if we believe the fragment quoted by Nonius to have belonged to this oration. The second chapter of the speech, with its panegyric on Octavianus, would surely be sufficient apology for his conduct before an audience whose passions Cicero was striving to excite, rather than to convince their minds. As for the omission of any invective against the other brothers, the want of it seems rather to arise from an overstrained interpretation of the word 'semper'

in 12. 7, 17 ('in totam denique M. Antonii domum sum semper invectus') which is surely sufficiently justified by the abuse lavished on them in the third, sixth, seventh, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth orations.

The only positive argument that Krause brings against the speech from the subject-matter is that it so often coincides with that of the third oration; to which he adds (and in this he follows in the steps of Jentzen), that in many cases the very expressions are borrowed, but spoiled by being differently turned, from passages in the former speech. These characteristics, however, are just what might be looked for in a case where a man had delivered a carefully prepared speech in a body like the senate, and then proceeded to address a popular assembly on the same subject. The same ideas would occur to his mind, and the old phrases would adapt themselves to those ideas, while want of full preparation, with perhaps less carefulness in addressing a less educated audience, would tend to divest those phrases of their exact propriety of expression. If we may draw any inference from the facts alleged, it should rather be that we have here the speech as Cicero actually delivered it, not retouched and polished at his leisure.

The individual passages which Jentzen and Krause severally select, as evidence of spuriousness, will be more conveniently considered in the notes as they occur.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER QUARTUS.

1 FREQUENTIA vestrum incredibilis, Quirites, contioque
1 tanta, quantam meminisse non videor, et alacritatem mihi sum-
mam defendendae rei publicae affert et spem recuperandae. Quam-
quam animus mihi quidem numquam defuit, tempora defuerunt:
quae simulac primum aliquid lucis ostendere visa sunt, princeps 5
vestrae libertatis defendendae fui. Quod si id ante facere conatus
essem, nunc facere non possem. Hodierno enim die, Quirites,
ne mediocre rem actam arbitremini, fundamenta iacta sunt

c. 1. *The eagerness with which the people crowded to hear him led Cicero to hope that they would second the measures which the senate had adopted against Antony. They had passed a decree of thanks to C. Caesar for levying an army against him, and thereby declared most plainly that they looked upon him as no longer Consul, but a public enemy. Otherwise Caesar's conduct would be treason: as it was, it showed a readiness and energy in the state's behalf, which was without a parallel, and well deserved the enthusiastic gratitude of the people.*

1. Vestrum. Ernesti, following one MS., reads 'vestra,' on the ground that 'vestrum' is not thus used without any partitive meaning. Compare however de Leg. Agr. 2. 21, 55 'Hac vestrum frequentia'; and pro Planc. 6, 16 'Noli me ad vestrum contentionem vocare.' The difference between the two forms of the genitive is brought before us by a comparison of this passage with c. 2, 4 'odio vestri,' 'with hatred felt towards you.'

Incredibilis, 'such as I can hardly credit.' Jentzen attacks this word as inappropriate, since what is before the eyes is no longer matter for belief or disbelief. It is at worst a pardonable exaggeration;

meaning that no one who had not seen it would believe in the greatness of the crowd.

Contio exactly answers to our 'public meeting,' not invested with any legal power, but generally summoned by some duly constituted authority, as in the present case by M. Servilius, and the other tribunes of the commons, and carrying with it the moral weight of public opinion, constitutionally expressed.

3. Recuperandae. Some MSS. add 'libertatis'; but cp. 3. 2, 5 'Nisi (Caesar) in hac re publica natus esset, rem publicam scelere Antonii nullam haberemus.'

5. Princeps, &c., 'I took the lead in defending your liberty.' Cp. 7. 8, 23 'Principes pecuniae pollicendae fuerunt;' 10. 11, 24 'Eum principem fuisse ad conatum exercitus comparandi.'

7. Hodierno enim die. Emphasis must be laid on 'hodierno,' to make this clause agree with what precedes; 'for it is only to-day,' &c. This fault in the connection is remarked upon both by Jentzen and Krause, but with Cicero it is no uncommon thing to find conjunctions carrying on the train of thought suggested to the orator's mind, rather than that which is expressed by his words. See on 2. 24, 60.

reliquarum actionum. Nam est hostis a senatu nondum verbo appellatus, sed re iam iudicatus Antonius. Nunc vero multo sum erectior, quod vos quoque illum hostem esse tanto consensu tantoque clamore approbavistis. Neque enim, Quirites, fieri potest, ut non aut ii sint impii, qui contra consulem exercitus comparaverunt, aut ille hostis, contra quem iure arma sumpta sunt. Hanc igitur dubitationem, quamquam nulla erat, tamen ne qua posset esse, senatus hodierno die sustulit. C. Caesar, qui rem publicam libertatemque vestram suo studio, consilio, patrimonio denique tutatus est et tutatur, maximis senatus laudibus ornatus est. Laudo, laudo vos, Quirites, quod gratissimis animis prosequimini nomen clarissimi adolescentis vel pueri potius; sunt enim facta eius immortalitatis, nomen aetatis. Multa memini, multa audiui, multa legi, Quirites; nihil ex omnium saeculorum memoria tale cognovi: qui, cum servitute premeremur, in dies malum cresceret, praesidii nihil haberemus, capitalem et pestiferum a Brundisio tum M. Antonii reditum timeremus, hoc insperatum omnibus consilium, incognitum certe ceperit, ut exercitum invictum ex paternis militibus conficeret Antoniiue

1. Reliquarum actionum, 'of all that remains to be done.' For this rare use of 'actio,' objected to by Jentzen as unparalleled, cp. Off. 2. 1, 3 'Stante republica, . . . scriptis non ea, quae nunc, sed actiones nostras (= res gestas) mandaremus.'

4. Clamore. This speech is especially full of reference to the demeanour of the audience. Cp. below § 3 'Laudo, laudo vos,' &c.; c. 2, 5 'Praeclare et loco,' &c.; 3. 7 'Ut ostenditis'; 'Recte et vere negatis, Quirites,' &c.

7. Hanc igitur, &c., 'this doubt therefore, though doubt indeed there was none, the possibility however of such a doubt, the senate has this day removed.'

12. Sunt enim, &c., 'his deeds indeed betoken something more than mortal, yet the name of boy befits his age.' Cp. 13. 11, 24 'Est istuc nomen aetatis.' In this passage the order is somewhat inverted, in order to lay more stress on the glory of the deeds. Another reading, found in some inferior MSS., is 'non aetatis.'

15. Qui. The antecedent to 'qui' is of course Octavianus, and is to be sought grammatically in some ellipse after 'tale,' such as 'quale est eius.'

16. Capitalem et pestiferum. Jentzen objects to this combination as an anticlimax, adapted in bad taste from 3. 2, 3 'Crudelis et pestifer reditus.' In reality however the words stand to each other in no relation of degree, 'capitalem' marking the guilt of Antony, 'pestiferum' the ground the Romans had for being terrified.

18. Ceperit . . . conficeret, 'he has adopted counsels (resulting in a lasting resolve), . . . that so he might (once for all) collect an army.'

19. Invictum, &c. Jentzen objects to this clause, as being a copy of 3. 2, 3, faulty in two respects. First, that though the veterans might be styled 'invictum genus militum,' yet an untried army could not as a whole be called 'invictum'; and secondly, that the allusions to the dictator in 'paterni' . . . 'patris sui milites,' would go far to alienate the people by reminding them of his tyranny. To the latter objection it may be answered that Cicero's chief point at present is to urge the prowess of the soldiers, which would be assured by their having served under Caesar; and it never could be strange or unacceptable in Roman ears to hear an army of their veterans styled 'invincible.'

2 *avert*eretur. Quis est enim qui hoc non intelligat, nisi Caesar
 4 exercitum paravisset, non sine exitio nostro futurum Antonii
 reditum fuisse? Ita enim se recipiebat ardens odio vestri,
 cruentus sanguine civium Romanorum, quos Suessae, quos Brun- 5
 disii occiderat, ut nihil nisi de pernicie populi Romani cogitaret.
 Quod autem praesidium erat salutis libertatisque vestrae, si C.
 Caesaris fortissimorum sui patris militum exercitus non fuisset?
 cuius de laudibus et honoribus, qui ei pro divinis et immortalibus
 meritis divini immortalesque debentur, mihi senatus assensus 10
 5 paulo ante decrevit ut primo quoque tempore referretur. Quo
 decreto quis non perspicit hostem esse Antonium iudicatum?
 quem enim possumus appellare eum, contra quem qui exercitus
 ducunt, iis senatus arbitratur singulares exquirendos honores?
 Quid? legio Martia, quae mihi videtur divinitus ab eo deo 15
 traxisse nomen, a quo populum Romanum generatum accepimus,
 non ipsa suis decretis prius quam senatus hostem iudicavit
 Antonium? Nam si ille non hostis, hos, qui consulem relique-
 runt, hostes necesse est iudicemus. Praeclare et loco, Quirites,
 reclamatione vestra factum pulcherrimum Martialium compro- 20
 bavistis: qui se ad senatus auctoritatem, ad libertatem vestram,
 ad universam rem publicam contulerunt, hostem illum et latronem
 6 et parricidam patriae reliquerunt. Nec solum id animose et

c. 2. *Had it not been for C. Caesar, Antony would have proceeded from the murder of the centurions at Brundisium to the destruction of the state; and therefore the honours were but justly due which the senate had decreed to him, and to the Martian and fourth legions, which, in the same spirit, had abandoned Antony, without waiting for the senate's orders.*

5. Quos Suessae, &c. See on 3. 4, 10.

6. Cogitaret. Cicero here argues, not quite accurately, from Antony's outward conduct to his inward thoughts. 'Cogitare videretur' would, as Jentzen remarks, have expressed the formal consequence of 'ita se recipiebat,' and would have given more accurately the grounds of the citizens' alarm. The meaning, however, is unmis-
 takeable.

7. C. Caesaris, &c., 'Caesar's army, composed of the bravest of his father's veterans.' The accumulation of genitives

has given offence to many commentators. For a similar combination of genitives of different significations we may compare Off. 1. 14, 43 'L. Sullae C. Caesaris pecuniarum translatio a iustis dominis ad alienos non debet liberalis videri.'

13. Contra quem, &c., 'whose open enemies in the field are deemed by the senate worthy of extraordinary honours.' Krause objects that 'qui ducunt' really refers to Octavianus only, but D. Brutus shared in the special honours granted by the decree.

19. Loco, 'opportunistically;' cp. Fam. 9. 16, 4 'Oenomaio tuo nihil utor; etsi posuisti loco versus Accianos.'

20. Reclamatione, 'by your shouts of disapproval;' see on c. 1, 2. The substantive is not found again before the time of Apuleius, but Cicero uses the verb in 5. 8, 22; and 6. 5, 12.

23. Parricidam patriae. See on 2. 7. 17.

fortiter, sed considerate etiam sapienterque fecerunt. Albae constiterunt, in urbe opportuna, munita, propinqua, fortissimorum virorum, fidelissimorum civium atque optimorum. Huius Martiae legionis legio quarta imitata virtutem duce L. Egnatuleio, quem senatus merito paulo ante laudavit, C. Caesaris exercitum per-
secuta est.

Quae expectas, M. Antoni, iudicia graviora? Caesar fertur in caelum, qui contra te exercitum comparavit. Laudantur exquisitissimis verbis legiones, quae te reliquerunt, quae a te arcessitae sunt, quae essent, si te consulem quam hostem maluisses, tuae. Quorum legionum fortissimum verissimumque iudicium confirmat senatus, comprobatur universus populus Romanus, nisi forte vos, Quirites, consulem, non hostem iudicatis Antonium. Sic arbitrabar, Quirites, vos iudicare, ut ostenditis. Quid? municipia, colonias, praefecturas num aliter iudicare censetis? Omnes mortales una mente consentiunt: omnia arma eorum, qui haec salva velint, contra illam pestem esse capienda. Quid? D. Bruti iudicium, Quirites, quod ex hodierno eius edicto perspicere potuistis, num cui tandem contemnendum videtur? Recte et vere negatis, Quirites. Est enim quasi deorum immortalium beneficio et munere datum rei publicae Brutorum genus et nomen ad libertatem populi Romani vel constituendam vel recipiendam. Quid igitur D. Brutus de M. Antonio iudicavit? Excludit provincia, exercitu obsistit, Galliam totam hortatur ad

3. Fidelissimorum is only added in the margin of the Vatican MS., by the second writer, perhaps to make the passage more like 3. 3, 6. Halm thinks that the true reading (if the whole clause be not an interpolation) is probably 'fortissimorum virorum civiumque optimorum.' Against its genuineness may be urged its intrinsic weakness, and the rare apposition of 'in urbe,' subjoined to 'Albae.' (See Madv., § 296 a. Obs. 2.) Jentzen considers that the whole of the chapter, from 'Quid? legio Martia,' is a mere ill-digested cento from other orations.

c. 3. This decision of the legions was approved of not only by the senate and by the people at Rome, but by the borough towns; and also by D. Brutus, who had recently issued an edict, excluding Antony from his province, and declaring war against him.

8. In caelum. See on 2. 42, 107.

9. Arcessitae sunt, 'which you had summoned from Macedonia.' Krause objects that this is a very unimportant point to urge, and that, if mentioned at all, it should have preceded 'quae te reliquerunt.' But in reality it adds very much to the significance of the conduct of these legions, that had not Antony, somewhat irregularly, summoned them from Macedonia, they would never have been in Italy at all, and the force it gives to their desertion accounts both for the insertion of the words, and for their position.

15. Municipia, colonias, praefecturas. See on 3. 5, 13.

22. Constituendam vel recipiendam. Respectively by the expulsion of the kings, and the overthrow of usurpers, such as Caesar had been, and Antony was now.

bellum, ipsam sua sponte suoque iudicio excitatam. Si consul Antonius, Brutus hostis: si conservator rei publicae Brutus, hostis Antonius. Num igitur, utrum horum sit, dubitare possumus? 4 Atque ut vos una mente unaque voce dubitare vos negatis, sic modo decrevit senatus, D. Brutum optime de re publica mereri, 5 cum senatus auctoritatem populique Romani libertatem imperiumque defenderet. A quo defenderet? nempe ab hoste: quae est 6 enim alia laudanda defensio? Deinceps laudatur provincia Gallia meritoque ornatur verbis amplissimis ab senatu, quod resistat Antonio. Quem si consulem illa provincia putaret neque eum 10 reciperet, magno scelere se adstringeret: omnes enim in consulis iure et imperio debent esse provinciae. Negat hoc D. Brutus imperator, consul designatus, natus rei publicae civis; negat Gallia, negat cuncta Italia, negat senatus, negatis vos. Quis illum igitur consulem nisi latrones putant? Quamquam ne ii 15 quidem ipsi, quod locuntur, id sentiunt, nec ab iudicio omnium mortalium, quamvis impii nefariiue sint, sicut sunt, dissentire possunt. Sed spes rapiendi atque praedandi obcaecat animos eorum, quos non bonorum donatio, non agrorum assignatio, non illa infinita hasta satiavit; qui sibi urbem, qui bona et fortunas 20 civium ad praedam posuerunt; qui, dum hic sit quod rapiant,

1. Si consul Antonius. This clause is quoted by Quintilian (9. 3, 86) as an instance of *ἀντιμεταβολή*. See the introduction to this oration.

c. 4. This conduct on the part of Brutus was commended by the senate and the people, and the Gauls were also praised, who would not allow Antony to come into their country: none, in fact, still looked on him as Consul save some few abandoned men, amongst whom he had promised that he would apportion Italy; a promise which gods and men seemed equally resolved that he should not perform.

8. Deinceps, &c., 'next in order we have the praises of the province of Gaul.' 'Deinceps' here approximates in meaning to 'deinde,' but still retains the idea of a series, of which the members come in regular succession. Cp. Livy 31. 16 'Aenum inde cepit; deinceps alia castella, Cypselæ, et Doriscon, et Sertheum occupat,' 'then he successively gets possession of the other forts.' See Hand's Tursellinus, 3. 235. It does not appear to be ever used as exactly equivalent to 'deinde,' of mere accidental sequence.

11. Omnes enim, &c., 'for all pro-

vinces ought to submit to the jurisdiction and authority of the Consul.' This seems hardly in accordance with the existing state of things at Rome since the time of Sulla, who limited the authority of the Consul to the home districts, confining the command of the provinces to proconsuls and praetors. (See Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, 3. 367 Eng. Trans.) It was still however competent for the senate to give the Consul extraordinary powers in the provinces; and under any circumstances violent opposition to the first magistrate in the state could only be justified by flagrant misconduct on his part.

13. Consul designatus. See on 3. 15, 37.

15. Putant. For the attraction into the number of 'latrones' see Madv. § 217. Obs. 2.

17. Sicut sunt. Cp. de Orat. 1. 53, 236 'Quamvis sceleratissimi illi fuissent, sicut fuerunt.'

20. Hasta. The sale of the goods of the Pompeian party, by the command of Caesar.

21. Posuerunt. Halm reads 'proposuerunt.' See on 3. 8, 19.

quod auferant, nihil sibi defuturum arbitrantur; quibus M. Antonius—o di immortales, avertite et detestamini, quaeso, hoc omen!—urbem se divisurum esse promisit. Ita vero, Quirites, 10 ut precamini, eveniat, atque huius amentiae poena in ipsum familiamque eius recidat! quod ita futurum esse confido. Iam enim non solum homines, sed etiam deos immortales ad rem publicam conservandam arbitror consensisse. Si enim prodigiis atque portentis di immortales nobis futura praedicunt, ita sunt aperte pronuntiata, ut et illi poena et nobis libertas appropin- 10 quet: sive tantus consensus omnium sine impulsu deorum esse non potuit, quid est quod de voluntate caelestium dubitare possumus?

Reliquum est, Quirites, ut vos in ista sententia, quam prae 5 vobis fertis, perseveretis. Faciam igitur, ut imperatores instructa 11 acie solent, quamquam paratissimos milites ad proeliandum videant, ut eos tamen adhortentur, sic ego vos ardentis et erectos ad libertatem recuperandam cohortabor. Non est vobis, Quirites, cum eo hoste certamen, cum quo aliqua pacis conditio esse possit. Neque enim ille servitutem vestram, ut antea, sed iam iratus 20 sanguinem concupivit. Nullus ei ludus videtur esse iucundior quam cruor, quam caedes, quam ante oculos trucidatio civium. Non est vobis res, Quirites, cum scelerato homine ac nefario, 12

2. Detestamini, 'turn aside at my prayer.' 'Detestor' elsewhere means 'I pray for the removal of;' but this usage, to signify the action of the gods in granting such a prayer, seems to be unparalleled.

5. Familiam, 'his household;' including probably Fulvia, but not his two brothers. See the introduction to this oration.

7. Prodigia, &c. Of these we have no further record.

cc. 5, 6. *It was no use parleying with Antony; he was thirsting for blood, and nothing else would satisfy his rage; they must destroy him, now that they had the opportunity, or they would perish, and that amid disgrace most alien to the nature of the Roman people. He was not a Hannibal, the general of a civilized and responsible country; he had nothing to lose, and therefore nothing to form a material guarantee for the performance of his promises; he was a mere robber, as wicked as Catiline, without his energy, and like Catiline he must be crushed; and Cicero was once more ready*

to contribute all his powers towards accomplishing this end.

15. Quamquam...videant, 'although they may see;' the subjunctive being due to the purely hypothetical character of the clause.

16. Ut...adhortentur depends on 'facere,' to be supplied from 'faciam' with 'solent.' For this use of 'facio ut' cp. de Sen. 12, 42 'Invitus feci ut L. Flaminium e senatu eicerem;' and see 3. 14, 35 note. For the use of 'sic' cp. Fam. 1. 9, 19 'Dixi me facere quiddam, quod in Eunucho parasitus suaderet militi: ... sic petivi a iudicibus.'

19. Neque enim. Krause objects to this clause that it is unworthy of a Roman, and inconsistent with the beginning and end of this speech, to represent the fear of death as a more powerful motive for action than the fear of slavery. But Cicero's argument rather is that when death is imminent there is no chance of escaping it, as slavery may be avoided, or even remedied, by diplomacy.

sed cum immani taetraque belua, quae quoniam in foveam incidit, obruatur. Si enim illim emergerit, nullius supplicii crudelitas erit recusanda. Sed tenetur, premitur, urguetur nunc iis copiis, quas habemus, mox iis, quas paucis diebus novi consules comparabunt. Incumbite in causam, Quirites, ut facitis. Numquam maior consensus vester in ulla causa fuit, numquam tam vehementer cum senatu consociati fuistis. Nec mirum. Agitur enim non qua conditione victuri, sed victurine simus an cum supplicio
 12 ignominiaque perituri. Quamquam mortem quidem natura omnibus proposuit, crudelitatem mortis et dedecus virtus propulsare solet, quae propria est Romani generis et seminis. Hanc retinete, quaeso, quam vobis tamquam hereditatem maiores vestri reliquerunt. Nam cum alia omnia falsa incerta sint, caduca mobilia, virtus est una altissimis defixa radicibus, quae numquam vi ulla labefactari potest, numquam demoveri loco. Hac virtute
 15 maiores vestri primum universam Italiam devicerunt, deinde Karthaginem exciderunt, Numantiam everterunt, potentissimos reges, bellicosissimas gentes in dicionem huius imperii redegerunt.
 6 Ac maioribus quidem vestris, Quirites, cum eo hoste res erat,
 14 qui haberet rem publicam, curiam, aerarium, consensum et concordiam civium, rationem aliquam, si ita res tulisset, pacis et foederis: hic vester hostis vestram rem publicam oppugnat, ipse habet nullam: senatum, id est orbis terrae consilium, delere gestit, ipse consilium publicum nullum habet: aerarium vestrum exhaustit, suum non habet. Nam concordiam civium qui habere
 25

It is the immediate urgency of the danger, not the greatness of the evil threatened, which he is impressing on his audience.

1. In foveam. This appears to have passed into a proverb. Cp. Plaut. Pers. 4. 4, 45 'Pene in foveam decidi.'

2. Illim. See on 2. 31, 77.

Nullius . . . recusanda, 'we shall have no power to repudiate any punishment, however cruel.' This use of the gerundive, to denote capacity, is confined in the best prose writers to negative sentences. See Madv. § 420 Obs.; and cp. 5. 4, 11 'Ferenda nullo modo est.'

11. Propria, &c. See 3. 11, 29 note.

13. Nam cum . . . sint. So Halm, for 'quamquam . . . sint,' from a suggestion of P. R. Müller, in Philologus, 9. 186, the alteration being suggested by the anomaly of 'quamquam' with the subjunctive. Krause

objects, without much force, that the whole passage is too philosophical for the occasion.

16. Universam Italiam. The conquest of Italy was completed by the reduction of Volsinii, 265 B.C., unless the Cisalpine Gauls and Ligurians be included, the latter of whom were not finally subdued till 158 B.C.

17. Karthaginem . . . Numantiam. Cp. Off. 1. 11, 35 'Maiores nostri . . . Karthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt.' The memorable resistance of the latter city to Scipio Africanus, 134 B.C., rather than the importance of its capture, causes it to be placed in the same category as Carthage.

Potentissimos reges, such as Perseus, Antiochus, and Mithridates.

21. Rationem, &c., 'something whereon to found peace and treaties.'

potest, nullam cum habet civitatem? pacis vero quae potest esse cum eo ratio, in quo est incredibilis crudelitas, fides nulla? Est igitur, Quirites, populo Romano, victori omnium gentium, omne certamen cum percussore, cum latrone, cum Spartaco. Nam quod se similem esse Catilinae gloriari solet, scelere par est illi, industria inferior. Ille cum exercitum nullum habuisset, repente conflavit: hic eum exercitum, quem accepit, amisit. Ut igitur Catilinam diligentia mea, senatus auctoritate, vestro studio et virtute fregistis, sic Antonii nefarium latrocinium vestra cum senatu concordia tanta, quanta numquam fuit, felicitate et virtute exercituum ducumque vestrorum brevi tempore oppressum audietis. Equidem, quantum cura, labore, vigiliis, auctoritate, consilio, niti atque efficere potero, nihil praetermittam, quod ad libertatem vestram pertinere arbitrabor: neque enim id pro vestris amplissimis in me beneficiis sine scelere facere possum. Hodierno autem die primum referente viro fortissimo vobisque amicissimo, hoc M. Servilio, collegisque eius, ornatissimis viris, optimis civibus, longo intervallo me auctore et principe ad spem libertatis exarsimus.

1. Cum habet, 'at a time when he no longer has.' This is the Vatican reading, and seems to point more strongly to Antony's outlawry than the common reading 'cum habeat,' *'saying that he has none of his own.'*

4. Cum Spartaco. See on 3. 8, 21.

5. Gloriari solet. Of this we have no record elsewhere. Manutius thinks that it is a pure invention on the part of Cicero, probably to pave the way for his praises of himself.

13. Niti atque efficere. In 2. 10, 23, he reverses this order of the words, 'quantum facere enitque potui.' If however 'eniti' means to 'struggle to the end,' and so 'to achieve,' the reason for the difference of order is apparent, the word marking the

completion of the effort coming last in each case.

15. Sine scelere, &c. Cp. 6. 6, 17 'Quid enim non debeo vobis, Quirites, quem vos a se ortum hominibus nobilissimis omnibus honoribus praetulistis?'

17. M. Servilio. See the introduction to this oration. He was similarly introduced to the meeting before which he delivered the sixth oration by P. Apuleius, tribune of the commons. See 6. 1, 1.

18. Ad spem exarsimus. Jentzen complains of this as being too bold a metaphor. It is not however easy to see why he should not use the expression 'ad spem exardere' as well as 'exaristis ad libertatis recuperandae cupiditatem' 11. 2, 3.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE FIFTH ORATION.

No immediate action could be taken in consequence of the success of Cicero's third oration, as it was necessary to wait till the new Consuls, A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa, entered on office on the 1st of January, 43 B.C. Meanwhile Antony had marched upon Cisalpine Gaul, whereupon D. Brutus threw himself into Mutina, the modern Modena, resolved to stand a siege rather than surrender his province; and Octavianus, at the head of a considerable force, including Antony's two revolted legions, was marching to attack him in the rear. If the new Consuls proved vigorous in attacking Antony, his cause was hopeless, and Cicero was using all his influence to induce them to adopt an energetic policy. On the other hand, they were both staunch adherents of Caesar, who had given them all the position which they held in the state, and therefore they were not likely to be very warm in supporting the cause of one of his assassins, against the man who professed to be upholding all his measures. Hence, though Cicero speaks in public as though they could be thoroughly depended on, yet we learn from his letters that he did not wholly trust them. (Att. 15. 6 and 22.) And this distrust was justified by the proceedings in the senate on the 1st of January. The Consuls themselves indeed adopted a firm and manly tone, which excited Cicero's hopes, but then they called on Q. Fufius Calenus to deliver his opinion first among the consulars. It has been commonly thought that giving him this precedence was a matter of private arrangement; but be this as it may (see on c. 1, 1), at any rate he was Pansa's father-in-law, and might be reasonably supposed to represent the real feelings of the Consul, which his official position forced him in some degree to suppress in his own speech. He was not only a firm partisan of the dictator, but a personal enemy of Cicero (Att. 11. 8, 2), and so closely allied to the cause of Antony, that he was acting as his

representative in Rome, and Fulvia and her children were actually staying at his house. He proposed that Antony should not yet be treated as a public enemy, but that ambassadors should be sent to him, to bring him back, if possible, to his allegiance to the senate. This motion was supported by L. Piso and some other consulars, and it was against it that Cicero delivered his fifth oration.

In it he urges that it would be in the highest degree inconsistent, and unworthy of the dignity of the senate to enter into negotiations with a man whom, a few days before, they had virtually declared to be a public enemy, by voting their thanks to the legions who had deserted him, and to the generals who had taken on themselves to act against him. He passes in review once more the conduct of Antony since the dictator's death; his wanton forgeries; his various pernicious measures, especially condemning his degradation of the judicial bench; and his unconstitutional conduct in maintaining an armed force within the city walls. He maintains that not merely war, but civil war (*tumultus*) should be proclaimed, that the military dress should be assumed, the courts of justice closed, and a general levy made throughout the whole of Italy. He concludes by renewing his proposal of thanks and honours to D. Brutus and Octavianus, and the soldiers under their command.

The debate was continued for the unusual period of four days, and it appears that Cicero would have had a large majority, had not Salvius, a tribune of the commons, interposed his veto, and prevented the motion for declaring Antony a public enemy from being voted on. The proposal of Calenus was then adopted; Servius Sulpicius L. Piso and L. Philippus were appointed ambassadors to treat with Antony; and Cicero so far prevailed that he was entrusted with the drawing out of their commission. They were instructed to call on Antony to raise the siege of Mutina, to cease from further hostilities against D. Brutus, and from all attempts upon the province of Cisalpine Gaul, and to submit himself in all respects to the authority of the senate and the Roman people. If he refused submission on any single point, he was to be treated as a public enemy.

The rest of the proposals in Cicero's motion, with reference to the honours to be bestowed on Brutus and Octavianus and their armies, were carried without opposition.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER QUINTUS.

1 NIHIL umquam longius his Kalendis Ianuariis mihi visum
est, patres conscripti: quod idem intelligebam per hos dies uni
cuique vestrum videri. Qui enim bellum cum re publica gerunt,
hunc diem non exspectabant. Nos autem tum, cum maxime
consilio nostro subvenire communi saluti oporteret, in senatum 5
non vocabamur. Sed querellam praeteritorum dierum sustulit
oratio consulum; qui ita locuti sunt, ut magis exoptatae Kalendae
quam serae esse videantur. Atque ut oratio consulum animum
meum erexit spemque attulit non modo salutis conservandae,
verum etiam dignitatis pristinae recuperandae, sic me pertur- 10
basset eius sententia, qui primus rogatus est, nisi vestrae virtuti

cc. 1, 2. *The speeches of the Consuls on assuming office had done much to lessen the anxiety with which all loyal citizens were longing for the meeting of the senate. But this anxiety was renewed by the proposal of Q. Fufius Calenus, which contrasted strongly with the general firmness shown against Antony, thirteen days before. To send ambassadors to treat with him would be absurdly inconsistent with the recent vote of thanks and honours to those in arms against him: it was what none but Cotta would have ventured to suggest ten days ago: and it almost made one credit the rumour that it would be proposed to give him the government of Transalpine Gaul; in other words, to furnish him with all the means of waging civil war against the state. And yet this would be madness which no plea of friendship or kindred, to say nothing of corruption, could for a moment justify.*

1. Nihil umquam longius, 'nothing ever was more impatiently longed for,' 'seemed longer in coming.' This is a favourite expression with Cicero, cp. Fam.

11. 27, 1; Verr. Act. 2. 4. 18, 39; pro Rab. Post. 12, 35 'Nec mihi longius quidquam est, iudices, quam videre hominum vultus.'

4. Cum . . . oporteret. The subjunctive is used, because it is not so much the exact moment, as the character of the crisis that is signified; 'at a time when,' rather than 'at the moment when our counsel was required.'

7. Ut magis, &c., 'that it is rather the impatience of our anxiety than the real urgency of the case that has made them seem so late in coming.'

11. Qui primus rogatus est. This is shown by 10. 1, 3 to have been Q. Fufius Calenus, since it was the custom to give the precedence of voting to the same man throughout the year. (Suet. Caes. 21.) From the same passage we learn that this precedence was given at the discretion of the Consul, and that Caesar, after the marriage of his daughter, gave it to his son-in-law Pompey. Hence Manutius thinks it probable that Calenus was first asked his vote as being the father-in-law of Pansa. (See 8. 6,

constantiaequae confiderem. Hic enim dies vobis, patres con-
scripti, illuxit, haec potestas data est, ut quantum virtutis, quantum
constantiae, quantum gravitatis in huius ordinis consilio esset,
populo Romano declarare possetis. Recordamini qui dies nudius
5 tertius decimus fuerit, quantus consensus vestrum, quanta virtus,
quanta constantia; quantam sitis a populo Romano laudem,
quantam gloriam, quantam gratiam consecuti. Atque illo die,
patres conscripti, ea constituistis, ut vobis iam nihil sit integrum
nisi aut honesta pax aut bellum necessarium. Pacem vult M. 3
10 Antonius? Arma deponat, roget, deprecetur. Neminem ac-
quiores reperiet quam me, cui, dum se civibus impiis commendat,
inimicus quam amicus esse maluit. Nihil est profecto, quod
possit dari bellum gerenti: erit fortasse aliquid, quod concedi
possit roganti: legatos vero ad eum mittere, de quo gravissimum
15 et severissimum iudicium nudius tertius decimus feceritis, non
iam levitatis est, sed, ut quod sentio dicam, dementiae. Primum 2
duces eos laudavistis, qui contra illum bellum privato consilio
suscepissent; deinde milites veteranos, qui cum ab Antonio in
colonias essent deducti, illius beneficio libertatem populi Romani
20 anteposuerunt. Quid? legio Martia, quid? quarta, cur laudantur? 4
Si enim consulem suum reliquerunt, vituperandae sunt: si in-
imicum rei publicae, iure laudantur. Atqui cum consules nondum
haberetis, decrevistis ut de praemiis militum et de honoribus
imperatorum primo quoque tempore referretur. Placet eodem

19.) It might also have been because he was the junior 'consularis' present, having been Consul in 47 B.C., and his colleague and successors being at this time all either absent from Rome or dead. The usual practice was to begin with the 'consules designati' (see c. 13, 35), but D. Brutus and L. Plancus were also absent.

4. Qui dies nudius tertius decimus, 'what was the character of this day twelve days;' literally 'the day that now is the 13th day since,' a.d. xiii Kal. Ian., the 20th of December, on which the third and fourth orations were delivered. This chapter seems to be the only place where 'nudius' (= 'nunc dies') is used in speaking of a day so distant.

8. Nihil sit integrum nisi, &c., 'the only alternatives now open to you are honourable peace or war from which you cannot shrink.'

18. Suscepissent. It is not easy to

see the reason for the difference of mood of 'suscepissent' and 'anteposuerunt,' unless it be changed to vary the sound of the termination of the two clauses. In both certain definite individuals are referred to, so that the indicative might have been employed; and in both the subjunctive would appropriately have been used as introducing the reason of the special praise. Perhaps the use of the subjunctive is referable to the presence of eos, in the sense of 'such generals as.'

In colonias. See 2. 39, 100 foll. notes.

21. Si enim consulem, &c. Compare the dilemma used in canvassing the conduct of D. Brutus, 4. 3, 8.

22. Nondum haberetis. The city was deserted by both the Consuls of the preceding year, Dolabella having, before the flight of Antony, gone to Asia Minor on his way to Syria.

24. Placet eodem tempore, &c. If ambassadors were sent to Antony, he was

tempore praemia constituere eis, qui contra Antonium arma ceperint, et legatos ad Antonium mittere? ut iam pudendum sit honestiora decreta esse legionum quam senatus: si quidem legiones decreverunt senatum defendere contra Antonium, senatus decernit legatos ad Antonium. Utrum hoc est confirmare militum 5 animos an debilitare virtutem? Hoc dies duodecim profecerunt, ut, quem nemo praeter Cotylam inventus sit qui defenderet, is habeat iam patronos etiam consulares. Qui utinam omnes ante me sententiam rogarentur!—quamquam suspicor, quid dicturi sint quidam eorum, qui post me rogabuntur—: facilius contra dicerem, 10 si quid videretur. Est enim opinio decreturum aliquem Antonio illam ultimam Galliam, quam Plancus obtinet. Quid est aliud omnia ad bellum civile hosti arma largiri? primum nervos belli, pecuniam infinitam, qua nunc eget, deinde equitatum, quantum velit. Equitatum dico? dubitabit, credo, gentes barbaras secum 15 adducere. Hoc qui non videt, excors, qui cum videt decernit, 6 impius est. Tu civem sceleratum et perditum Gallorum et Germanorum pecunia, peditatu, equitatu, copiis instrues? Nullae istae excusationes sunt: 'meus amicus est:' sit patriae prius. 'Meus cognatus.' An potest cognatio propior ulla esse quam 20 patriae, in qua parentes etiam continentur? 'Mihi pecuniam tribuit.' Cupio videre qui id audeat dicere. Quid autem agatur

not considered as an outlaw, and it was only if he were an outlaw that Octavianus, D. Brutus, and the veterans, could be justified in opposing him.

7. Cotyla. L. Varius Cotyla was a most intimate friend of Antony, chosen by him to convey his demands to the senate (8. 8, 24). He had probably been aedile in the preceding year, as Cicero calls him 'aedilicius.'

11. Est enim opinio, &c., 'rumour says that some one will propose,' &c.

12. Ultimam Galliam. L. Munatius Plancus was appointed by Caesar to the command of Gallia Transalpina, with the exception of Narbonensis and Belgica, for the year 44 B.C.

Quid est aliud. See 1. 9, 22; 2. 4, 7 notes.

15. Gentes barbaras. The Romans had often had foreign cavalry in their pay, especially in the campaigns of Caesar in Gaul; and the 'velites' had given place to a 'levis armatura' of barbarian skirmishers; but 'gentes barbarae' would include foreign

legionaries, the 'nationes' of the empire, who had not yet been admitted into a Roman army.

19. Meus amicus. The prominent position of the pronoun in each case seems to point to these pleas being such as would be urged by different senators. It seems probable that no one ventured to make the proposal which Cicero thus condemns.

20. Cognatus. A blood relation by descent from a common ancestor. Cicero argues that the 'cognatio patriae' must come before any ordinary 'cognatio,' since the ground of relationship is to be traced to the founder of the race, and so a man would be proved 'cognatus' to the very persons from whom he would trace his relationship to his kindred. In other 'cognitiones' we trace up to 'parentes'; when we take into consideration the 'cognatio patriae,' 'parentes' and descendants are alike 'cognati' in relation to the supposed founder of the nation.

22. Tribuit, 'he has given me money.' So Halm from the Vatican MS. The

cum aperuero, facile erit statuere quam sententiam dicatis aut quam sequamini.

Agitur, utrum M. Antonio facultas detur opprimendae rei ³ publicae, caedis faciendae bonorum, urbis dividundae, agrorum suis latronibus condonandi, populum Romanum servitute opprimendi, an horum ei facere nihil liceat. Dubitate quid agatis. At non cadunt haec in Antonium. Hoc ne Cotyla quidem dicere auderet. ⁷ Quid enim in eum non cadit? qui, cuius acta se defendere dicit, eius eas leges pervertit, quas maxime laudare poteramus. Ille ¹⁰ paludes siccare voluit: hic omnem Italiam moderato homini,

ordinary reading is 'attribuit,' which would mean 'he has entrusted me with public money on account' (cp. 9. 7, 16 'Uti consules . . . pecuniam redemptori attribuendam solvandamque curent;'. 14. 14, 38 'Quaestores urbanos ad eam rem pecuniam dare, attribuire, solvere iubeant'), so that plea and retort would be alike pointless.

Quid autem agatur, &c. For the order of the clauses, see Madv. § 476 c.

cc. 3, 4. *If any one doubted the use which Antony would make of such an opportunity, he need only look at his previous conduct, when professing to follow in the path of Caesar. Caesar had wished to improve the state domains, Antony, in contempt for all forms, and in despite of the most unmistakable auspices, proposed to carry a law giving the whole of Italy to L. Antonius to distribute. And to prevent any possible remonstrance, on the day when the law was to be voted on, he occupied the forum with an overwhelming force of armed men. Cicero therefore proposes that all his laws should be formally annulled: that those which were beneficial should be re-enacted: but that all his embezzlement of public money, all his forgeries, all his fraudulent dealings in pardons, immunities, treaties and grants must be condemned, and reversed, so far as possible, by a solemn decree of the senate.*

4. Urbis dividundae. This is the emendation of Halm, in his 'corrigenda,' derived from a comparison of § 7; 8. 3, 9; 13. 9, 19; *ib.* 19, 42 and 20, 47; in all of which passages a division of the city is spoken of as forming part of Antony's plans. The reading of the Vatican MS. is 'urbis emendorum,' crowded in by a later hand over an erasure too small for it; that of the other MSS. 'bonorum eripendorum, urbis, agrorum suis condonandi.' The combination of gerundive constructions is remarkable.

We have first the simple construction with the gerund, 'populum . . . opprimendi;' secondly, the ordinary attracted construction with the gerundive, 'opprimendae rei publicae;' and thirdly, the intermediate construction, 'agrorum condonandi,' where the object is attracted into the case of the gerund, but the gerund itself remains unaltered. (See Madv. § 413. Obs. 2.) Kritz (on Sallust, Cat. 31, 5) explains this last construction by supposing that the leading substantive and the gerund combine so as to form one notion; on which the second genitive depends. This, however, seems too artificial. Cp. de Invent. 2. 2, 5 'Exemplorum eligendi potestas.'

6. Dubitate, &c., 'hesitate, if ye can, what course to take.' Some editors, without authority, read 'dubitatis.'

At non. The inferior MSS. have 'an non;' but the clause comes in much better as an objection from some friend of Antony, 'yet all this affects not Antony,' than as a question from Cicero.

8. Qui, cuius acta, &c., 'who while professing to maintain the acts of Caesar, selects those laws of his for travesty which we might best have praised.'

10. Paludes. The drainage of the Pomptine marshes was commenced by Caesar, and some progress seems to have been made before his death, as Dion Cassius tells us (49. 5) that Antony proposed to divide the land reclaimed among the poorer Roman citizens; *χώραν ἑλλην τε πολλήν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι τοῖς Ποντικῶσι ὡς κακωμένους ἤδη καὶ γεωργεῖσθαι δύναμιν κληρουχῆθηναι διὰ τοῦ κτίου Ἀντωνίου ἀδελφοῦ δημορχοῦντος ἐσηγήσατο.* For this commission to divide the lands, which Cicero here magnifies into a division of all Italy, cp. 11. 6, 13; 2. 3, 6 note. The law appointing the commissioners was annulled as being carried illegally. See also 6. 5, 14.

L. Antonio, dividendam dedit. Quid? hanc legem populus Romanus accepit? quid? per auspicia ferri potuit? Sed augur verecundus sine collegis de auspiciis: quamquam illa auspicia non egent interpretatione; Iove enim tonante cum populo agi non esse fas quis ignorat? Tribuni plebi tulerunt de provinciis contra 5 acta C. Caesaris: ille biennium, iste sexennium. Etiam hanc legem populus Romanus accepit? quid? promulgata fuit? quid? non ante lata quam scripta est? quid? non ante factum vidimus 8 quam futurum quisquam est suspicatus? Ubi lex Caecilia et Didia? ubi promulgatio trinum nundinum? ubi poena recenti 10 lege Iunia et Licinia? Possuntne hae leges esse ratae sine interitu legum reliquarum? Eccui potestas in forum insinuandi fuit? Quae porro illa tonitrua! quae tempestas! ut, si auspicia M. Antonium non moverent, sustinere tamen eum ac ferre posse

2. Augur verecundus, &c., 'but our augur is bashful about interpreting the auspices without his colleagues.' Cp. 10. 6, 13 'Homo verecundus in Macedoniam non accedit.' De introduces the subject-matter of his bashfulness, in a manner more common with verbs; but cp. pro Sest. 33, 72 'Quae etiam collegae eius moderatio de me.'

4. Iove tonante. Cp. de Div. 2. 18, 42 'In nostris commentariis scriptum habemus, Iove tonante, fulgurante, comitia populi haberi nefas:' and see 2. 38, 99 note.

5. Plebi. So the Vatican MS. here and in c. 4, 9. The form is defended and illustrated by Drakenborch on Livy 2. 43.

6. Ille biennium, &c. It is doubtful who are meant by 'ille' and 'iste.' The latter would seem to refer to Antony, working through his tools, the tribunes of the commons. 'Ille' then must be Caesar, and the meaning is, 'Caesar fixed the tenure of a province at two years, Antony extends this to six.' In 8. 9, 28 Antony is represented as demanding that he should hold his province for *few* years, perhaps by way of moderation. Otherwise 'ille' and 'iste' might refer to the two proposers of the change, the one advocating the tenure of praetorian provinces for two years, the other that of consular provinces for six. This seems less likely, partly because there would be no object in thus dividing the measure, partly because it loses the contemptuous force of 'iste,' so appropriately used of Antony. Halm reads 'hic,' apparently adopting the latter interpretation; Kayser 'hi.' For the 'Lex Iulia de provinciis' cp. 1. 8, 19; 2. 42, 109.

9. Lex Caecilia et Didia, passed

by the Consuls Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos, and T. Didius, 98 B.C., and requiring that every law should be published on three successive 'nundinae' before it was proposed. This law and the 'Lex Iunia et Licinia' were considered by Cicero two of the 'remedia rei publicae,' Att. 2. 9, 1.

10. Trinum nundinum. This passage, with de Dom. 16, 41 'Quod in ceteris legibus trinum nundinum esse oportet, id in adoptione satis est trium esse horarum,' seems to show that 'trinum nundinum' was originally a syncope of genitive plural (see on 2. 17, 43), though afterwards, like 'sestertium' (see on 2. 37, 95) it came to be treated as a neuter singular, as in Livy 3. 35 'Postquam comitia decemviris creandis in trinum nundinum indicta sunt;' Quint. 2. 4, 35 'Rogatio sive non trino forte nundino promulgata, sive non idoneo die.'

11. Lege Iunia et Licinia, passed by the Consuls D. Iunius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena, 62 B.C., against introducing laws without due notice, 'ne clam aerario legem ferri liceret.'

12. Insinuandi, 'of making their way into the forum.' 'Insinuo' is more generally used with the reflexive pronoun, but cp. Fam. 4. 13, 6 'In ipsius consuetudinem insinuabo.' The later MSS. have 'introducendi,' a manifest gloss for the less usual but more expressive word. Antony had so blocked the entrance, that no management could procure a passage. See below, c. 4, 9.

13. Si auspicia, &c., 'if his religious feeling could not be aroused, the storm was enough to break down any ordinary physical powers.'

tantam vim tempestatis, imbris ac turbinum, mirum videretur. Quam legem igitur se augur dicit tulisse non modo tonante Iove, sed prope caelesti clamore prohibente, hanc dubitabit contra auspicia latam confiteri? Quid? quod cum eo collega tulit, quem 9 ipse fecit sua nuntiatione vitiosum, nihilne ad auspicia bonus augur pertinere arbitratus est? Sed auspiciorum nos fortasse 4 erimus interpretes, qui sumus eius collegae. Num ergo etiam armorum interpretes quaerimus? Primum omnes fori aditus ita saepti, ut, etiam si nemo obstaret armatus, tamen nisi saeptis 10 revulsis introiri in forum nullo modo posset: sic vero erant disposita praesidia, ut, quo modo hostium aditus urbe prohibentur, ita castellis et vperibus ab ingressione fori populum tribunosque plebi propulsari videres. Quibus de causis eas leges, quas M. 10 Antonius tulisse dicitur, omnes censeo per vim et contra auspicia 15 latas iisque legibus populum non teneri. Si quam legem de actis Caesaris confirmandis deve dictatura in perpetuum tollenda deve colonis in agros deducendis tulisse M. Antonius dicitur, easdem leges de integro, ut populum teneant, salvis auspiciis ferri placet. Quamvis enim res bonas vitiose per vimque tulerit, tamen eae 20 leges non sunt habendae, omnisque audacia gladiatoris amentis auctoritate nostra repudianda est. Illa vero dissipatio pecuniae 11 publicae ferenda nullo modo est, per quam sestertium septiens miliens falsis perscriptionibus donationibusque avertit, ut portenti

3. Clamore depends on prohibente; 'when Jupiter is not only thundering, but absolutely stopping all action by his uproar in the sky.'

4. Cum eo collega. Dolabella. See on 2. 33, 82 foll.

6. Nos fortasse erimus interpretes. Cp. 2. 33, 83 'Acta Dolabellae necesse est aliquando ad nostrum collegium deferantur.'

7. Num ergo, &c. The meaning of the arms at any rate was plain enough. Garatinius compares, for the rhetorical figure, 8. 1, 2 'Ergo ille (L. Caesar) avunculus; num etiam vos avunculi, qui illi estis assensi?'

14. Censeo, 'I give my formal vote.' See 3. 15, 37 note.

15. Si quam legem, &c. The meaning of this seems to be that Antony, by illegally passing measures to suit his own purposes, had thrown such suspicion over all his acts, that even his beneficial measures, for the more security, had better be formally

re-enacted. The dictatorship had been abolished, and Caesar's acts confirmed, by a decree of the senate, not by a law, but the argument would equally apply to both.

19. Quamvis here qualifies bonas, and leges is the predicate of the apodosis. 'However good the measures may have been which he passed irregularly and by force, yet they must not be considered laws.'

22. Sestertium septiens milliens. Somewhat over 6,000,000l. of our money. Cp. 2. 14, 35; 37, 93.

23. Falsis perscriptionibus, 'by forged entries.' 'Perscriptio' is a memorandum of money spent, not yet formally entered in the account book. Cp. pro Rosc. Com. 2, 5 'Suum codicem (ledger) testis loco recitare arrogantiae est; suarum perscriptionum et litterarum adversaria proferre non amentia est?' The entries referred to were forged in the papers which Antony produced as Caesar's.

Avertit, 'he has embezzled,' 'turned

simile videatur tantam pecuniam populi Romani tam brevi tempore perire potuisse. Quid? illi immanes quaestus ferendine, quos M. Antonii tota exhaustit domus? Decreta falsa vendebat, regna, civitates, immunitates in aes accepta pecunia iubebat incidi. Haec se ex commentariis C. Caesaris, quorum ipse auctor erat, 5 agere dicebat. Calebant in interiore aedium parte totius rei publicae nundinae; mulier, sibi felicior quam viris, auctionem provinciarum regnorumque faciebat; restituebantur exsules quasi lege sine lege: quae nisi auctoritate senatus rescinduntur, quoniam ingressi in spem rei publicae, recuperandae sumus, imago nulla 10 liberae civitatis relinquetur. Neque solum commentariis commenticiis chirographisque venalibus innumerabilis pecunia congesta in illam domum est, cum, quae vendebat Antonius, ea se ex actis Caesaris agere diceret, sed senatus etiam consulta pecunia accepta falsa referebat; syngraphae obsignabantur; senatus con- 15 sulta numquam facta ad aerarium deferebantur. Huius turpitudinis testes erant etiam exterae nationes. Foedera interea facta, regna data, populi provinciaeque liberatae, ipsarumque rerum falsae tabulae gemente populo Romano toto Capitolio figebantur. Quibus rebus tanta pecunia una in domo coacervata est, ut, si hoc † genus 20 pene in unum redigatur, non sit pecunia rei publicae defutura.

to his own use; cp. Verr. Act. 2. 3. 19, 49 'Si doceo te non minus domum tuam avertisse quam Romam misisse.'

4. Immunitates, &c. See 2. 36, 92 notes.

5. Commentariis. See 1. 1, 2 note.

Ipse auctor. Cp. 2. 14, 35 note.

7. Quam viris. Two of whom, P. Clodius, and C. Curio, she had outlived. See 2. 44, 113 note.

8. Exsules. Cp. 2. 23, 56.

15. Referebat. Sc. 'in tabulas;' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 4. 65, 146 'Cum iam non solum discussio facta est, sed etiam perscriptum atque in tabulas relatum.'

Syngraphae, 'contracts were signed and sealed.' Notably that with Deiotarus; see 2. 37, 95 note.

16. Ad aerarium. Laws and decrees of the senate, after being exposed to public view a sufficient time, were finally deposited, for safe custody, with the 'quaestores aerarii' in the treasury. Cp. Tac. Ann. 3. 51 'Factum senatus consultum ne decreta patrum ante diem decimum ad aerarium deferrentur; Livy 39. 4 'Qui per infrequen-

tiam furtim factum senatus consultum ad aerarium detulerit.' Originally, from the time of the abolition of the decemvirate, decrees of the senate had been placed in the temple of Ceres, under the care of the aediles. See Livy 3. 55. In 12. 5, 12 and 13. 9, 19 Cicero uses the expression 'delata,' without specifying the place.

18. Liberatae, sc. 'vectigalibus.' Cp. 2. 38, 97.

19. Toto Capitolio figebantur. So elsewhere of Caesar's decrees, genuine or forged, 2. 36, 91; 37. 93; 38. 97; 12. 5, 12.

20. Hoc genus pene, &c. This is the reading of the Vatican MS., and no satisfactory emendation has been proposed. The other MSS. omit 'pene,' for which 'pecuniae' and 'penu' (itself a form only quoted by grammarians from Afranius) have been suggested. The meaning is clear, 'could all this treasure be realised;' but the reading seems hopeless. P. R. Müller suggests 'si hoc genus populi in usum redigatur,' but even with this violent alteration he leaves 'genus' unexplained. Halm proposes 'si

Legem etiam iudiciariam tulit, homo castus atque integer, 5
iudiciorum et iuris auctor. In quo nos fefellit. Antesignanos et
manipulares et Alaudas iudices se constituisse dicebat. At ille
legit aleatores, legit exsules, legit Graecos. O consessum iudicum
5 praeclarum! o dignitatem consilii admirandam! Avet animus 13
apud consilium illud pro reo dicere. Cydam Cretensem, portentum
insulae, hominem audacissimum et perditissimum. Sed fac non
esse: num Latine scit? num est ex iudicum genere et forma?
num, quod maximum est, leges nostras moresve novit? num deni-
10 que homines? est enim Creta vobis notior quam Roma Cydae;
dilectus autem et notatio iudicum etiam in nostris civibus haberi
solet. Cortynium vero iudicem quis novit aut quis nosse potuit?
Nam Lysiaden Atheniensem plerique novimus; est enim Phaedri,
philosophi nobilis, filius, homo praeterea festivus, ut ei cum Curio,
15 consessore eodemque collusore, facillime possit convenire. Quaero 14
igitur, si Lysides citatus iudex non responderit excuseturque
Areopagites esse nec debere eodem tempore Romae et Athenis

hoc ingens fenus.' The right reading may perhaps be, as has been suggested by Professor Conington, 'si hoc genus omne in unum redigatur,' 'if all these various kinds of treasure could be reduced to one, viz. money.'

cc. 5, 6. Especially his law with respect to the 'iudicium' must be repealed. It was bad enough at first sight that centurions and even private soldiers of a foreign legion should be indiscriminately admitted to the judicial bench. But the reality was even worse: among the best of the new 'iudices' were aliens and gamblers, men either unknown in Rome, or better known than liked, men over whom the praetor could have no control, some of them even ignorant of the Latin language. And after these came all the drags of Antony's revellers; the sole object of the law being to secure impunity for crimes which could not possibly escape before a decently-respectable tribunal. Such a law was a deep disgrace to the whole country, and even had it been legally passed, must needs have been annulled.

1. Legem iudiciariam. See on 1. 8, 19 foll.

3. At ille legit, &c. What he acknowledged was bad enough, that he appointed men who had no position to guarantee their integrity, private soldiers, of foreign extraction. Yet these at least were

Roman citizens, and had not forfeited their reputation. 'Those whom he really chose were even worse, gamblers, exiles, even Greeks. A noble bench of judges, a court of truly wondrous dignity!' Cp. Att. 1. 16, 3 'Non enim umquam turpius in ludo talario consessus fuit.'

6. Cydam. Sc. 'legit.' 'Cydas' was a common name in Cortyna, but this man is otherwise unknown.

8. Ex iudicum genere et forma, 'of the breed and stamp of men of whom we make our judges.'

11. Dilectus, &c., 'even among our own citizens we exercise some choice and discrimination.' Cp. 1. 8, 20 'Census praefiniebatur.'

13. Nam Lysiaden, &c. 'Nam' carries on the connection rather of Cicero's thoughts than of his words. 'Who could be expected to know a jurymen from Cortyna; this is worse than all, for men like Lysides at least we know.'

Phaedrus was the president of the Epicurean school when Cicero was at Athens, 80 B.C. Cp. de Nat. Deor. 1. 33, 93; de Fin. 1. 5, 16.

14. Ut ei cum Curio, &c., 'so that he would have no difficulty in agreeing with Curius, his partner on the bench and at the gaming table.'

17. Areopagites esse. A Greek con-

res iudicare: accipietne excusationem is, qui quaestioni praeerit, Graeculi iudicis, modo palliati, modo togati? an Atheniensium antiquissimas leges negliget? Qui porro ille consessus, di boni! Cretensis iudex, isque nequissimus. Quem ad modum ad hunc reus alleget? quo modo accedat? dura natio est. At Athenienses 5 misericordes. Puto ne Curium quidem esse crudelem, qui periculum fortunae quotidie facit. Sunt item lecti iudices, qui fortasse excusabuntur; habent enim legitimam excusationem, exsilii causa 15 solum vertisse nec esse postea restitutos. Hos ille demens iudices legisset, horum nomina ad aerarium detulisset, his magnam partem 10 rei publicae credidisset, si ullam speciem rei publicae cogitavisset? 6 Atque ego de notis iudicibus dixi: quos minus nostis, nolui nominare: saltatores, citharistas, totum denique commissationis Antonianae chorum in tertiam decuriam iudicum scitote esse coniectum. En causam cur lex tam egregia tamque praeclara 15 maximo imbri, tempestate, ventis, procellis, turbinibus, inter fulmina et tonitrua ferretur, ut eos iudices haberemus, quos hospites habere nemo velit. Scelerum magnitudo, conscientia maleficiorum, direptio eius pecuniae, cuius ratio in aede Opis confecta est, hanc tertiam decuriam excogitavit: nec ante turpes iudices 20

struction, perhaps introduced to suit the nationality of *Lysides*. Cp. *Catull.* 4. 1

* *Phaselus ille quem videtis hospites Ait fuisse navium celerimus.*

1. Is qui quaestioni praeerit, &c., 'will the presiding praetor admit the excuse of the Greekling judge, clad now in Greek, and now in Roman garb?'

4. Quem ad modum. So the Vatican MS. 'How shall a prisoner get an advocate to plead before this man?' 'Allegare' is used in private matters as 'legare' in public, 'to employ a representative.' Cp. *Fam.* 15. 4, 16 'Extremum illud est, ut philosophiam ad te allegem.' In post-Augustan Latin it obtains the meaning 'to allege.' The other MSS. have 'quem ad hunc,' 'what advocate shall he employ.'

5. Dura natio est. J. Meursius, in his account of Crete, gives a long list of the vices of the Cretans, convicting them, on the testimony of ancient authors, of cunning, avarice, treachery, disloyalty, and piracy; but their cruelty, except so far as it might be involved in the other faults, does not seem to be elsewhere recorded.

At Athenienses. This at least cannot be said against them all. *Lysides* is of a

nation noted for its clemency.

7. Lecti, 'chosen by Antony.'

8. Legitimam excusationem. Absence from Rome on the service of the state was a valid plea for escaping the burden of the 'iudicium,' and these men had been required by the state to go abroad. Cp. *pro Quinct.* 28, 86 'Exsilii causa solum vertisse;' *Juv.* 11. 49 'Qui vertere solum Baias et ad Ostia currunt.'

11. Si ullam speciem, &c., 'had any kind of commonwealth been in his thoughts.'

14. In tertiam decuriam. See 1. 8, 19 and 20 notes.

16. Maximo imbri, &c. See above, c. 3. 8.

17. Quos hospites. So the Vatican MS. The others have 'quos socios ad epulas hospites,' the additional words bearing evident signs of being a gloss to interpret 'hospites.'

19. Ratio confecta est, 'the tale of which was duly stored.' There appears here to be a confusion of ideas between 'rationem conficere,' 'to make up one's accounts,' (cp. *Fam.* 5. 20, 2 'Rationes confectas collatas,') and 'pecuniam conficere,' 'to gather money together,' cp. *pro Flacc.* 9, 20 'Duae rationes conficiendae pecuniae.'

quaesiti quam honestis iudicibus nocentium salus desperata est. Sed illud os, illam impuritatem caeni fuisse, ut hos iudices legere auderet! quorum lectione duplex imprimeretur rei publicae dedecus: unum, quod tam turpes iudices essent; alterum, quod patefactum cognitumque esset, quam multos in civitate turpes haberemus. Hanc ergo et reliquas eius modi leges, etiam si sine vi salvis auspiciis essent rogatae, censerem tamen abrogandas: nunc vero cur abrogandas censeam, quas iudico non rogatas?

An illa non gravissimis ignominiiis monumentisque huius ordinis ad posteritatis memoriam sunt notanda, quod unus M. Antonius in hac urbe post conditam urbem palam secum habuerit armatos: quod neque reges nostri fecerunt neque ii, qui regibus exactis regnum occupare voluerunt. Cinnam memini, vidi Sullam, modo Caesarem: hi enim tres post civitatem a L. Bruto liberatam plus potuerunt quam universa res publica. Non possum affirmare nullis telis eos stipatos fuisse: hoc dico nec multis et occultis. At hanc pestem agmen armatorum sequebatur: Cassius, Mustela, Tiro, gladios ostentantes, sui similes greges ducebant per forum; certum agminis locum tenebant barbari sagittarii. Cum autem erat ventum ad aedem Concordiae, gradus complebantur, lecticae collocabantur, non quo ille scuta occulta esse vellet, sed ne

2. Fuisse. The later MSS. have 'fuisse,' but the exclamation of indignant surprise suits better here. It was bad enough to work out the idea of the third decuria; but to think of the shamelessness, the foul iniquity that dared to choose such jurymen as these to sit in it! Cp. Fam. 14. 1, 1 'Me miserum! te, ista virtute, fide, probitate, humanitate in tantas acumnas propter me incidisse.'

3. Imprimeretur. The subjunctive is used, because the proposition sets forth, not the identity, but the character of the jurymen, who were such that by choosing them a double disgrace was inflicted on the state; first, the corruption of the judicial bench; and secondly, the revelation that such reproaches were so numerous in Rome.

8. Nunc vero, &c. His only reason for not proposing their repeal was that this would be an acknowledgment that they had been constitutionally passed.

cc. 6, 7. Urging the enormity of Antony's offence in bringing armed men into the senate-house, Cicero strengthens his proposal to annul the laws of Antony, by passing in review his conduct towards the senate. On

the 1st of September he threatened to pull down Cicero's house for being absent, though there was no pressing business to discuss; and having been absent himself when Cicero delivered his first Philippic oration, he spent seventeen days in drinking and declaiming in Scipio's villa, by way of preparing a reply. On the occasion of its delivery, nothing but absence could have saved Cicero from the violence of Antony and his brother Lucius; and all Antony's policy since that time had consisted in plundering and distributing to his ruffians the property of honest men.

9. Gravissimis ignominiiis, &c., 'records to our posterity of the deepest ignominy which this senate can inflict.'

12. Armatos. The tyrant's bodyguard. See 1. 11, 27 note.

13. Cinnam, &c. Cp. 2. 42, 108.

17. Cassius. Perhaps Barba Cassius, who is mentioned in connection with Mustela and Tiro 13. 2, 3. For these latter see on 2. 4, 8.

19. Barbari. The Ituraeans. See on 2. 8, 19.

21. Non quo . . . vellet. See on 1. 4, 9.

7 familiares, si scuta ipsi ferrent, laborarent. Illud vero taeterrimum
non modo adspectu, sed etiam auditu, in cella Concordiae collocari
armatos, latrones, sicarios; de templo carcerem fieri; opertis
valvis Concordiae, cum inter subsellia[†] senatus versarentur latrones,
10 patres conscriptos sententias dicere. Huc nisi venirem Kalendis 5
Septembribus, etiam fabros se missurum et domum meam dis-
turbaturum esse dixit. Magna res, credo, agebatur: de supplica-
tione referebat. Veni postridie: ipse non venit. Locutus sum
de re publica, minus equidem libere quam mea consuetudo, liberius
tamen quam periculi minae postulabant. At ille homo vehemens 10
et violentus, qui hanc consuetudinem libere dicendi excluderet—
fecerat enim hoc idem maxima cum laude L. Piso triginta diebus
ante—, inimicitias mihi denunciavit; adesse in senatum iussit a. d.
xiii Kalendas Octobres. Ipse interea septemdecim dies de me
in Tiburtino Scipionis declamavit, sitim quaerens: haec enim 15
20 ei causa esse declamandi solet. Cum is dies, quo me adesse
iusserat, venisset, tum vero agmine quadrato in aedem Concordiae
venit atque in me absentem orationem ex ore impurissimo evomuit.
Quo die, si per amicos mihi cupienti in senatum venire licuisset,
caedis initium fecisset a me; sic enim statuerat. Cum autem 20
semel gladium scelere imbuisset nulla res ei finem caedendi nisi
defatigatio et satietas attulisset. Etenim aderat Lucius frater,
gladiator Asiaticus, qui myrmillo Mylasis depugnarat; sanguinem

2. Non modo adspectu, sed etiam auditu. This is Halm's reading, from a conjecture of P. R. Müller, based on a comparison of the Vatican reading, 'non modo auditus sed etiam aspectu' (which involves an anticlimax, unless it might be, 'a disgrace which is not merely a matter of report, but of ocular witness,') with 2. 25, 63 'O rem non modo visu foedam, sed etiam auditu.' The other MSS. have 'auditum, non modo aspectu.'

3. Opertis valvis. Cp. 2. 44, 112 'Cur valvae Concordiae non patent?'

5. Kal. Sept., the day before the first Philippic was delivered. Cp. 1. 5, 12.

9. Minus libere. As he still wished to leave a door of reconciliation open. See introd. to the first oration.

11. Qui...excluderet, 'violent to the extent of barring this habit of free speech.'

12. Fecerat enim, &c. The parenthetic clause is apparently introduced to explain and justify the word 'consuetudinem.' The

speech of L. Piso was on the 1st of August. Cp. 1. 4, 10.

13. A. d. xiii Kal. Oct. On the 19th of September Antony delivered the speech to which the second Philippic is supposed to be an answer. See introd. to the second oration.

15. In Tiburtino Scipionis. Cp. 2. 17, 42.

Sitim quaerens, 'to stimulate his thirst.' Hence his use of the exaggeration 'declamavit,' rather than 'commentatus est,' which he employs in his account of the same matter to Q. Cassius, Fam. 12. 2, 1. Some MSS. insert the words 'ut digestio potius quam declamatio videretur,' which seem to be a gloss.

23. Myrmillo. See on 3. 12, 31. Of the circumstance to which Cicero alludes we have no record except his own repeated taunts. Cp. c. 11, 30; 6. 4, 10; 7. 6, 17. Mylasa was the principal city of Caria.

nostrum sitiebat, suum in illa gladiatoria pugna multum profuderat. Hic pecunias vestras aestimabat; possessiones notabat et urbanas et rusticas; huius mendicitas aviditate coniuncta in fortunas nostras imminebat; dividebat agros quibus et quos volebat; nullus aditus erat privato, nulla aequitatis deprecatio: tantum quisque habebat possessor, quantum reliquerat divisor Antonius. Quae quamquam, si leges irritas feceritis, rata esse non possunt, tamen separatim suo nomine notanda censeo, iudicandumque nullos septemviros fuisse, nihil placere ratum esse, quod ab iis actum diceretur.

M. vero Antonium quis est qui civem possit iudicare potius quam taeterrimum et crudelissimum hostem, qui pro aede Castoris sedens audiente populo Romano dixerit, nisi victorem victurum neminem? Num putatis, patres conscripti, dixisse eum minacius quam facturum fuisse? Quid vero, quod in contione dicere ausus est, se, cum magistratu abisset, ad urbem futurum cum exercitu, introiturum quotienscumque vellet, quid erat aliud nisi denuntiare populo Romano servitutem? Quod autem eius iter Brundisium! Quae festinatio! quae spes, nisi ad urbem vel in urbem potius

1. Multum profuderat, 'he had poured forth unsparingly.'

3. Aviditate coniuncta. For the use of the ablative cp. 3. 14. 35 'Ea summa miseria est summo dedecore coniuncta;' and see Madv. § 268 a. Obs. 2.

4. Nullus aditus privato, &c., 'no private individual could gain an audience, there was no force in arguments of equity to gain immunity.'

7. Si leges irritas feceritis, &c. Cicero might have been content to let the commission of the 'septemviri' and their acts fall through in the general annulling of Antony's laws, but the special iniquity of them seemed to call for individual notice, and to require every care that they should not be allowed to stand for want of attention being drawn to them.

cc. 8, 9. Antony had persistently endeavoured to bring about a reign of terror. He had threatened his opponents with death, and all the people with slavery; he had gone to Brundisium to get forces adequate for his purpose, and finding that the troops refused to be his tools, he took a murderous revenge on their centurions. C. Caesar offered to oppose him, and Antony was prepared to move that he should be declared

a public enemy, had not the defection of his legions caused him to flee in panic from the city. Even then he persevered in his evil designs, marching on Cisalpine Gaul, and besieging D. Brutus in Mutina. He, a Roman citizen, was waging against Rome a war more savage and destructive than any foreign foe had ever done: and yet men hesitated to declare him an enemy, and were for sending envoys to him, thus lowering the dignity of the senate, cooling the general ardour for war, and losing precious time, without a chance of doing good.

13. Nisi victorem, &c. Cp. 3. 11, 27.

15. Quam facturum fuisse. For this attraction from the finite verb after 'quam' see Madv. § 402 c.

17. Quotienscumque vellet. Constitutionally a military commander lost his 'imperium' by entering the city. See on 1. 2, 6; and on c. 16, 45.

18. Iter Brundisium. See 2. 30, 76 note.

19. Nisi ad urbem. So the Vatican MS. Some MSS. have 'nisi ut ad urbem,' but not only would the construction 'spes ut' be a very unusual one, (cp. de Am. 19. 68 'Spem adferunt ut fructus appareat'), but

exercitum maximum adduceret? Qui autem dilectus centurionum! quae effrenatio impotentis animi! Cum eius promissis legiones fortissimae reclamassent, domum ad se venire iussit centuriones, quos bene sentire de re publica cognoverat, eosque ante pedes suos uxorisque suae, quam secum gravis imperator ad exercitum s duxerat, iugulari coëgit. Quo animo hunc futurum fuisse censetis in nos, quos oderat, cum in eos, quos numquam viderat, tam crudelis fuisset? et quam avidum in pecuniis locupletium, qui pauperum sanguinem concupisset? quorum ipsorum bona, quantacumque erant, statim suis comitibus compotoribusque descripsit. 20

23 Atque ille furens infesta iam patriae signa a Brundisio inferebat, cum C. Caesar deorum immortalium beneficio, divina animi, ingenii, consilii magnitudine, quamquam sua sponte eximiaque virtute, tamen approbatione auctoritatis meae colonias patrias adiit, veteranos milites convocavit, paucis diebus exercitum fecit, 15 incitatos latronum impetus retardavit. Postea vero quam legio Martia ducem praestantissimum vidit, nihil egit aliud nisi ut

9 aliquando liberi essemus: quam est imitata quarta legio. Quo ille nuntio audito cum senatum vocasset adhibuissetque consularem, qui sua sententia C. Caesarem hostem iudicaret, repente 20

24 concidit. Post autem, neque sacrificiis sollemnibus factis neque votis nuncupatis, non profectus est, sed profugit paludatus. At

the clause introduced by 'nisi' is evidently meant to give the grounds, not the substance of his hope.

1. Centurionum. See 3. 2, 4 note.

2. Effrenatio, *ἄρᾱς ἐλκνυμένων*, 'what unbridled fury of an ill-regulated temper.' Cp. Hor. Od. I. 37, 10 'Quidlibet impotens sperare.'

3. Reclamassent, 'had shouted disapproval.' Cp. Fam. I. 2, 2 'Orationi reclamare,' and see on 4. 2, 5.

10. Descripsit, 'he portioned off.' Cp. pro Flacc. 14, 32 'Descripsit pecuniam ad Pompeii rationem.'

12. Divina. So Halm, for 'divini,' from a conjecture of Madvig's, supported by one MS.

13. Quamquam sua sponte, &c., 'of his own free will, it is true, under the promptings of his unrivalled virtue, yet with the full sanction of my authority.' Cp. Att. 16. 8, 2 'Consultabat, utrum Romam cum tribus milibus veteranorum proficeretur, an Capuam teneret . . . an iret ad

tres legiones Macedonicas.'

17. Ducem praestantissimum. Of this he had at least hitherto given no proof, having held no military command.

Nihil egit aliud, &c., 'it strove for nothing else except our freedom.'

19. Consularem, &c. We know from 3. 8, 20 that the consular in question had come into the senate with his vote ready written down. 'When he had procured a consular to pronounce Octavianus an enemy by formal vote.'

21. Concidit, 'he collapsed.' cp. 2. 42, 107 'concidisti.'

22. Votis nuncupatis. See 3. 4, 11 note. He there represents Antony as having pronounced the vows, but left the sacrifices unperformed.

Non profectus est, sed profugit. Cp. c. 11, 30 'Post discessum latronis vel potius desperatam fugam;' and 13. 9, 19 'Egressus est non viis, sed tramitibus paludatus, . . . ex eo non iter, sed cursus et fuga in Galliam.'

quo? In provinciam firmissimorum civium, qui illum, ne si ita quidem venisset, ut nullum bellum inferret, ferre potuissent, impotentem, iracundum, contumeliosum, superbum, semper poscentem, semper rapientem, semper ebrium. At ille, cuius ne
 5 pacatam quidem nequitiam quisquam ferre posset, bellum intulit provinciae Galliae; circumsedet Mutinam, firmissimam et splendidissimam populi Romani coloniam; oppugnat D. Brutum imperatorem, consulem designatum, civem non sibi, sed nobis et
 rei publicae natum. Ergo Hannibal hostis, civis Antonius? 25
 10 Quid ille fecit hostiliter, quod hic non aut fecerit aut faciat aut moliatur et cogitet? Totum iter Antoniorum quid habuit nisi depopulationes, vastationes, caedes, rapinas? quas non faciebat Hannibal, quia multa ad usum suum reservabat: at hi, qui in horam viverent, non modo de fortunis et de bonis civium,
 15 sed ne de utilitate quidem sua cogitaverunt.

Ad hunc, di boni! legatos mitti placet? Norunt isti homines formam rei publicae, iura belli, exempla maiorum? cogitant quid populi Romani maiestas, quid senatus severitas postulet? Legatos decernis? Si, ut deprecere, contemnet: si, ut imperes, non
 20 audiet: denique quamvis severa legatis mandata dederimus, nomen ipsum legatorum hunc, quem videmus, populi Romani restinguet ardorem, municipiorum atque Italiae franget animos. Ut omittam haec, quae magna sunt, certe ista legatio moram

1. Firmissimorum. Most editions add 'et fortissimorum,' which is added by a later hand in the Vatican MS., but seems to be a gloss, perhaps derived from 3. 15, 38.

6. Mutinam, now Modena. A colony, with the full rights of Roman citizens, was planted here in 183 B.C., to strengthen the Roman frontier on the subjection of the Boii.

10. Hostiliter, 'so as to prove himself an enemy.'

Quod hic non fecerit, &c., 'which does not find a parallel in what Antony either has done, or is doing, or at least contriving and thinking about.'

12. Quas. Some MSS. have 'quae,' as in de Nat. Deor. 3. 24, 61 'Nemo fortunam ab inconstantia et temeritate seiunget, quae digna certe non sunt deo:' see Madv. § 315 a.

13. At hi is adopted by Halm and most editors from the conjecture of Naugerius, (1519,) in the place of the ungrammatical

reading of the Vatican MS. 'haec.' The other MSS. have 'haec hi,' or 'haec ii,' except one which has 'et hii.' The 'at' might easily have dropped out after 'reservabat.'

14. Qui in horam viverent, 'who lived but for the passing hour.' Cp. 'In diem vivere,' 2. 34, 86. The subjunctive is due to the causal force of the relative.

Non modo is used thus for 'non modo non,' only when the predicate is common to both clauses, so that the negation which lies in 'ne quidem' may be referred to the whole. See Madv., § 461 b.

16. Isti homines, 'the men you favour.' He is addressing Calenus, cp. c. 1, 1 'Tu, qui primus rogatus es;' and the note.

21. Hunc, &c., 'will quench the ardour now apparent in the Roman people, and crush the spirits of the burghers throughout Italy.'

- 26 et tarditatem afferet bello. Quamvis dicant, quod quosdam audio dicturos: 'legati proficiscantur: bellum nihilo minus paretur,' tamen legatorum nomen ipsum et animos hominum et belli
10 celeritatem morabitur. Minimis momentis, patres conscripti, maximae inclinationes temporum fiunt, cum in omni casu rei publicae, tum in bello et maxime civili, quod opinione plerumque et fama gubernatur. Nemo quaeret, quibus cum mandatis legatos miserimus: nomen ipsum legationis ultro missae timoris esse signum videbitur. Recedat a Mutina, desinat oppugnare Brutum, decedat ex Gallia: non est verbis rogandus, cogendus est armis.
27 Non enim ad Hannibalem mittimus ut a Sagunto recedat, ad quem miserat olim senatus P. Valerium Flaccum et Q. Baebium Tampilum, qui, si Hannibal non pareret, Karthaginem ire iussi erant:—nostros quo iubemus ire, si non paruerit Antonius?—ad nostrum civem mittimus, ne imperatorem, ne coloniam populi Romani oppugnet. Itane vero? hoc per legatos rogandum est? Quid interest, per deos immortales! utrum hanc urbem oppugnet an huius urbis propugnaculum, coloniam populi Romani praesidii causa collocatam? Belli Punici secundi, quod contra maiores nostros Hannibal gessit, causa fuit Sagunti oppugnatio. Recte ad eum legati missi: mittebantur ad Poenum, mittebantur pro Hannibalis hostibus, nostris sociis. Quid simile tandem? nos ad civem mittimus, ne imperatorem populi Romani, ne exercitum,

c. 10. An embassy would be interpreted as indicating fear; and it was not like opening negotiations with a foreign general, because there was no further authority to which they could appeal, if Antony refused compliance. In dealing with a rebellious citizen, the dignified course was to compel him to submit, instead of begging him to have compassion on his country.

4. Minimis momentis, &c., 'the smallest impulse brings about the greatest changes in events.'

12. Miserat olim, &c. Cp. Livy 21. 6 'Legati missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tampilus, Saguntum ad Hannibalem, atque inde Karthaginem, si non abisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deprecandum.' The name of the latter envoy is recovered from the passage in Livy, the MSS. of Cicero having 'vebium pamphilum.' When Hannibal would not listen to terms, remonstrances could be

made to his government, to which he could not refuse obedience; if Antony proved obstinate, there was no ulterior court of appeal.

16. Itane vero? 'is it then come to this?'

18. Propugnaculum, 'an outpost.' Cp. de Leg. Agrar. 2. 27, 74 'Est operae pretium diligentiam maiorum recordari, qui colonias sic idoneis in locis contra suspicionem periculi collocarunt, ut esse non oppida Italiae, sed propugnacula imperii viderentur.' See above on c. 9, 24.

20. Sagunti oppugnatio. The siege of Saguntum, memorable for the obstinate resistance of the inhabitants, was in violation of the treaty between Rome and Carthage, the Saguntines being in alliance with Rome. It was taken by Hannibal in 218 B.C.

22. Quid simile tandem? 'Where is the analogy with the present case?'

ne coloniam circumsedeat, ne oppugnet, ne agros depopuletur, ne sit hostis?

Age, si paruerit, hoc cive uti aut volumus aut possumus? Ante 11
diem XIII Kalendas Ianuarias decretis vestris eum concidistis: 28
constituistis ut haec ad vos Kalendis Ianuariis referrentur, quae
referri videtis, de honoribus et praemiis bene de re publica meri-
torum et merentium: quorum principem iudicastis eum, qui fuit,
C. Caesarem, qui M. Antonii impetus nefarios ab urbe in Galliam
avertit: tum milites veteranos, qui primi Caesarem secuti sunt,
10 atque illas caelestes divinasque legiones Martiam et quartam
comprobastis, quibus, cum consulem suum non modo reliquissent,
sed bello etiam persequerentur, honores et praemia spondidistis:
eodemque die D. Bruti, praestantissimi civis, edicto allato atque
proposito, factum eius collaudastis, quodque ille bellum privato
15 consilio susceperat, id vos auctoritate publica comprobastis. Quid 20
igitur illo die aliud egistis nisi ut hostem iudicaretis Antonium?
His vestris decretis aut ille vos aequo animo adspicere poterit
aut vos illum sine dolore summo videbitis? Exclusit illum a
re publica, distraxit, segregavit non solum scelus ipsius, sed etiam,
20 ut mihi videtur, fortuna quaedam rei publicae. Qui si legatis
paruerit Romamque redierit, num umquam perditis civibus vexil-
lum quo concurrant defuturum putatis? Sed hoc minus vereor:

cc. 11, 12. After the decrees passed on the 19th of December, Antony could only be dealt with as a public enemy. His presence in Rome would be intolerable to honest men, and a mere nucleus of treason, even if he should submit; but neither his own disloyalty, nor the passions of his followers, would ever suffer him to yield, and the only result of the embassy would be a further waste of precious time. Instant action was what was requisite; a tumult should be declared, a universal levy held, all civil business should be suspended, and the military garb be generally assumed. Such promptitude might overwhelm him, for it would show that it was no longer a mere party question, when all parties in the state were bent on crushing him. He had even gone so far as to promise unlimited plunder to his followers, and therefore it was surely time to place the matter in the hands of the Consuls, only offering an amnesty to those who should at once return to their allegiance.

3. Age, si paruerit. Even if he now obeys, the time is past. Punishment, not negotiation, is what is now required. If we would we could not, and if we could we would not treat him as a citizen.

4. Decretis vestris. See 3. 15.

Concidistis, 'you gave the death blow to his hopes': cp. ad Q. Fr. 2. 4, 1 'Vatinum arbitratu nostro concidimus.' So the neuter 'concidit,' above c. 9, 23. cp. 2. 42, 107.

7. Qui fuit, 'of whom you rightly judged that C. Caesar was the chief.'

13. D. Bruti edicto. See 3. 4, 8.

15. Quid aliud . . . nisi ut, &c., 'what other object had you in view except to declare Antony a public enemy?'

21. Num umquam. So Halm, following P. R. Müller, from the Vatican reading 'numquam.' The other MSS. have 'num quando.'

22. Minus vereor. Because the contingency will never arise; he will never obey.

sunt alia, quae magis timeam et cogitem. Numquam parebit ille legatis: novi hominis insaniam, arrogantiam; novi perdita consilia amicorum, quibus ille est deditus. // Lucius quidem frater eius, utpote qui peregre depugnarit, familiam ducit. Sit per se ipse sanus, quod numquam erit: per hos esse ei tamen non licebit. Teretur interea tempus, belli apparatus refrigescant. Unde est adhuc bellum tractum nisi ex retardatione et mora? Ut primum post discessum latronis vel potius desperatam fugam libere senatus haberi potuit, semper flagitavi ut convocaremur. Quo die primum convocati sumus, cum designati consules non adessent, ieci sententia mea maximo vestro consensu fundamenta rei publicae, serius omnino quam decuit—nec enim ante potui—, sed tamen si ex eo tempore dies nullus intermissus esset, bellum profecto nullum haberemus. // Omne malum nascens facile opprimitur: inveteratum fit plerumque robustius. Sed tum exspectabantur Kalendae Ianuariae, fortasse non recte. Verum praeterita omit-
tamus. Etiamne hanc moram, dum proficiscantur legati? dum revertantur? quorum exspectatio dubitationem belli affert: bello autem dubio quod potest studium esse dilectus?

Quam ob rem, patres conscripti, legatorum mentionem nullam censeo faciendam; rem administrandam arbitror sine ulla mora et confestim gerendam censeo; tumultum decerni, iustitium edici, saga sumi dico oportere, dilectum haberi sublatis vacationibus

4. Peregre depugnarit. As a Myrmillo at Mylass. See on c. 7, 20.

Familiam ducit, 'heads the band,' not as captain or officer, but set in front as the prime specimen of the lot. The expression is taken from the practice of putting the finest man in the front of a gang of slaves exposed for sale, to recommend the lot. So Quintilian has 'classem ducere,' of a schoolboy, 'to be the show-boy of the class,' I. 2, 24. Here the expression has peculiar point from the application of 'familia' to a school of gladiators. Cicero elsewhere uses the expression metaphorically, Fin. 4, 16, 45 'Gravissimam illam vestram sententiam, quae familiam ducit,' ('stands in the forefront of your philosophy.') Cp. Fam. 7, 5, 3.

7. Tractum, 'prolonged,' equivalent to 'protractum,' cp. Att. 10, 8, 2 'Id quod maxime velim, pelli istum ab Hispania, aut trahi id bellum.'

Ut primum, &c. See 3, 1, 1 note.

12. Serius omnino, &c. Cp. the be-

ginning of the third oration.

16. Kalendae Ianuariae. When the new Consuls entered on their office.

17. Hanc moram. After these words there is in the margin of the Vatican MS., by a later hand, the word 'afferemus,' but Halm thinks it an unnecessary interpolation, the verb being frequently omitted, even in these orations, in similar rhetorical exclamations. Cp. 2, 29, 74 'Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito?' and the note.

18. Quorum exspectatio, 'waiting for whom throws a doubt over the certainty of war, which stops all zeal in the levying of troops.'

21. Censeo. See on 3, 9, 24.

Rem administrandam, &c., 'we should without delay determine on our line of policy, and proceed at once to carry it into effect.'

22. Tumultum. See on 8, 1, 3, and cp. 6, 1, 2.

23. Sublatis vacationibus, 'with no allowance of exemptions.' So in 326 B.C.,

in urbe et in Italia praeter Galliam tota. || Quae si erunt facta, ³²
 opinio ipsa et fama nostrae severitatis obruet scelerati gladiatoris
 amentiam. Sentiet sibi bellum cum re publica esse susceptum,
 experietur consentientis senatus nervos atque vires: nam nunc
⁵ quidem partium contentionem esse dictitat. Quarum partium?
 Alteri victi sunt, alteri sunt e mediis C. Caesaris partibus: nisi
 forte Caesaris partes a Pansa et Hirtio consulibus et a filio
 C. Caesaris oppugnari putamus. Hoc vero bellum non est ex
 dissensione partium, sed ex nefaria spe perditissimorum civium
¹⁰ excitatum: quibus bona fortunaeque nostrae notatae sunt et iam
 ad cuiusque opinionem distributae. || Legi epistolam Antonii, quam ³³
 ad quendam septemvirum, capitalem hominem, collegam suum,
 miserat. 'Quid concupiscas tu videris: quod concupiveris certe
 habebis.' En ad quem legatos mittamus, cui bellum moremur
¹⁵ inferre: qui ne sorti quidem fortunas nostras destinavit, sed
 libidini cuiusque nos ita addixit, ut ne sibi quidem quidquam
 integrum, quod non alicui promissum iam sit, reliquerit. Cum
 hoc, patres conscripti, bello, bello, inquam, decertandum est,
 idque confestim: legatorum tarditas repudianda est. || Quapropter ³⁴
²⁰ ne multa nobis quotidie decernenda sint, consulibus totam rem
 publicam commendandam censeo iisque permittendum, ut rem

on an alarm of an invasion of the Gauls, L. Aemilius was ordered 'Exercitum scribere sine ulla vacationis venia' Livy 8. 20. 'Vacatio,' 'exemption from further service,' on account of illness, civil employment, completion of the term of service, or the like, is to be carefully distinguished from 'commeatus,' 'furlough,' or leave of absence for a time.

1. Praeter Galliam. In 8. 2, 6 and Fam. 11. 8, 2 he speaks of this levy as being 'tota Italia,' without excepting Gaul; but here, in his formal vote, he is naturally more precise in his language. From 7. 8, 21 we learn that Antony was raising levies in Gaul, which sufficiently accounts for its exception. Cp. Fam. 12. 5, 2.

6. Alteri, &c., 'those favouring Antony are conquered; those opposing him are found in the very heart of C. Caesar's party.' Cicero's argument is that the vote of Dec. 20 showed that Antony had no party of his own in the senate, and that the very people whom he might have expected to enlist upon his side, the partisans of the dictator, were actively arrayed against him. Manutius and other commentators take the former 'alteri' to mean the

Pompeian party, but then the second 'alteri' could only be 'the adherents of the dictator,' and it would be wholly without point, and mere tautology, to say that they were to be found in Caesar's party.

7. A Pansa et Hirtio. They were both bound by ties of gratitude and friendship to the dictator, and now held the consulship on his nomination.

10. Quibus, 'for whose benefit,' unless the dative may be looked on as immediately depending on 'distributae,' 'among whom,' 'notatae sunt et' being, as regards the grammar, parenthetical.

11. Ad cuiusque opinionem, 'according to the views of each:' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 1. 51, 135 'Iste, qui iam spe atque opinione praedam illam devorasset.'

12. Septemvirum. See on 2. 38. 99. Capitalem hominem, 'a gallows-bird.' The word in this sense is generally used of crimes rather than of their perpetrators, but cp. Cat. 2. 2, 3 'Tam capitalem hostem.'

17. Integrum reliquerit, 'he has left nothing in his own power.'

publicam defendant provideantque ne quid res publica detrimenti accipiat, censeoque ut iis, qui in exercitu M. Antonii sunt, ne sit ea res fraudi, si ante Kalendas Februarias ab eo discesserint. Haec si censueritis, patres conscripti, brevi tempore libertatem populi Romani auctoritatemque vestram recuperabitis: si autem lenius ageris, tamen eadem, sed fortasse serius decernetis. De re publica, quoad rettulistis, satis decrevisse videor.

13 Altera res est de honoribus: de quibus deinceps intelligo esse
35 dicendum. Sed qui ordo in sententiis rogandis servari solet, eundem tenebo in viris fortibus honorandis. A Bruto igitur, 10 consule designato, more maiorum capiamus exordium: cuius ut superiora omittam, quae sunt maxima illa quidem, sed adhuc hominum magis iudiciis quam publice laudata, quibusnam verbis eius laudes huius ipsius temporis consequi possumus? Neque enim ullam mercedem tanta virtus praeter hanc laudis gloriaeque 15 desiderat: qua etiam si careat, tamen sit se ipsa contenta: quamquam in memoria gratorum civium tamquam in luce posita laetetur. Laus igitur iudicii testimoniique nostri tribuenda Bruto 30 est. Quam ob rem his verbis, patres conscripti, senatus con-

1. Ne quid detrimenti, &c. This was the formula by which martial law was proclaimed, and irresponsible power given to the Consuls. Cp. pro Mil. 26. 70 'Pompeio senatus commisit ut videret, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet; quo uno versiculo satis armati semper consules fuerunt, etiam nullis armis datis.'

2. Ut ne. See Madv. § 456.

3. Fraudis. So in the laws of the XII Tables: 'Se fraude esto,' 'let him be blameless.'

7. Quoad rettulistis, 'so far as your motion related to the state.' Some editors read 'quod,' but 'quoad' is the reading of the Vatican MS., and 'quod' would rather mean 'as to the point of your having made a motion about the state,' (see Madv. 398 b. Obs. 2.) which would be less appropriate here.

cc. 13-15. Turning to the question of rewarding those who had done loyal service to the state, Cicero proposes that a vote of thanks should be given to D. Brutus, who had saved his country by preserving Cisalpine Gaul from the hands of Antony: and that a gilt equestrian statue should be erected in honour of M. Lepidus, who had always shown himself to be a true lover of liberty,

and who had lately quenched the embers of a dangerous civil war, and done good service in restoring Sext. Pompeius to his country.

8. Deinceps, 'next in their due order.' See on 4. 9.

9. In sententiis rogandis. See on c. 1, 1.

12. Superiora: his share in the assassination of Caesar.

14. Huius ipsius temporis, &c., 'the praise bestowed upon him for his conduct at this time:' the praise being considered from different points of view as bestowed on Brutus and on the time. A somewhat similar combination of two different genitives is found in Caes. B. G. 3. 18 'Superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio.'

16. Desiderat, 'feels to be needful for the perfection of its happiness;' careat, 'though it be deprived of this.'

18. Laetetur. The subjunctive is not dependent on 'quamquam,' which here signifies 'and yet;' but is due (like 'sit') to the conditional nature of the clause, *φαιδρύνει* *ἢ*; 'if permitted, it would rejoice at being treasured in the grateful hearts of its fellow-citizens, as being thus exposed to view.'

sultum faciendum censeo: Cum D. Brutus imperator, consul designatus, provinciam Galliam in senatus populi que Romani potestate teneat, cumque exercitum tantum tam brevi tempore summo studio municipiorum coloniarumque provinciae Galliae, optime de re publica merita merentisque, conscripserit comparari, id eum recte et ordine ex re publica fecisse, idque D. Bruti praestantissimum meritum in rem publicam senatus populoque Romano gratum esse et fore: itaque senatum populumque Romanum existimare, D. Bruti imperatoris, consulis designati, opera, consilio, virtute incredibilique studio et consensu provinciae Galliae rei publicae difficillimo tempore esse subventum. Huic tanto merito Bruti, patres conscripti, tantoque in rem publicam beneficio quis est tantus honos qui non debeatur? Nam si M. Antonio patuisset Gallia, si oppressis municipiis et coloniis imparatis in illam ultimam Galliam penetrare potuisset, quantus rei publicae terror impenderet? Dubitaret, credo, homo mentis atque in omnibus consiliis praeceptus et devius non solum cum exercitu suo, sed etiam cum omni immanitate barbariae bellum inferre nobis, ut eius furorem ne Alpium quidem muro cohibere possemus. Haec igitur habenda gratia est D. Bruto, qui illum, nondum interposita auctoritate vestra, suo consilio atque iudicio non ut consulem recepit, sed ut hostem arcuit Gallia seque obsideri quam hanc urbem maluit. Habeat ergo huius tanti facti tamque praeclari decreto nostro testimonium sempiternum: Galliaque, quae semper praesidet atque praesedit huic imperio libertatique communi, merito vereque laudetur, quod se suasque vires non tradidit, sed opposuit Antonio.

Atque etiam M. Lepido pro eius egregiis in rem publicam 14

15. Ultimam, Gallia Transalpina, at present held by L. Munatius Plancus, the other Consul elect.

17. Devius, 'wandering from the path of virtue.' Cp. de Am. 25. 93 'Quid enim potest esse tam flexibile, tam devium quam animus eius, qui ad alterius vultum atque nutum convertitur?' and Lucr. 2. 82 'Avius a vera longe ratione vagaris.'

19. Muro. The force and propriety of this expression is only to be appreciated when the Alps are seen from the Italian side, descending, as it seems from a little distance, precipitously into the plain of Lombardy. The northern side is, generally

speaking, much less steep, and there is no extensive plain to give the force of contrast.

25. Praesidet atque praesedit, 'is now, and always has been, the bulwark of our empire,' lying as an obstacle to the inroads of the outer barbarians beyond the Alps.

28. M. Lepido. Lepidus had been appointed by Caesar to the government of Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior, and repaired thither shortly after Caesar's death, at Antony's instigation, to try and reconcile the younger Pompey to the senate, with the ulterior object of weakening the

38 meritis decernendos honores quam amplissimos censeo. Semper ille populum Romanum liberum voluit maximumque signum illo die dedit voluntatis et iudicii sui, cum Antonio diadema Caesari imponente se avertit gemituque et maestitia declaravit, quantum haberet odium servitutis, quam populum Romanum liberum cuperet, quam illa, quae tulerat, temporum magis necessitate quam iudicio tulisset. Quanta vero is moderatione usus sit in illo tempore civitatis, quod post mortem Caesaris consecutum est, quis nostrum oblivisci potest? Magna haec, sed ad maiora 39 properat oratio. Quid enim, o di immortales! admirabilius omnibus gentibus, quid optatius populo Romano accidere potuit quam, cum bellum civile maximum esset, cuius belli exitum omnes timeremus, sapientia † etiam id potius exstingui quam armis et ferro rem in discrimen adducere? Quod si eadem ratio Caesaris fuisset in illo taetro miseroque bello, ut omittam patrem, duos 15 Cn. Pompei, summi et singularis viri, filios incolumes haberemus: quibus certe pietas fraudi esse non debuit. Utinam omnes M. Lepidus servare potuisset! Facturum fuisse declaravit in eo, quod potuit, cum Sex. Pompeium restituit civitati, maximum ornamentum rei publicae, clarissimum monumentum clementiae 20 suae. Gravis illa fortuna populi Romani, grave fatum. Pompeio enim patre, quod imperio populi Romani lumen fuit, extincto 40 interfectus est patris simillimus filius. Sed omnia mihi videntur deorum immortalium iudicio expiata, Sex. Pompeio rei publicae 15 conservato. Quam ob causam iustam atque magnam et quod 25 periculosissimum civile bellum maximumque humanitate et sapientia sua M. Lepidus ad pacem concordiamque convertit, senatus consultum his verbis censeo perscribendum: Cum a M. Lepido

power of the opposition, should the civil war again break out.

3. Diadema. See 2. 34, 85 notes.

7. Quanta moderatione. He had followed the lead of Antony throughout, but had withdrawn from Rome before the latter began to abandon the moderate course in which he had begun.

12. Bellum civile, the war with Sext. Pompeius, as continued after Caesar's death.

13. Sapientia. Some second virtue seems to be required here, to balance 'armis et ferro.' The want has been variously supplied by 'et clementia,' 'et mansuetudine,' or 'et humanitate,' from the follow-

ing section.

14. Adducere. We should rather have expected 'rem adduci,' maintaining the form of the previous clause, but the civil war is represented as using its instruments of harness and sword to bring the matter to a crisis.

17. Pietas, 'sympathy with, and duty towards their father.'

19. Restituit. See on 3. 9, 23.

22. Quod . . . lumen fuit. Cp. 2. 22, 54 note.

23. Filius. Cn. Pompeius, the elder brother of Sextus, was wounded in the battle of Munda (March 17, B.C. 45), and shortly afterwards captured and slain.

imperatore, pontifice maximo, saepe numero res publica et bene et feliciter gesta sit, populusque Romanus intellexerit ei dominatum regium maxime displicere, cumque eius opera, virtute, consilio singularique clementia et mansuetudine bellum acerbissimum civile sit restinctum, Sextusque Pompeius, Gnaei filius, 41 Magnus, huius ordinis auctoritate ab armis discesserit et a M. Lepido imperatore, pontifice maximo, summa senatus populi que Romani voluntate civitati restitutus sit: senatum populumque Romanum pro maximis plurimisque in rem publicam M. Lepidi 10 meritis magnam spem in eius virtute, auctoritate, felicitate reponere otii, pacis, concordiae, libertatis, eiusque in rem publicam meritorum senatum populumque Romanum memorem fore, eique statuat equestrem inauratam in rostris aut quo alio loco in foro vellet ex huius ordinis sententia statui placere. Qui 15 honos, patres conscripti, mihi maximus videtur primum, quia iustus est: non enim solum datur propter spem temporum reliquorum, sed pro amplissimis meritis redditur; nec vero cuiquam possumus commemorare hunc honorem a senatu tributum iudicio senatus soluto et libero.

20 Venio ad C. Caesarem, patres conscripti: qui nisi fuisset, 16 quis nostrum esse potuisset? Advolabat ad urbem a Brundisio 42 homo impotentissimus, ardens odio, animo hostili in omnes bonos,

1. Pontifice maximo. He owed this dignity to Antony, who caused him to be elected to the vacancy made by Caesar's death, in return for the support that Lepidus had given him.

15. Primum, &c. The natural sequence to this would have been 'deinde quia novus est,' but Cicero, having interrupted his sentence to give the reasons why his vote was just, resumes it in another form. Similarly in Cat. 2. 10, 21 he begins, 'Qui homines primum si stare non possunt corrumpant;' and then being led away to give the reason for this wish, he never proceeds to the second consideration.

17. Redditur, 'it is awarded him in payment for his services.'

Nec cuiquam, &c. Manutius quotes a passage from Velleius, (2. 10.) who says that similar statues were erected to L. Sulla, Cn. Pompeius, and C. Caesar. That in honour of Pompey would be awarded 'iudicio senatus libero et soluto,' and Cicero is careless enough of facts when they interfere with rhetorical point to make

his statement of little force as invalidating that of Velleius. See on 2. 1, 1.

cc. 16, 17. C. Caesar had proved himself the almost superhuman saviour of his country. In the midst of a general panic, though a mere boy, with no experience, no prestige to commend him to the soldiery, he had gathered for himself an army capable of resisting Antony. It was but fair to legalise such energetic patriotism, and therefore Cicero proposes to give him a regular military command, with the title of *propraetor*; and at the same time to admit him to the senate, with extraordinary privileges, both in his position there, and his capacity for seeking offices of state. In other cases it was well to wait for the maturity of age, but C. Caesar had shown powers far beyond his years, and challenged comparison with Africanus, Alexander, and other youthful heroes, whose early powers claimed for them exemption from the ordinary rules whereby mankind is judged.

21. A Brundisio. Cp. 3. 2, 4.

22. Impotentissimus, &c. The order

cum exercitu Antonius. Quid huius audaciae et sceleri poterat
 opponi? Nondum ullos duces habebamus, non copias; nullum
 erat consilium publicum, nulla libertas; dandae cervices erant
 crudelitati nefariae; fugam quaerebamus omnes, quae ipsa
 43 exitum non habebat. Quis tum nobis, quis populo Romano
 obtulit hunc divinum adolescentem deus, qui, cum omnia ad
 perniciem nostram pestifero illi civi paterent, subito praeter spem
 omnium exortus prius confecit exercitum, quem furori M. Antonii
 opponeret, quam quisquam hoc eum cogitare suspicaretur. Magni
 honores habiti Cn. Pompeio, cum esset adolescens, et quidem 10
 iure: subvenit enim rei publicae, sed aetate multo robustior et
 militum ducem quaerentium studio paratior et in alio genere
 belli; non enim omnibus Sullae causa grata: declarat multitudo
 44 proscriptorum, tot municipiorum maximae calamitates. Caesar
 autem annis multis minor veteranos cupientes iam requiescere 15
 armavit; eam complexus est causam, quae esset senatui, quae
 populo, quae cunctae Italiae, quae dis hominibusque gratissima.
 Et Pompeius ad L. Sullae maximum imperium victoremque exer-
 citum accessit: Caesar se ad neminem adiunxit; ipse princeps
 exercitus facienda et praesidii comparandi fuit. Ille adver- 20
 sariorum partibus agrum Picenum habuit inimicum: hic ex

of the words in this clause is noticeable, the description of Antony beginning with his private intemperance, and proceeding through his malignity, and disloyal temper, to his overt act of treason, his name coming at the end as at once the climax and the explanation of his faults. 'A man of most unbridled passions, burning with malignant feeling, a foe in temper to all honest men, in arms against his country, in a word, Antonius.'

2. Nullum consilium publicum, 'no council representing the republic; the senate being still unable to deliberate freely.'

5. Exitum non habebat, 'presented no outlet; no safe place for flight being to be found. Cp. de Or. 2. 77. 312 'Causae quae plurimos exitus dant.'

6. Deus is thrown to the end of the clause apparently to give point to 'divinus.' So godlike a young man could only have received his inspiration from a god.

10. Cum esset adolescens, 'young man as he was.' Pompey was not quite 23 when he raised an army in Picenum, defeated M. Brutus, and joined Sulla, 83 B.C. Octavianus was little more than three years

younger at the time of Antony's advance on Rome.

12. Paratior. Halm reads 'paratiore,' a conjecture of his own, in order that the clauses may more exactly balance the expressions in the account of Caesar. The final 'e' might easily have dropped out before 'et,' but 'studio paratiore' could only depend upon 'robustior,' which would thus be strangely used with one ablative of physical quality, existing in Pompey, and another of the mental affections of his soldiers. 'He was of a much more vigorous age, and had much more to support him, in the zeal of the soldiers who were seeking for a general,' and so far his difficulties were less; and further, his services were of more doubtful merit, for 'the war in which he engaged was different, the cause of Sulla being less universally popular.'

14. Municipiorum. Notably Praeneste, Norba, Nola, and Volaterrae.

16. Quae esset. The subjunctive marks that he chose the cause which he knew would be popular.

Antonii amicis, sed amicioribus libertatis contra Antonium confecit exercitum. Illius opibus Sulla regnavit: huius praesidio Antonii dominatus oppressus est. Demus igitur imperium Caesari, 45 sine quo res militaris administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri 5 non potest: sit pro praetore eo iure quo qui optimo. Qui honos quamquam est magnus illa aetate, tamen ad necessitatem rerum gerendarum, non solum ad dignitatem valet. Itaque illa quaeramus, quae vix hodierno die consequemur. Sed saepe spero fore 17 huius adolescentis honorandi et nobis et populo Romano potestatem: hoc autem tempore ita censeo decernendum: Quod C. 46 Caesar, Gai filius, pontifex, pro praetore, summo rei publicae tempore milites veteranos ad libertatem populi Romani cohortatus sit eosque conscripserit, quodque legio Martia atque quarta summo studio optimoque in rem publicam consensu C. Caesare duce et 18 auctore rem publicam, libertatem populi Romani defendant defenderint, et quod C. Caesar pro praetore Galliae provinciae cum exercitu subsidio profectus sit, equites, sagittarios, elephantos in

2. Regnavit, 'made himself despot.' See on 2. 12, 29.

3. Dominatus. See on 1. 14, 34. Imperium. This is a 'locus classicus' for the meaning of 'imperium.' See on 1. 7, 18. The same honour was given to Pompey by Sulla, who addressed him when their forces joined as 'Imperator,' though he had held no regular commission from the state.

5. Sit pro praetore, 'let him have the rank of pro-praetor, as fully as though regularly appointed;' 'eo iure quo pro praetore est qui optimo iure est,' that is, with as full privileges as if he had been legally appointed in the ordinary way.

6. Ad necessitatem. If Octavius was to hold the command of an army, he must have the 'imperium;' and Cicero implies that he would ask for further honours, were it not that he anticipated opposition; on which account he limited his demands to what he thought he could obtain, though even here he foresaw difficulty: 'Let us therefore seek for this, which to-day we shall have sufficient difficulty in gaining.' So in the spurious epistles to Brutus we find (2. 15, 7): 'Cum omne praesidium esset in puero, quis honos ei non fuit decernendus? Quamquam ego illi tum verborum laudem tribui, eamque modicam. Decrevi etiam imperium, quod quamquam videbatur illi aetati honorificum, tamen erat exercitum

habenti necessarium. Quid enim est sine imperio exercitus?'

9. Honorandi. So Halm, for the Vatican reading 'hortandi honorandi,' the two words there probably arising from confusion, such as is common in that MS. Many editors, following Ferrarius, read 'ornandi honorandi,' referring the former to the panegyrics of the senate, the latter to the offices of distinction conferred by the people.

11. Gai. 'Gaius,' 'Gnaeus' appear to be properly spelt with a 'G,' the 'C' which usually stands for their initial being perhaps retained from the time when that letter had the force of 'G.' See Donaldson, Varron. p. 246.

17. Equites, sagittarios, elephantos. These are joined together as forming the foreign portion of his forces. At this period the cavalry of the Roman army generally, and the light-armed universally, were composed of mercenaries. See on c. 2, 5. The elephants were probably some that had been taken by Caesar from the Moors in the African campaign, and had been attached to the legions of Antony; though elephants had been occasionally used in the Roman army since the close of the second Punic war. (Livy 31. 36.) The last occasion on which they took part in any important engagement was at the battle of Thapsus, where they proved fatal to their own side.

suam populiue Romani potestatem redegerit difficillimoque rei publicae tempore salutis dignitatieque populi Romani subvenerit: ob eas causas senatui placere, C. Caesarem, Gai filium, pontificem, pro praetore, senatorem esse sententiamque loco praetorio dicere, eiusque rationem, quemcumque magistratum petet, ita haberi, 5 ut haberi per leges liceret, si anno superiore quaestor fuisset.

47 Quid est enim, patres conscripti, cur cum non quam primum amplissimos honores capere cupiamus? Legibus enim annalibus cum grandiore aetate ad consulatum constituebant, adolescentiae temeritatem verebantur: C. Caesar ineunte aetate docuit 10 ab excellenti eximiaque virtute progressum aetatis expectari non oportere. Itaque maiores nostri, veteres illi admodum antiqui, leges annales non habebant: quas multis post annis attulit ambitio, ut gradus essent petitionis inter aequales. Ita saepe magna indoles virtutis, prius quam rei publicae prodesse potuisset, 15

48 extincta est. At vero apud antiquos Rulli, Decii, Corvini multique alii, recentiore autem memoria superior Africanus, T. Flamininus admodum adolescentes consules facti tantas res

4. Loco praetorio. See on I. 6, 15.

5. Rationem haberi, 'votes should be received for him;' he should be taken into account in the election, should be eligible. Cp. 2. 10, 24 note.

8. Legibus, by the 'Leges annales,' fixing the age at which a citizen might become a candidate for the various offices of state. That for quaestor was 31, for Consul 43. The first and principal 'Lex annalis' was the 'Lex Villia,' passed in 180 B.C.

12. Admodum antiqui, 'of primitive simplicity,' not yet hampered by the complexity of more modern regulations: as in I. 10, 25 he uses 'antiqua' for old-fashioned customs, falling short of the requirements of more advanced civilization. Cp. pro Quinct. 22, 72 'Hominem antiqui officii.'

13. Non habebant. Cp. Tac. Ann. 11. 22 'Apud maiores virtutis id praemium fuerat, cunctisque civium, si bonis artibus fiderent, licitum petere magistratus; ac ne aetas quidem distinguebatur, quin prima iuventa consulatum et dictaturas inirent.'

14. Ambitio, 'rivalry for office;' not the 'struggle for popularity,' which is a later meaning of the word, illustrative of the change in Roman public life under the emperors, when the avenues of laudable ambition were gradually closed. 'Which rivalry for office introduced long after, that the

struggles for the several steps might take place among men of the same age.'

16. Rulli. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullus was Consul 322 B.C., having already distinguished himself when 'magister equitum' in 325 B.C., by a victory over the Samnites, gained in a battle which he fought against the orders of his dictator, L. Papirius Cursor. (Livy 8. 29 sqq.) He is the only Rullus of that period known to history.

Decii. Probably the youthful Consul of the name was the second P. Decius Mus, who was Consul first in 312 B.C. He was afterwards thrice Consul with Fabius Maximus Rullus, and on the last occasion, in 295 B.C., he is described by Livy as being 'ferocior et aetate et vigore animi' Livy 10. 28.

Corvini. M. Valerius Corvus, whose son took the name of Corvinus, here loosely given to the father, was elected Consul in 348 B.C., as a mark of gratitude for his victory over the gigantic Gaul in the previous year. He was at the time only 23 years old. (Livy 7. 26.)

17. Africanus. The elder Africanus was 29 when he was made Consul in 295 B.C.; and he had then already achieved the conquest of Spain, where he was appointed to the command of the army as proconsul in 210 B.C.

18. Flamininus was elected Consul in

gesserunt, ut populi Romani imperium auxerint, nomen ornarint. Quid? Macedo Alexander, cum ab ineunte aetate res maximas gerere coepisset, nonne tertio et tricesimo anno mortem obiit? quae est aetas nostris legibus decem annis minor quam consularis. 5 Ex quo iudicari potest virtutis esse quam aetatis cursum celeriores. Nam quod ii, qui Caesari invident, simulant se timere, ne verendum quidem est, ut tenere se possit, ut moderari, ne honoribus nostris elatus intemperantius suis opibus utatur. / Ea natura rerum 18 est, patres conscripti, ut, qui sensum verae gloriae ceperit quique 10 se ab senatu, ab equitibus Romanis populoque Romano universo senserit civem carum haberi salutaremque rei publicae, nihil cum hac gloria comparandum putet. Utinam C. Caesari, patri dico, contigisset adolescenti, ut esset senatui atque optimo cuique carissimus! quod cum consequi neglexisset, omnem vim ingenii, 15 quae summa fuit in illo, in populari levitate consumpsit. Itaque cum respectum ad senatum et ad bonos non haberet, eam sibi viam ipse patefecit ad opes suas amplificandas, quam virtus liberi populi ferre non posset. Eius autem filii longissime diversa ratio est: qui cum omnibus est, tum optimo cuique carissimus. In

198 B.C., at the age of 31, having previously only held the office of quaestor. See Livy 32. 7; from which passage we learn that at that time not only was there no 'Lex annalis,' but the practice of requiring men to pass through the several minor grades of office to qualify for the consulship rested only upon custom, not on law. Plutarch says (Flam. c. 2) that he was not yet 30, but Livy, two years later, makes him 33 (Livy 33. 33).

1. Auxerint, ornarint. Perfects, instead of imperfects, because the results of their exploits continued to the time when Cicero is speaking.

2. Ab ineunte aetate. Alexander's first military distinction was gained in the battle of Chaeroneia, 338 B.C., before he was 18. (Plut. Alex. c. 9.)

5. Quam aetatis. The insertion of the second member of the comparison before the comparative, to increase the force of contrast, is noticeable; cp. Tusc. 3. 22, 52 'Maris subita tempestas quam ante provisa terret navigantes vehementius;' and see Madv. § 303 a. Obs. 2.

6. Quod ii, &c., 'what those who envy Caesar feign to dread is no subject even for our apprehension.' For this distinctive

meaning of 'vereor' cp. 12. 12, 29 'Quid? veteranos non veremur, nam timeri se ne ipsi quidem volunt, quonam modo accipiant severitatem?' de Sen. 11. 37 'Metuebant servi, verebantur liberi.'

c. 18. *There was no fear of C. Caesar forgetting what was due to moderation, no fear of his following in his father's footsteps, through elation at his early honours. He had learned to prize true glory, the glory which consists in the love and respect of all his fellow-citizens; he had even sacrificed his private enmities to the welfare of the state; and in going to the aid of D. Brutus he had given a pledge which Cicero undertakes he should redeem, that he would always unswervingly maintain his present loyalty.*

9. Quique se, &c. Cicero means this clause to be explanatory of the former: 'the love of one's fellow-citizens is the truest glory.'

11. Carum is a conjecture of Ferrarius, adopted by most editors, for the MSS. reading 'clarum.' Cp. 1. 14, 33 'Carum esse civem, bene de re publica mereri, laudari, coll. diligere gloriosum est.'

13. Optimo cuique. See on 1. 12, 29.

hoc spes libertatis posita est; ab hoc accepta iam salus; huic
 50 summi honores et exquiruntur et parati sunt. Cuius igitur sin-
 gularem prudentiam admiramur, eius stultitiam timemus? Quid
 enim stultius quam inutilem potentiam, invidiosas opes, cupidi-
 tatem dominandi praecipitem et lubricam anteferre verae, gravi, 5
 solidae gloriae? An hoc vidit puer: si aetate processerit, non
 videbit? At est quibusdam inimicus clarissimis atque optimis
 civibus. Nullus iste timor esse debet. Omnes Caesar inimicitias
 rei publicae condonavit: hanc sibi iudicem constituit, hanc mo-
 deratricem omnium *consiliorum* atque factorum. Ita enim ad rem 10
 publicam accessit, ut eam confirmaret, non ut everteret. Omnes
 habeo cognitos sensus adolescentis. Nihil est illi re publica
 carius, nihil vestra auctoritate gravius, nihil bonorum virorum
 51 iudicio optatius, nihil vera gloria dulcius. Quam ob rem ab eo
 non modo nihil timere, sed maiora et meliora exspectare debetis, 15
 neque in eo, qui ad D. Brutum obsidione liberandum profectus sit,
 timere, ne memoria maneat domestici doloris, quae plus apud
 eum possit quam salus civitatis. Audebo etiam obligare fidem
 meam, patres conscripti, vobis populoque Romano reique publicae:
 quod profecto, cum me nulla vis cogeret, facere non auderem, 20
 pertimesceremque in maxima re periculosam opinionem temeri-
 tatis: promitto, recipio, spondeo, patres conscripti, C. Caesarem
 talem semper fore civem, qualis hodie sit qualemque eum maxime
 velle esse et optare debemus.

5. Verae, gravi, solidae, 'genuine, influential, substantial,' opposed severally to inutilis, invidiosa, lubrica, 'profitless, obnoxious, precarious.'

9. Condonavit, 'has sacrificed all his private enmities.'

10. Consiliorum is a conjecture of Faernus to supply an obvious want, the reading of the Vatican MS. being 'omnium atque factorum.' 'Consilia atque facta' are similarly joined in 10. 10, 20; 11. 23; and in the speech de Prov. Cons. 9, 20.

Ad rem publicam accessit, 'he entered on a public career to establish, not to overthrow, the public safety.'

12. Habeo cognitos. This periphrasis for the perfect active, like the Greek construction with the active aorist participle, (ὅν μὲν ἠπορίσας, ὅν δ' ἀνιψάσας ἔχει, Soph. Ant. 22,) is a step towards the modern usage of auxiliary verbs. It always marks the fullest force of the definite perfect, that the action of the verb continues, in itself or

its consequences, to the present time. Cp. Fam. 13. 17, 2 'Si eum nondum satis habes cognitum, tibi eum commendo;' and see Madv. § 427.

17. Domestici doloris: the assassination of Caesar.

Quae plus possit, 'so as to weigh more.'

20. Quod... temeritatis, 'which otherwise I should not dare to do,' &c. Ernesti supposes an alternative clause to have dropped out after 'temeritatis,' such as 'nisi eum plane perspectum haberem,' but this may easily be supplied from the context.

22. Promitto, recipio, spondeo, 'I promise, undertake, pledge myself,' the three words forming a climax, from a mere promise to a solemn bond. 'Recipio,' in the sense of taking a risk upon oneself, is distinguished from 'polliceor,' Att. 13. 1, 2 'De aetate polliceris, vel potius recipis;' and joined with 'spondeo,' Fam. 13. 17, 3 'Spondeo in meque recipio.'

Quae cum ita sint, de Caesare satis hoc tempore dictum habeo. 19
 Nec vero de L. Egnatuleio, fortissimo et constantissimo civi 58
 amicissimoque rei publicae, silendum arbitror, sed tribuendum
 testimonium virtutis egregiae, quod is legionem quartam ad
 5 Caesarem adduxerit, quae praesidio consulibus, senatui populoque
 Romano reique publicae esset: ob eam causam placere, uti L.
 Egnatuleio triennium ante legitimum tempus magistratus petere,
 capere, gerere liceat. In quo, patres conscripti, non tantum
 commodum tribuitur L. Egnatuleio, quantus honos: in tali enim
 10 re satis est nominari. //

De exercitu autem C. Caesaris ita censeo decernendum: senatui 58
 placere, militibus veteranis, qui Caesaris pontificis *auctoritatem*
secuti libertatem populi Romani auctoritatemque huius ordinis de-
 fenderint atque defendant, iis liberisque eorum militiae vaca-
 15 tionem esse, utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove,
 si eis videretur, cognoscerent, qui ager iis coloniis esset, quo
 milites veterani deducti essent, qui contra legem Iuliam possi-
 deretur, ut is militibus veteranis divideretur: de agro Campano
 separatim cognoscerent inirentque rationem de commodis mili-
 20 tum veteranorum augendis, legionique Martiae et legioni quartae
 et iis militibus, qui de legione secunda, tricesima quinta ad

c. 19. *Having moved a vote of thanks and special privileges to L. Egnatuleius, the quaestor of the fourth legion; and proposed that rewards in lands, money, and exemptions from service should be given to the soldiers who had left or should leave the standard of Antony, Cicero concludes by once more deprecating delay, and urging the necessity for immediate and energetic action.*

1. Dictum habeo, 'I shall be acknowledged to have said enough.' See above on § 50.

2. Civi. See on 3. 3, 7.

7. Magistratus. Halm reads 'magistratum,' on his own authority, but as Egnatuleius was at present only quaestor, there seems no reason why we should not accept the reading of the Italian MS. (the Vatican has 'magna,' which is obviously wrong, and the others are deficient in this portion of the oration), supposing that he was allowed to anticipate each of the higher magistracies by three years. This privilege, Cicero says, was insignificant in itself, but it was a high honour to have gained in it the public thanks of the senate.

12. *Auctoritatem secuti, &c.* The words in italics are added by Halm, after a suggestion of Garatonius, to supply an obvious omission, probably arising from the repetition of the word 'auctoritatem.' The words supplied are modelled on the decree in 3. 15, 37. Cp. 3. 4, 8; 10. 10, 21; 11. 8, 20.

14. Vacationem. See on c. 12, 31. Probably the exemption proposed would be with the same limitation as below, 'extra tumultum Gallicum Italicumque.'

17. *Contra legem Iuliam.* The main provisions of the agrarian law, carried by Caesar in his consulship in 59 B.C., for the division of state lands in Campania, were that existing rights of property should be observed, that individual allotments should be small, and incapable of alienation till they had been held for twenty years, and that the receivers of land were to be poor citizens, fathers of at least three children. See Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, 4, pp. 200, 528 (Eng. Trans.). Antonius had divided this territory 'compransoribus suis et collasoribus' 2. 39, 101.

20. *Legioni Martiae, &c.* See on 3. 2, 4.

C. Pansam A. Hirtium consules venissent suaque nomina edidissent, quod iis auctoritas senatus populiue Romani libertas carissima sit et fuerit, vacationem militiae ipsis liberisque eorum esse placere extra tumultum Gallicum Italicumque, easque legiones bello confecto missas fieri placere; quantamque pecuniam militibus earum legionum in singulos C. Caesar, pontifex, pro praetore pollicitus sit, tantam dari placere: utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove, si eis videretur, rationem agri haberent, qui sine iniuria privatorum dividi posset, iisque militibus, legioni Martiae et legioni quartae ita darent adsignarent, ut quibus militibus amplissime dati adsignati essent. Dixi ad ea omnia, consules, de quibus rettulistis: quae si erunt sine mora matureque decreta, facilius apparabitis ea, quae tempus et necessitas flagitat. Celeritate autem opus est: qua si essemus usi, bellum, ut saepe dixi, nullum haberemus.

15

1. Edidissent. So the Vatican MS. Cp. Livy 2. 24 'Nominis edendi apud consules potestas.'

4. Tumultum. See 8. 1, 3 note.

5. Missas fieri, 'should be at once

discharged from further service.'

10. Ut quibus militibus. Sc. 'ut iis militibus dati essent quibus amplissime dati essent.' Cp. 'Eo iure, quo qui optimo' c. 16, 45.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE SIXTH ORATION.

AT the close of the debate in the senate which gave rise to the fifth Philippic oration, Cicero came out into the Forum, on the 4th of January, and being introduced to the multitude by P. Apuleius, a tribune of the commons, he told them in the sixth oration what had happened.

In it he shows again the absurdity and danger of sending ambassadors to Antony, and so delaying the declaration of war against him; which he declares to be inevitable, from considerations of the character both of Antony himself, and of his chief companions, especially his brother Lucius; and he concludes by urging them to await patiently the return of the ambassadors, and to let nothing induce them to waver in the firm assertion of their liberty, which he had ever laboured to support.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER SEXTUS.

- 1 AUDITA vobis esse arbitror, Quirites, quae sint acta in
1 senatu, quae fuerit cuiusque sententia. Res enim ex Kalendis
Ianuariis agitata paulo ante confecta est, minus quidem illa severe
quam decuit, non tamen omnino dissolute. Mora est allata bello;
non causa sublata. Quam ob rem, quod quaesivit ex me P. Apuleius, 5
homo et multis officiis mihi et summa familiaritate coniunctus et
vobis amicissimus, ita respondebo, ut ea, quibus non interfuistis,
nosse possitis. Causa fortissimis optimisque consulibus Kalendis
Ianuariis de re publica primum referendi fuit ex eo, quod XIII
• 2 Kalendas Ian. senatus me auctore decrevit. Eo die primum, 10
Quirites, fundamenta sunt iacta rei publicae: fuit enim longo

c. 1. *Following out the motion of the 19th of December, which was the first day after a long interval on which the senate had met in liberty, the Consuls had proposed stringent measures against Antony. This proposal Cicero had strenuously supported, moving that all the steps should be taken which were usual when an enemy was threatening the city. During three days' debate his policy was looked upon with favour; but on the fourth day milder counsels prevailed, and it was agreed to send an embassy to Antony, whereby the progress of the war was needlessly delayed.*

1. Audita vobis, 'rumour is rife among you,' rather than 'our proceedings have been heard by you.' The dative is seldom, if ever, used in prose as the exact equivalent of the ablative of the agent; see *Madv.* 250 a. Here the literal meaning would be, 'our proceedings are to you as what you have heard.' For the sense cp. 10. 3, 6 'An vero hoc pro

nihilo putas, efferri haec foras, et ad populi Romani aures pervenire.' The opinion of Manutius, that from the doors of the temple of Concord being open, some, but not all, of the people could hear the deliberations of the senate, and that this oration was meant to gratify the curiosity of the rest, scarcely needs refutation. Cicero's object is obviously to explain more fully what was generally but imperfectly known.

4. Dissolute, 'without strength.'

5. P. Apuleius. Cp. 14. 6, 16 'P. Apuleius, tribunus plebis, meorum omnium consiliorum periculorumque iam inde a consulatu meo testis, conscius, adiutor.' On the present occasion he brought forward Cicero to speak, as M. Servilius had done fifteen days before. See 4. 6, 16.

9. XIII Kalendas Ian., the 20th of December, when he delivered the third and fourth orations.

10. Eo die primum, &c. Cp. 4. 1, 1.

intervallo ita liber senatus, ut vos aliquando liberi essetis. Quo quidem tempore, etiam si ille dies vitae finem mihi allaturus esset, satis magnum ceperam fructum, cum vos universi una mente atque voce iterum a me conservatam esse rem publicam
 5 conclamastis. Hoc vestro iudicio tanto tamque praeclaro excitatus ita Kalendis Ianuariis veni in senatum, ut meminissem quam personam impositam a vobis sustinerem. Itaque bellum nefarium illatum rei publicae cum viderem, nullam moram interponendam insequendi M. Antonium putavi, hominemque audacissimum, qui
 10 multis nefariis rebus ante commissis hoc tempore imperatorem populi Romani oppugnaret, coloniam vestram fidissimam fortissimamque obsideret, bello censui persequendum: tumultum esse decrevi, iustitium edici, saga sumi dixi placere, quo omnes acrius graviusque incumberent ad ulciscendas rei publicae iniurias, si
 15 omnia gravissimi belli insignia suscepta a senatu viderent. Itaque haec sententia, Quirites, sic per triduum valuit, ut, quamquam discessio facta non esset, tamen praeter paucos omnes mihi assensuri viderentur. Hodierno autem die nescio qua eis obiecta re remissior senatus fuit. Nam plures eam sententiam secuti
 20 sunt, ut, quantum senatus auctoritas vesterque consensus apud Antonium valiturus esset, per legatos experiremur.

Intelligo, Quirites, a vobis hanc sententiam repudiari, neque 2.

3. Ceperam. The indicative is here used because, independently of the condition, he had already reaped an adequate reward.

4. Iterum: the first deliverance being from the conspiracy of Catiline.

6. Quam personam, &c., 'what character you had given me to sustain.' Cp. de Orat. 2. 24, 102 'Tres personas unus sustineo, meum, adversarii, iudicis;' Off. 1. 28, 97 'Nobis personam imposuit ipsa natura.'

11. Oppugnaret, the subjunctive, as showing wherein his audacity consisted.

Coloniam: Mutina.

17. Esset. The subjunctive here is merely due to the influence of 'videretur,' the dependent verb being attracted into the construction of the one on which it depends. For discessio see on 3. 9, 24.

18. Nescio qua, &c. So Halm. The reading of the Vatican MS. here is 'dies, non est, pe nescio quacis obiectarem remissior senatus fuit,' the most probable interpretation of which is given by F. Bücheler (Rhein. Mus.

for 1857, p. 466). Rejecting 'non est,' as probably brought in from 'non esset' above, and 'rem' as merely the repetition of the beginning of 'remissior,' he considers that 'qua pacis' underlies 'qua eis,' so that the whole would be, 'Hodierno autem die, pe nescio qua pacis obiecta, remissior senatus fuit.'

19. Remissior, 'more lenient.'

cc. 2, 3. The people would learn with dismay that the ambassadors had merely been charged to enjoin on Antony that he should desist from his attempts on Gaul, and once more place himself under the authority of the senate. When they considered his profligate and treasonable course of conduct, and the evil influences which prevailed with him, they would agree with Cicero that Antony was most unlikely to obey. His violence and insolence were much more likely to make him treat the envoys and their embassy with contempt; and the only result of it would be the serious delay which it would cause. In the end they would be obliged to

iniuria. Ad quem enim legatos? ad eumne, qui pecunia publica dissipata atque effusa, per vim et contra auspicia impositis rei publicae legibus, fugata contione, obsessio senatu ad opprimendam rem publicam Brundisio legiones arcessierit, ab iis relictus cum latronum manu in Galliam irruerit, Brutum oppugnet, Mutinam 5 circumsedeat? Quae vobis potest cum hoc gladiatore conditionis, 4 aequitatis, legationis esse communitas? Quamquam, Quirites, non est illa legatio, sed denuntiatio belli, nisi paruerit: ita enim est decretum, ut si legati ad Hannibalem mitterentur. Mittuntur enim qui nuntient, ne oppugnet consulem designatum, ne Mutinam 10 obsideat, ne provinciam depopuletur, ne dilectus habeat, sit in senatus populique Romani potestate. Facile vero huic denuntiationi parebit, ut in patrum conscriptorum atque in vestra potestate sit qui in sua numquam fuerit! Quid enim ille umquam arbitrio suo fecit? Semper eo tractus est, quo libido rapuit, 15 quo levitas, quo furor, quo vinolentia: semper eum duo dissimilia genera tenuerunt, lenonum et latronum; ita domesticis stupris, forensibus parricidiis delectatur, ut mulieri citius avarissimae 3 paruerit quam senatui populoque Romano. Itaque quod paulo 5 ante feci in senatu faciam apud vos. Testificor, denuntio, ante 20 praedico nihil M. Antonium eorum, quae sunt legatis mandata, facturum: vastaturum agros, Mutinam obsessurum, dilectus qua possit habiturum. Is est enim ille, qui semper senatus iudicium et auctoritatem, semper voluntatem vestram potestatemque contempserit. An ille id faciat, quod paulo ante decretum est, ut 25 exercitum citra flumen Rubiconem, qui finis est Galliae, educeret, dum ne propius urbem Romam cc milia admooveret? Huic

follow the example of D. Brutus, who had shown by his opposition to Antony that he looked on him as no longer a Consul, but the enemy of the state.

1. Legatos: sc. 'mittimus.' The omission of the verb is remarkable here, as the substantive is repeated from a clause in which it stood in a different construction. See however on 2. 19, 48.

Pecunia publica: that which Caesar had stored in the temple of Ops, cp. 1. 7, 17.

2. Contra auspicia. Cp. 3. 4. 9 'Neque solum legibus contra auspicia ferendis, sed etiam collega una ferente eo quem ipse e mentitis auspiciis vitiosum fecerat.'

4. Arcessierit. Cp. 4. 3, 6.

8. Denuntiatio belli. Cp. Fam. 12. 24, 2 'Nondum legati redierant, quos senatus non ad pacem deprecandam sed ad denuntiandum bellum miserat, nisi legatorum nuntio paruisset.'

9. Ad Hannibalem. Cp. 5. 10, 27 note.

17. Genera, lenonum et latronum. For a similar use of the genitive, where we should rather have expected nouns in apposition, see Cat. 2. 8, 18 'Unum genus est eorum, qui magno in aere alieno maiores etiam possessiones habent;' and see Madv. § 286. Obs. 2.

18. Mulieri, Fulvia. See on 1. 13, 33; 2. 44, 113.

27. Ne propius cc milia. This would

denuntiationi ille pareat? ille se fluvio Rubicone et cc milibus
 circumscriptum esse patiat? Non is est Antonius. Nam si
 esset, non commisisset ut ei senatus, tamquam Hannibali initio
 belli Punici, denuntiaret ne oppugnaret Saguntum. Quod vero
 5 ita avocatur a Mutina, ut ab urbe tamquam pestifera flamma
 arceatur, quam habet ignominiam! quod iudicium senatus! Quid?
 quod a senatu dantur mandata legatis, ut D. Brutum militesque
 eius adeant iisque demonstrent summa in rem publicam merita
 beneficiaque eorum grata esse senatui populoque Romano iisque
 10 eam rem magnae laudi magnoque honori fore, passurumne censetis
 Antonium introire Mutinam legatos, exire inde tuto? Numquam
 patietur, mihi credite: novi violentiam, novi impudentiam, novi
 audaciam. Nec vero de illo sicut de homine aliquo debemus, 7
 sed ut de importunissima belua cogitare. Quae cum ita sint,
 15 non omnino dissolutum est quod decrevit senatus. Habet atro-
 citatis aliquid legatio: utinam nihil haberet morae! Nam cum
 plerisque in rebus gerendis tarditas et procrastinatio odiosa est,
 tum hoc bellum indiget celeritatis. Succurrendum est D. Bruto,
 omnes undique copiae colligendae; horam exhibere nullam in
 20 tali cive liberando sine scelere non possumus. An ille non potuit, 8

confine Antony within limits of about twenty miles, the Rubicon being nine miles north of Ariminum, which is about 210 Roman miles from Rome. The omission of 'quam' is not uncommon in comparisons of quantity, cp. Livy 24. 40 'Multo minus tria milia militum;' and see Prof. Conington on Virg. G. 4. 207.

2. Circumscriptum. See on 2. 22, 53.

3. Non commisisset, 'never would have gone so far.'

5. Ita . . . ut, &c., 'what disgrace, what censure from the senate is involved in this, that while withdrawn from Mutina, he yet is ordered to remain away from Rome.' See on 2. 34, 85.

15. Dissolutum. See on c. 1, 1. Atrocitas seems to be a stronger expression than 'severe' in that place, perhaps 'rigour.' Cp. Quint. 1. 7, 37 'Quod in foro atrocitate formularum diiudicatur,' by the unbending strictness of the laws.

19. Horam exhibere nullam, &c. This is the reading of the MSS. The general meaning is plain, 'we are bound to do our best without delay for the liberation of a citizen like this,' but the interpretation of the words is almost hopeless. As they

stand they can only signify, 'to spend no time in freeing such a citizen cannot but be wrong,' which is very weak. In the more generally proposed alterations, 'horam eximere' ('to withdraw an hour from the time that might be spent,' and so 'to waste an hour'), and 'horam exhibere,' 'to make a show of delay,' the repetition of the negative forms a further difficulty, whence Wesenberg (ad or. pro Sest. p. 30, quoted by Halm) declares the removal of one of the negatives to be necessary. A less violent alteration would be to read 'curam exhibere,' which would give good sense. Lambinus proposes 'excubare,' 'to give up none of our time to watchfulness,' comparing c. 7, 18 'Quantum potero excubabo vigilaboque pro vobis.' Halm reads 'horam eximere [nullam].' Even with this reading there is a dispute about the meaning; but 'eximere tempus' in Cicero appears to be 'to deprive one of time which one might claim,' (like ἀρᾶν τοῦ χρόνου in Dem. F. L. p. 399, 30, cp. ad Q. Fratr. 2. 1, 3 'Clodius rogatus diem dicendo eximere coepit,') rather than, as some maintain, 'to consume time.'

si Antonium consulem, si Galliam Antonii provinciam iudicasset, legiones Antonio et provinciam tradere, domum redire, triumphare, primus in hoc ordine, quoad magistratum iniret, sententiam dicere? quid negotii fuit? Sed cum se Brutum esse meminisset vestraeque libertati natum, non otio suo, quid egit aliud nisi ut paene corpore suo Gallia prohiberet Antonium? Ad hunc utrum legatos an legiones ire oportebat? Sed praeterita omittamus: properent legati, quod video esse facturos: vos saga parate. Est enim ita decretum, ut, si ille auctoritati senatus non paruisset, ad saga iretur. Ibitur; non parebit: nos amissos tot dies rei gerendae 10 queremur.

4 Non metuo, Quirites, ne, cum audierit Antonius, me hoc et in senatu et in contione confirmasse, numquam illum futurum in senatus potestate, refellendi mei causa, ut ego nihil vidisse videar, vertat se et senatui pareat. Numquam faciet; non in- 15 videbit huic meae gloriae: malet me sapientem a vobis quam se 10 modestum existimari. Quid? ipse si velit, num etiam Lucium fratrem passurum arbitramur? Nuper quidem dicitur ad Tibur, ut opinor, cum ei labare M. Antonius videretur, mortem fratri esse minitatus. Etiamne ab hoc myrmillone Asiatico senatus 20 mandata, legatorum verba audientur? Nec enim secerni a fratre poterit, tanta praesertim auctoritate. Nam hic inter illos Africanus est; pluris habetur, quam L. Trebellius, pluris, quam T. Plancus, * * * adolescens nobilis. Plancum, qui omnibus

3. Primus sententiam dicere: as 'Consul designatus' for the following year. Cp. 5. 13, 35; and see on 5. 1, 1.

Quoad, 'until'; cp. 3. 15, 38.

10. Ireitur. Cp. 14. 1, 1 'Propter cuius periculum ad saga issemus, propter eiusdem salutem redeundum ad pristinum vestitum censerem.'

cc. 4, 5. *If Antony himself were willing to submit, he would be prevented by his traitorous associates, such as T. Plancus and L. Trebellius, the champion of commercial probity, and above all by his brother L. Antonius, the leader and the greatest ruffian of the crew: who had the impudence to claim amongst his clients the thirty-five tribes of Rome, the Roman knights, the most distinguished military tribunes of Caesar's army, and, most marvellous of all, the Roman 'Change. These claims were all attested by statues in his honour, with inscriptions bearing lasting witness to his arrogance.*

18. Ad Tibur, whither Antony had gone when he fled precipitately from Rome on the news of the defection of the fourth legion. See 3. 9, 24.

20. Myrmillone. Cp. 3. 12, 31; 5. 7, 20 and 11, 30.

22. Tanta auctoritate, 'when his influence is so great among the soldiery.'

24. Adolescens nobilis. This appellation could hardly apply to T. Plancus, who had been tribune of the commons nine years before; and in the Vatican MS. we find after his name the wildest confusion of erasures and repetitions, so that the genuine reading is hopelessly lost. This confusion is followed by the words 'cum exiluerit,' from which some editors, comparing 13. 13, 28, extract 'quam Exitius,' a name which even there is of doubtful authority. It is more probable that the words have some reference to the banishment of Plancus, in 51 B.C., for the share which he had taken

sententiis maximo vestro plausu condemnatus nescio quo modo se coniecit in turbam atque ita maestus rediit, ut retractus, non reversus videretur, sic contemnit, tamquam si illi aqua et igni interdictum sit; aliquando negat ei locum esse oportere in curia, 5 qui incenderit curiam. Nam Trebellium valde iam diligit: 11 oderat tum, cum ille tabulis novis adversabatur: iam fert in oculis, postea quam ipsum Trebellium vidit sine tabulis novis salvum esse non posse. Audisse enim vos arbitrator, Quirites, quod etiam videre potuistis, quotidie sponsores et creditores 10 L. Trebellii convenire. O fides!—hoc enim opinor Trebellium sumpsisse cognomen—: quae potest esse maior fides quam fraudare creditores? domo profugere? propter aes alienum ire ad arma? Ubi plausus ille in triumpho est, saepe ludis? ubi aedilitas delata summo studio bonorum? quis est, qui hunc non casu existimet 15 recte fecisse, nequitia scelestae? Sed redeo ad amores deliciasque 5 vestras, L. Antonium, qui vos omnes in fidem suam recepit. 12 Negatis? num quisnam est vestrum, qui tribum non habeat?

in the tumultuous funeral of P. Clodius. Any conjecture, however, is too uncertain to be of much value. Plancus was restored by Caesar, and on his death espoused the cause of Antony. See 10. 10, 22.

2. In turbam coniecit, 'mixed himself up with the crowd of returning exiles.'

3. Aqua et igni interdictum. The 'aquae et ignis interdictio' was the severest form of exile, whereby the culprit lost his 'civitas.'

4. Qui incenderit curiam. In the riot which accompanied the funeral of Clodius the Curia Hostilia was burnt to the ground.

Trebellium. In 47 B.C. L. Trebellius, then tribune of the commons, took a prominent part in the rejection of his colleague P. Dolabella's motion for a general abolition of debts. As he afterwards endeavoured, with the aid of Antony, to carry a precisely similar measure, Cicero is always twitting him with his inconsistency; cp. 10. 10, 22; 11. 6, 14; 13. 12, 26.

9. Sponsores et creditores, 'his sureties and his creditors,' to make arrangement for the satisfaction of the claims upon him.

10. O fides! &c. Cp. 13. 12, 26, where he is styled 'fidei patronus, fraudator creditorum.'

13. In triumpho, 'on the occasion of the triumph,' i.e., not one of his own, but on some occasion, when some other man

was triumphing, Trebellius had come in for a share of the popular favour, as patron of the public credit. A similar demonstration in his favour seems to have been made at some time at the games.

15. Nequitia scelestae, 'he acted well by chance, but ill by the inborn corruption of his nature.' The Vatican MS. has 'nequitia est scelere,' which has led to the various conjectures, 'nequitia est scelere coniuncta,' 'nequitia excellere,' 'qui nequitia et scelere ita excellat,' &c. The best emendations seem to be that of Klotz, 'nequitia scelerate,' and the similar one in the text, which is adopted by Halm from Nipperdey, who says (Philol. 3. 144) that the 'est' is a mere futile attempt to emend the corrupt reading 'scelere.'

Amores deliciasque, 'your love and sweetheart.' Cp. de Div. 1. 36, 79 'Quid? amores ac deliciae tuae, Roscius.'

16. In fidem recepit, 'has taken you all under his patronage.' Cp. Off. 1. 11. 35 'Ut ii, qui nationes devictas bello in fidem receperant, earum patroni essent more maiorum.'

17. Num quisnam. Some editors have written 'quispian,' apparently without authority, and needlessly, as the use of 'quisnam' as an indefinite pronoun is quite Ciceronian, cp. de Orat. 2. 3, 13 'Craspus, num quidnam, inquit, novi?' pro Rosc. Am. 37. 107 'Duo Roscii. Num quisnam praeteres?'

Certe nemo: atqui illum quinque et triginta tribus patronum adoptarunt. Rursus reclamatis? Adspicite illam a sinistra equestrem statuam inauratam, in qua quid inscriptum est? Quinque et triginta tribus patrono. Populi Romani igitur est patronus L. Antonius. Malam quidem illi pestem! clamori enim vestro assentior. Non modo hic latro, quem clientem habere nemo velit, sed quis umquam tantis opibus, tantis rebus gestis fuit, qui se populi Romani, victoris dominique omnium gentium, 13 patronum dicere auderet? In foro L. Antonii statuam videmus, sicut illam Q. Tremuli, qui Hernicos devicit, ante Castoris. O 10 impudentiam incredibilem! tantumne sibi sumpsit, quia Mylasis myrmillo Thraecem iugulavit, familiarem suum? Quonam modo istum ferre possemus, si in hoc foro spectantibus vobis depugnasset? Sed haec una statua. Altera ab equitibus Romanis equo publico, qui item adscribunt patrono. Quem umquam iste 15 ordo patronum adoptavit? Si quemquam, debuit me. Sed me omitto. Quem censorem? quem imperatorem? Agrum iis divisit. O sordidos, qui acceperint, improbum, qui dederit! 14 Statuerunt etiam tribuni militares, qui in exercitu Caesaris bis

1. Quinque et triginta, 'the whole thirty-five tribes,' the number having remained the same since the addition of the Quirina and Velina, 241 B.C.

2. Reclamatis? See on 4. 2, 5.

6. Non modo... sed quis umquam, 'putting this ruffian out of the question, was there ever any man?' The interrogative following 'non modo' is perhaps unparalleled, but similar cases of its usage for a negative, to which by its exhaustive force it is equivalent, are not uncommon. A somewhat similar instance is found in Div. in Caec. 18. 59 'Quid habes quod possis dicere, quamobrem non modo mihi, sed cuiquam antepone?'

10. Tremuli. Q. Marcus Tremulus triumphed over the Hernici and Anagnini in 306 B.C. The temple of Castor stands at the south-east corner of the Forum, so that the statue was probably full in Cicero's view as he addressed the people.

12. Familiarem suum, 'one of his own company,' see on 5. 11, 30.

15. Equo publico. See on 1. 8, 20.

16. Me debuit, as having raised the equestrian order by his consulship. Cp. de Leg. Ag. 1. 9, 27 'Habebat me ipsum sibi documento, quem equestri ortum loco consulem videt, quae vitae via facillime

viros bonos ad honorem dignitatemque perducatur.'

19. Statuerunt: sc. 'statuam,' as in 5. 15, 41; 9. 7, 16.

Bis. The MSS. have 'duobus,' apparently a misinterpretation of the symbol II, as they have the singular 'exercitu.' Cp. the inscription on the monument of Cn. Scipio:

CN. CORNELIUS CN. F. SCIPIO
HISPANUS

PR. AID. CUR. Q. TR. MIL. II.
XVIR SL. IUDIC.

Moreover the following question put by Cicero points to the erectors of this statue being a more arbitrary and ill-defined body than would be formed of all the military tribunes in the two armies of Caesar, understanding by this expression the army of Gaul, and the army of the civil war. To have been military tribune twice was in itself no great bond of union between the sharers of this honour, while so many would come under the designation that it was at least unlikely that they would all have other sympathies in common. Nor indeed could the army of the civil war be said to be so different from the army of Gaul that they could be talked of with any propriety as

fuerunt. Quis est iste ordo? multi fuerunt multis in legionibus per tot annos. Iis quoque divisit Semurium. Campus Martius restabat, nisi prius cum fratre fugisset. Sed haec agrorum assignatio paulo ante, Quirites, L. Caesaris, clarissimi viri et 5 praestantissimi senatoris, sententia dissoluta est: huic enim assensi septemvirum acta sustulimus. Iacent beneficia Nuculae, friget patronus Antonius. Nam possessores animo aequiore discedent: nullam impensam fecerant, nondum instruxerant, partim quia non confidebant, partim quia non habebant. Sed illa statua 15
10 palmaris, de qua, si meliora tempora essent, non possem sine risu dicere: L. Antonio a Iano medio patrono. Itane? Ianus

'the two armies of Caesar.' A. W. Zumpt (*Commentationes Epigraphicae*, i. 321) proposes the somewhat violent alteration 'decem annis fuissent'; objecting to the reading in the text on the ground that to have been tribune twice formed no basis of classification, either in respect of character or length of service. He admits however that there are undoubted instances where a second tribuneship is reckoned to a man's credit, and points out that if it were true that military tribunes were appointed to serve under a general for the whole term of his command, then those who had served twice under Caesar, who had received the command in Gaul for two definite periods of five years, would have held their office for ten years. This length of service points to a reason why such men should associate together in erecting a statue, but on the other hand 'per tot annos' seems to imply reference to a tenure of office admitting of more frequent changes than would thus have taken place.

2. Semurium. We only know of this that it formed part of a bequest left to the Roman people by Acca Larentia, a mythical courtesan of the early ages of the kingdom, identified by some with the wife of Faustulus, the nurse of Romulus and Remus. (*Macrob. Saturn.* i. 10.) From being named as next in sanctity to the Campus Martius, it evidently was in or close to Rome, and perhaps may be the same as the Remonium, the spot on the Aventine where, according to the legend, Remus wished to build the city. (*Plut. Rom.* c. 9.) Some editors have wished to read 'Remurium,' but the authority of the MSS. is supported by the passage in Macrobius.

4. L. Caesaris. The uncle of Antony. Cicero had himself advocated this measure, 5. 7, 21.

6. Iacent beneficia, &c., 'the favours of Nucula are lost, the patronage of Antony grows stale.' Cp. ad Q. Fratr. 3. 2, 3 'Memmius mirum in modum iacet; Scaurus refrigerat.' Nucula is mentioned again as one of the 'septemviri,' 8. 9, 26; 11. 6, 13.

7. Possessores, 'the allottees of the public land.' They had not yet 'stocked' it, partly from want of means, being chosen from the dregs of the people, partly, where they were better off, from want of confidence in the permanence of their title.

10. Palmaris, &c., 'but that statue carries off the palm,' &c. That 'palmaris' is the predicate, and not, as Manutius seems to hold, an epithet of 'statua,' seems clear from the only other passage, also ironical, in which the word is used by Cicero; de Nat. Deor. i. 8, 20 'Sed illa palmaria, quod, qui non modo natum mundum introduxerit, sed etiam manu paene factum, is eum dixerit fore sempiternum.'

11. A Iano medio. Mr. Dyer (*Dict. of Geography*, vol. 2, p. 774 b) thinks that Ianus was the name of a street, perhaps that which passed along the south side of the Forum, the Via Sacra, according to him, passing to the north. He supports his view by the Scholium on Hor. Epp. i. 1, 54 'Ianus autem hic platea dicitur, ubi mercatores et foeneratores sortis causa convenire solebant.' That 'medius Ianus' is equivalent to our 'Change,' and that it was in the immediate neighbourhood of the Tabernae Novae, is clear; but it seems probable that it signifies not 'the middle of the street Ianus,' but the middle Ianus, the centre one, that is, of three archways in the Forum, round which bankers used to congregate. One such archway, the Ianus Quadrifrons, dating probably from the time of Constantine, still exists in the Velabrum. This explanation suits better with the personification of the several Iani, here and in Horace, l. c. 'Haec Ianus summus

medius in L. Antonii clientela est? Quis umquam in illo Iano inventus est, qui L. Antonio mille nummum ferret expensum?

- 6 Sed nimis multa de nugis: ad causam bellumque redeamus; quamquam non alienum fuit personas quasdam a vobis recognosci, ut quibuscum bellum gereretur possetis taciti cogitare. Ego autem 5 vos hortor, Quirites, ut etiam si melius aliud fuit, tamen legatorum reditum exspectetis animo aequo. Celeritas detracta de
16 causa est: boni tamen aliquid accessit ad causam. Cum enim legati renuntiarent, quod certe renuntiabunt, non in vestra potestate, non in senatus esse Antonium, quis erit tam improbus 10 civis qui illum civem habendum putet? Nunc enim sunt pauci illi quidem, sed tamen plures, quam re publica dignum est, qui ita loquantur: ne legatos quidem exspectabimus? Istam certe vocem simulationemque clementiae extorquebit istis res ipsa [publica]. Quo etiam, ut confitear vobis, Quirites, minus ho- 15 dierno die contendi, minus laboravi, ut mihi senatus assentiens

ab imo Perdocet; and also with the expression 'ad medium Ianum,' rather than 'in medio Iano,' in Hor. S. 2. 3. 18

'Postquam omnis res mea Ianum

Ad medium fracta est, aliena negotia curo.'

and Cic. Off. 2. 24, 87 (25, 90 of many editions) 'Sed toto hoc de genere commodius a quibusdam optimis viris ad Ianum medium sedentibus disputatur.' Cicero tells us (de Nat. Deor. 2. 27, 67) that 'transitiones perviae Iani nominantur.' We hear that Q. Fulvius Flaccus, in 174 B.C., built three Iani, which may have been those in question. Orelli indeed (on Hor. S. l. c.) quotes a passage from P. Victor de Reg. Urb. 8 'Iani duo celebres mercatorum locus . . . Iani duo praecipui ad arcum Fabianum, superior et inferior,' as supporting a view that 'summus' and 'imius Ianus' were distinct arches, and 'medius Ianus' the space between; but the authority of the writings which go under the name of Victor is generally now considered worthless.

2. Qui . . . ferret expensum, 'to lend 10*l.* to L. Antonius.' In strict accuracy 1,000 sesterterii at this time were worth a little under 9*l.* For 'ferre expensum' see on 2. 6, 12.

cc. 6, 7. *Though the embassy was useless, yet now it would be best to wait for the return of the ambassadors. The failure of their mission would prove that Cicero was not only unceasingly energetic in maintaining*

the freedom of his country, but also gifted with the foresight which should make his counsels worth attending to. Meanwhile he would content himself with being among the foremost in making those preparations for immediate action, which the innate love of liberty was stimulating all to make, who, whether in the city or the country, were eager to crush the frenzy and audacity of Antony.

4. *Personas quasdam, &c., 'the characters of certain men should be reviewed by you.'*

5. *Taciti cogitare, 'consider in your minds.'*

6. *Etiam si . . . fuit, 'granting that a different course was preferable; viz. that recommended by Cicero in the fifth oration, to treat Antony as an enemy without more ado.*

13. *Istam vocem, 'that watchword; cp. Verr. Act. 2. 5. 65, 168 'Constituere nihil esse opis in hac voce, civis Romanus sum.'*

14. *Res ipsa (publica). The last word, whose initial only is found in the MSS., seems to have been rightly condemned by Muretus and Garatonius.*

15. *Quo enim, &c. This declaration is at variance with the earnestness with which Cicero urged his point in the fifth oration, and is an apology for his defeat with which he could scarcely have hoped to impose upon his audience.*

tumultum decerneret, saga sumi iuberet. Malui viginti diebus post sententiam meam laudari ab omnibus quam a paucis hodie vituperari. Quapropter, Quirites, exspectate legatorum reditum 17 et paucorum dierum molestiam devorate. Qui cum redierint, si 5 pacem afferent, cupidum me, si bellum, providum iudicatote. An ego non provideam meis civibus? non dies noctesque de vestra libertate, de rei publicae salute cogitem? Quid enim non debeo vobis, Quirites, quem vos a se ortum hominibus nobilissimis omnibus honoribus praetulistis? An ingratus sum? quis minus? 10 qui partis honoribus eisdem in foro gessi labores, quos petendis. Rudis in re publica? quis exercitior, qui viginti iam annos bellum geram cum impiis civibus? Quam ob rem, Quirites, 7 consilio quantum potero, labore plus paene quam potero excubabo 18 vigilaboque pro vobis. Etenim quis est civis, praesertim hoc 15 gradu, quo me vos esse voluistis, tam oblitus beneficii vestri, tam immemor patriae, tam inimicus dignitatis suae, quem non excitet, non inflammet tantus vester iste consensus? Multas magnasque habui consul contiones, multis interfui: nullam umquam vidi tantam, quanta nunc vestrum est. Unum sentitis omnes, unum 20 studetis, M. Antonii conatus avertere a re publica, furorem extinguere, opprimere audaciam. Idem volunt omnes ordines, eodem incumbunt municipia, coloniae, cuncta Italia. Itaque senatum bene sua sponte firmum firmiorem vestra auctoritate fecistis. Venit tempus, Quirites, serius omnino, quam dignum 19

4. Devorate, 'swallow down the annoyance.' Cp. Brut. 67. 236 'Hominum ineptias ac stultitias, quae devorandae nobis sunt.'

5. Cupidum. Graevius interprets this 'nimis partium studiosum,' 'led astray by party feeling;' comparing pro Font. 10. 21 'Testibus . . . cupidus et iratis et coniuratis et ab religione remotis;' and pro Caec. 3. 8 'Cupidior quam sapientem iudicem esse aequum est.' Cp. also Fam. 16. 11, 3 'Nos agimus nihil cupide;' though in all these passages 'cupidus' rather means 'blinded by the passion of the moment,' in the present case by obstinate antipathy to Antony. Another interpretation of 'cupidum' here is 'eager to welcome it;' that it would come unexpectedly, but none the less welcome on that account. This however loses the antithesis to 'providum.' There is no variation in the MSS., but conjectural emendations are

'stupidum' and 'timidum.'

8. A se ortum, 'with no parentage to boast of.'

9. Praetulistis. Cicero was returned at the head of the poll both for the praetorship in 66 B.C., and for the consulship in 63 B.C. For the latter he had among his antagonists two patricians, L. Cătilina and P. Galba, and two plebeians of noble family, C. Antonius Hybrida (his colleague) and L. Cassius Longinus.

Ingratus. Cp. pro Mur. 4. 8 (a corrupt passage, whose general meaning is, however, clear enough) 'Cum praemia mihi tanta pro hac industria sint data, quanta antea nemini: sic et si ceperis eos, cum adeptus sis, deponere, esset hominis et astuti et ingrati.'

11. Viginti iam annos. Since his consulship. See 2. I, 1 note.

15. Gradu. Sc. 'consulari.'

populo Romano fuit, sed tamen ita maturum, ut differri iam hora non possit. Fuit aliquis fatalis casus, ut ita dicam, quem tulimus, quoquo modo ferendus fuit: nunc si quis erit, erit voluntarius. Populum Romanum servire fas non est: quem di immortales omnibus gentibus imperare voluerunt. Res in extremum est adducta discrimen: de libertate decernitur. Aut vincatis oportet, Quirites, quod profecto et pietate vestra et tanta concordia consequemini, aut quidvis potius quam serviatis. Aliae nationes servitutem pati possunt, populi Romani est propria libertas.

2. Fatalis casus, 'a misfortune brought on us by destiny:' viz., the tyranny of Caesar.

7. Pietate, 'your loyalty to your fatherland.'

9. Populi Romani, &c. Cp. 3. 11, 29; 4. 5, 13. After 'Romani' some MSS. insert 'res,' perhaps from a mistake in the Vatican MS., where the first two letters of 'est' are written twice over.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE SEVENTH ORATION.

DURING the absence of the ambassadors the Consuls summoned a meeting of the senate, for the purpose of settling some comparatively unimportant business connected with the Appian road, the Mint, and the festival of the Lupercalia. The day of the meeting is not exactly known, but it was before the 15th of February, that being the day on which the Lupercalia were held. Cicero was present, and on being asked for his vote upon the first two questions, he took the opportunity of delivering the seventh Philippic oration, in which the first three lines and the last seven words refer to the matter under discussion, and the rest is occupied with an urgent appeal to the senate not to listen to the friends of Antony, whose anxiety for a peace, which was incompatible with freedom, safety, or honour, showed more zeal for the cause of their friend than loyalty to their country. He therefore pressed upon them the necessity of continuing their efforts for the protection of the state, since no sincere proposals could be hoped for on the side of Antony. The speech is one of his most eloquent: but it does not appear that any immediate action was taken in consequence of it.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER SEPTIMUS.

1 PARVIS de rebus, sed fortasse necessariis consulimur, patres
1 conscripti. De Appia via et de Moneta consul, de Lupercis
tribunus pl. refert. Quarum rerum etsi facilis explicatio videtur,
tamen animus aberrat a sententia suspensus curis maioribus.
Adducta est enim, patres conscripti, res in maximum periculum 5
et in extremum paene discrimen. Non sine causa legatorum
missionem semper timui, numquam probavi, quorum reditus quid
sit allaturus ignoro: expectatio quidem quantum afferat languoris
animis quis non videt? Non enim se tenent ii, qui senatum
dolent ad auctoritatis pristinae spem revirescere, coniunctum huic 10
ordini populum Romanum, conspirantem Italiam, paratos exercitus,
2 expeditos duces. Iam nunc fingunt responsa Antonii eaque defen-
dunt. Alii postulare illum, ut omnes exercitus dimittantur. Scili-
cet legatos ad eum misimus, non ut pareret et dicto audiens esset
huic ordini, sed ut condiciones ferret, leges imponeret, reserare 15

cc. 1, 2. *The topics for discussion were unimportant, compared with the consideration of the danger overhanging the state. It was asserted that Antony was willing to make what he called moderate terms with the people, giving up at least Cisalpine, if not both the Gauls, as though it were his part to dictate terms, instead of submitting unconditionally to the senate. Such language proved those who employed it to be no good citizens, much less worthy of the name of consular; contrasting as it did with the conduct of C. Pansa, who had availed himself of the opportunity which the crisis gave him, to show himself the noblest Consul that had been known within the memory of man.*

2. De Moneta. The temple of Juno Moneta, afterwards the Roman Mint, occu-

piated the S.W. summit of the Capitoline Hill. It was built by L. Camillus, on the site of the house of Cn. Manlius Capitolinus, in pursuance of a vow made in a battle with the Aurunci. (Livy 7. 28; 6. 20.)

Lupercis. See on 2. 34, 84.

4. Suspensus curis maioribus, 'amid the suspense which greater cares inflict on us.'

6. Legatorum missionem. See introduction to the fifth oration.

10. Revirescere, 'regaining strength enough to hope for the renewal of its ancient power.' Some MSS. have 'reviviscere,' a more favourite word with Cicero. For the construction, cp. de Prov. Cons. 14-34 'Ad renovandum bellum revirescent.'

15. Reserare, &c., remove the forces which bar Italy against her foreign foes.

nos exteris gentibus Italiam iuberet, se praesertim incolumi, a quo maius periculum quam ab ullis nationibus extimescendum est. Alii remittere eum nobis Galliam citeriorem, illam ultimam¹ postulare: praeclare! ex qua non legiones solum, sed etiam nationes ad urbem conetur adducere. Alii nihil eum iam nisi modeste postulare. Macedoniam suam vocat omnino, quoniam Gaius frater est inde revocatus. Sed quae provincia est, ex qua illa fax excitare non possit incendium? Itaque idem, quasi pro-
 10 vidi cives et senatores diligentes, bellicum me cecinisse dicunt, suscipiunt pacis patrocinium. Nonne sic disputant? Irritatum Antonium non oportuit; nequam est homo ille atque confidens; multi praeterea improbi—quos quidem a se primum numerare possunt, qui haec locuntur—: eos cavendos esse derisunt. Utrum igitur in nefariis civibus ulciscendi, cum possis, an per-
 15 timescendi diligentior cautio est? Atque haec ii locuntur, qui quondam propter levitatem populares habebantur. Ex quo intelligi⁴ potest animo illos abhorruisse semper ab optimo civitatis statu, non voluntate fuisse populares. Qui enim evenit ut, qui in rebus improbis populares fuerint, idem in re una maxime populari, quod

1. Se praesertim incolumi, 'and that though he is safe.' See on 2. 24, 60.

3. Illam ultimam, 'quam Plancus obtinet' 5. 2, 5: see note.

6. Suam vocat. On the ground that the decree of the senate which recalled his brother left matters as they were before the provinces had been allotted; and that though the province originally belonged to M. Brutus, he had been superseded in favour of Antony by a previous decree of the senate, passed on the 1st of June.

7. Gaius frater. He was praetor in 44 B.C., and obtained the province of Macedonia. (Cp. 3. 10, 26.) On his recall, in consequence of the decree passed on the occasion of that oration, he did not return to Rome, but maintained himself in arms against M. Brutus till the autumn of this year. (See 10. 4, 9; 11. 11, 26.) He was eventually put to death by Brutus, probably in retaliation for the murder of Cicero.

8. Fax. Cp. 2. 19, 43 'Omnium incendiorum fax'; and de Harusp. Resp. 2. 4 'Cum his furis et facibus bellum mihi dico esse susceptum.'

10. Pacis. This is the conjecture of Ursinus, for the readings of the MSS. 'patris,' or 'partis'; cp. 12. 2, 6 'Ex pacis patrocinio,

quod subito suscepit.'

Irritatum. So Halm, from a correction in the Vatican MS., the word having been omitted by the original writer. The other MSS. have 'irritari,' which is simpler.

14. Ulciscendi. The later MSS. have 'ulciscendis'... 'pertimescendis,' apparently to avoid the peculiar construction 'ulciscendi cautio.' Cp. however pro Flacc. 13. 31 'Defendendi facilis est cautio.' 'In dealing with traitors, should we take more care to show our fears of them, or to punish them, when there is a chance?'

16. Propter levitatem, &c., 'whose worthlessness before made them seem to be hunting after popularity.' See on 2. 31, 77; and for 'populares' on 1. 15, 37.

18. Non voluntate, &c., 'that their seeking for popularity arose from no love for the people, but from disloyalty to the state.' They were on the democratic side, only when the democratic side was wrong.

In rebus improbis, sc. when the popular desire was set on what was wrong, they were all for furthering what the people wished; but when the people's wishes happened to be right, they sacrificed their popularity to their love of wickedness.

eadem salutaris rei publicae sit, improbos se quam populares esse malint? Me quidem semper, uti scitis, adversarium multitudinis
 5 temeritati haec fecit praeclarissima causa popularem. Et quidem dicuntur, vel potius se ipsi dicunt consulares: quo nomine dignus est nemo, nisi qui tanti honoris nomen potest sustinere. Faveas
 tu hosti? ille litteras ad te mittat de sua spe rerum secundarum? eas tu laetus proferas, recites, describendas etiam des improbis
 civibus? eorum augeas animos? bonorum spem virtutemque debiles? et te consularem aut senatorem, denique civem putes? Accipiet in optimam partem C. Pansa, fortissimus consul atque
 10 optimus. Etenim dicam animo amicissimo: hunc ipsum, mihi hominem familiarissimum, nisi talis consul esset, ut omnes vigilias, curas, cogitationes in rei publicae salute defigeret, consulem non
 15 putarem. Quamquam nos ab ineunte illius aetate usus, consuetudo, studiorum etiam honestissimorum societas similitudoque devinxit, eiusdemque cura incredibilis in asperrimis belli civilis periculis perspecta docuit non modo salutis, sed etiam dignitatis
 meae fuisse factorem: tamen eundem, ut dixi, nisi talis consul esset, negare esse consulem auderem. Idem non modo consulem
 esse dico, sed etiam memoria mea praestantissimum atque op-
 20 timum consulem, non quin pari virtute et voluntate alii fuerint, sed tantam causam non habuerunt, in qua et voluntatem suam
 7 et virtutem declararent. Huius magnitudini animi, gravitati, sapientiae tempestas est oblata formidolosissimi temporis. Tum
 autem illustratur consulatus, cum gubernat rem publicam, si non
 25 optabili, at necessario tempore. Magis autem necessarium, patres conscripti, nullum tempus umquam fuit.
 3 Itaque ego ille, qui semper pacis auctor fui, cuique pax prae-

2. Adversarium. The later MSS. have 'adversatum'; but cp. pro Cluent. 34. 94 'seditiosis adversarius.'

5. Faveas tu hosti. This may be addressed to Q. Fufius Calenus (see on 5. 1, 1), but more probably generally to any senator to whom the charges would apply.

7. Describendas, 'to copy'; cp. Fam. 12. 17, 2 'Dicam tuis, ut librum, si velint, describant ad teque mittant.'

10. Accipiet, &c., C. Pansa will not be offended at my using his name in order to illustrate my argument from an extreme case.

20. Praestantissimum, &c., 'stands forth most prominently as the most patriotic Consul that I can remember.'

21. Non quin. Equivalent to 'non quia non'; cp. de Orat. 2. 7, 295 'Non quin enitendum sit in utroque.'

24. Tempestas, &c., 'an opportunity has been given him of showing his high-mindedness, &c., in a moment of extraordinary danger.' 'Tempestas temporis,' 'the opportunity which is presented by the time.'

cc. 3-5. Cicero therefore, the persistent eager advocate of peace, so far deviated from his principles as to shrink from peace with Antony; but only because it was shameful, dangerous, and fallacious. It was shameful, because inconsistent with the decrees which they had passed so recently. By voting honours to C. Caesar, Decimus Brutus, and

sertim civilis, quamquam omnibus bonis, tamen in primis fuit optabilis—omne enim curriculum industriae nostrae in foro, in curia, in amicorum periculis propulsandis elaboratum est; hinc honores amplissimos, hinc mediocres opes, hinc dignitatem, si
 5 quam habemus, consecuti sumus—: ego igitur pacis, ut ita dicam, 8
 alumnus, qui, quantuscumque sum—nihil enim mihi arrego—sine pace civili certe non fuisset—periculose dico; quem ad modum accepturi, patres conscripti, sitis horreo, sed pro mea perpetua cupiditate vestrae dignitatis retinendae et augendae quaeso oroque
 10 vos, patres conscripti, ut primo, etsi erit vel acerbum auditu vel incredibile a M. Cicerone esse dictum, accipiat sine offensione quod dixerō, neve id prius, quam quale sit explicare, repudiētis—: ego ille, dicam saepius, pacis semper laudator, semper auctor, pacem cum M. Antonio esse nolo. Magna spe ingredior in
 15 reliquam orationem, patres conscripti, quoniam periculosissimum locum silentio sum praetervectus. Cur igitur pacem nolo? quia 9
 turpis est, quia periculosa, quia esse non potest. Quae tria dum explico, peto a vobis, patres conscripti, ut eadem benignitate qua soletis mea verba audiat.

20 Quid est inconstantia, levitate, mobilitate cum singulis ho-

the soldiers under their command,—by determining to send both Consuls, one at the risk of his life, to the seat of war,—and by ordering a general levy, they had practically declared that Antony was a public enemy: and this view was confirmed by the eager attention paid to warlike preparations by all classes in the city. Nor did the message to Antony, impolitic, even disgraceful as it was, bind them to treat upon his terms, since it was not so much an embassy, as a notice to yield, under penalty of destruction if he disobeyed. The Roman senators should die rather than submit to one who outdid kings and tyrants alike, both in extortion and wickedness at home, and in actual deeds of treasonable warfare in the provinces.

Pacis auctor. Cp. 2. 15, 37. The elaboration of this sentence and the frequent dependent clauses and parentheses make the thread of it difficult to follow, even with the aid of the thrice repeated subject, 'Ego ille . . . ego igitur pacis . . . alumnus, . . . ego ille pacis . . . laudator . . . pacem esse nolo.'

1. In primis, 'above all other men.' All good men desired peace, but none so much as Cicero.

3. In periculis propulsandis. Cicero

only twice in his life undertook a prosecution, and in both cases he might be said to be pleading the cause of his friends against their oppressors. The first was that of Verres, 70 B.C., in behalf of the Sicilians; the second that of T. Munatius Plancus Bursa, who as tribune of the commons had taken a leading part in bringing Milo to trial, 52 B.C.

6. Quantuscumque sum, 'whatever small position may be mine;' 'quantuscumque' being used, by a *metonymy* common with Cicero, for 'quantuluscumque;' cp. 5. 8, 22 'Bona, quantacumque erant;' and de Orat. 2. 28, 123 'Quantuscumque sum ad iudicandum.'

7. Periculose dico, 'I speak at the peril of my reputation for consistency.' Muretus notices this as a remarkable instance of *epithetophrasis*, answering an objection before the cause of it has arisen.

11. Incredibile, &c., 'however difficult to believe that it has come from Cicero's mouth.'

16. Silentio, 'without your interrupting me.'

20. Levitate. The position of the word here shows that it means 'want of steadfast-

minibus, tum vero universo senatui turpius? quid porro inconstantius quam, quem modo hostem non verbo, sed re multis
 10 decretis iudicaritis, cum hoc subito pacem velle coniungi? Nisi vero, cum C. Caesari meritos illi quidem honores et debitos, sed tamen singulares et immortales decrevistis, unam ob causam, quod 5
 contra M. Antonium exercitum comparavisset, non hostem tum Antonium iudicavistis; nec tum hostis est a vobis iudicatus Antonius, cum laudati auctoritate vestra veterani milites, qui C. Caesarem secuti essent; nec tum hostem Antonium iudicastis, cum fortissimis legionibus, quod illum, qui consul appellabatur, 10
 cum esset hostis, reliquissent, vacationes, pecunias, agros sponte 4
 pondistis. Quid? cum Brutum, omine quodam illius generis et
 11 nominis natum ad rem publicam liberandam, exercitumque eius, pro libertate populi Romani bellum gerentem cum Antonio, provinciamque fidelissimam atque optimam, Galliam, laudibus amplissimis affecistis, tum non hostem iudicastis Antonium? Quid? cum decrevistis ut consules, alter ambove, ad bellum proficiscerentur, quod erat bellum, si hostis Antonius non erat? Quid 12
 igitur profectus est vir fortissimus, meus collega et familiaris, A. Hirtius consul? at qua imbecillitate! qua macie! sed animi 20
 vires corporis infirmitas non retardavit. Aequum, credo, putavit vitam, quam populi Romani votis retinuisset, pro libertate populi
 13 Romani in discrimen adducere. Quid? cum dilectus haberi tota Italia iussistis, cum vacationes omnes sustulistis, tum ille hostis non est iudicatus? Armorum officinas in urbe videtis; milites 25
 cum gladiis secuntur consulem; praesidio sunt specie consuli, re et veritate nobis; omnes sine ulla recusatione, summo etiam cum

ness,' not 'worthlessness' (see on 2. 31, 77); cp. Acad. Pr. 2. 38, 120 'Ut omittam levitatem temere advenientium.'

2. Non verbo, sed re. Cp. 4. 1, 1 'Est hostis a senatu nondum verbo appellatus, sed re iam iudicatus Antonius.'

4. Meritos. So most editors for the Vatican reading 'merito.' The passive meaning of 'meritus,' common in poetry, is found again in connection with 'debitam,' in de Orat. 2. 50, 203 'Iracundiam neque eam iniustam sed meritam ac debitam'; ib. 3. 4, 14 'Meritam gratiam debitamque.' 'Illi' depends on 'decrevistis,' not on 'meritos.'

12. Omine. So Halm, from one MS., following the conjecture of Ferrarius, who compares 10. 6, 14 'Brutus . . . cum sua

excellentissima virtute rei publicae natus, tum fato quodam paterni maternique generis et nominis.' The other MSS. have 'homine.' For the omen see 2. 11, 26 note.

19. Meus collega: in the augurship. At the end of the first oration Cicero mentions the general anxiety for the safety of Hirtius, who was then in bad health. To this he apparently refers in saying that the people's prayers had saved his life. The date of his departure from Rome is uncertain, but it was probably soon after the despatch of the envoys (Merivale 3. 128). From this speech (c. 2, 5; 9, 27) we learn that Pansa still remained in Rome. Hirtius was not only the friend, but the pupil of Cicero (Fam. 7. 33, 1).

studio nomina dant, parent auctoritati vestrae : non est iudicatus hostis Antonius? At legatos misimus. Heu me miserum! cur 14 senatum cogor, quem laudavi semper, reprehendere? Quid? vos censetis, patres conscripti, legatorum missionem populo Romano vos probavisse? non intelligitis, non auditis, meam sententiam flagitari? cui cum pridie frequentes essetis assensi, postridie ad spem estis inanem pacis devoluti. Quam turpe porro legiones ad senatum legatos mittere, senatum ad Antonium! quamquam illa legatio non est : depunctio est paratum illi exitium, nisi paruerit 10 huic ordini. Quid refert? tamen opinio est gravior. Missos enim legatos omnes vident, decreti nostri non omnes verba noverunt. Retinenda est igitur nobis constantia, gravitas, perseverantia, re- 5 petenda vetus illa severitas : si quidem auctoritas senatus decus, honestatem, laudem, dignitatemque desiderat, quibus rebus hic 15 ordo caruit nimium diu. Sed erat tunc excusatio oppressis, misera illa quidem, sed tamen iusta : nunc nulla est. Liberati regio dominatu videbamus : multo postea gravius urgebamur armis domesticis. Ea ipsa depulimus nos quidem : extorquenda sunt. Quod si non possumus facere—dicam quod dignum est senatore 20 et Romano homine—, moriamur. Quanta enim illa erit rei 15 publicae turpitudine, quantum dedecus, quanta labe, dicere in hoc ordine sententiam M. Antonium consulari loco! cuius ut omittam innumerabilia scelera urbani consulatus, in quo pecuniam publicam

5. Meam sententiam flagitari, 'do you not hear them calling for the measures I proposed?' viz. that Antony should at once be formally declared an enemy.

6. Pridie . . . postridie are here correlative, 'on one day,' 'on the next.' Till the 3rd of January the feeling of the senate had been on Cicero's side, but on the morning of the 4th the tide turned, and the meeting acquiesced in the veto which Salvius placed upon his motion. See introd. to the sixth oration.

7. Devoluti, 'ye sank down,' with the implied notion of deterioration. Cp. Livy 5. 11 'Eo devolvi rem (matters had come to such a pass), ut aut patricii aut patriciorum asseciae habendi tribuni plebis sint.'

Legiones, those of Antony. Of these ambassadors we know nothing.

10. Quid refert? &c. So Halm, restoring the common punctuation, instead of placing the note of interrogation after 'tamen,' according to the suggestion of Faernus. 'In spite of this distinction, the

really important point is what people generally think of the measure; and they at least look on it as an embassy.'

12. Constantia, gravitas, perseverantia, as opposed to the 'inconstantia, levitas, mobilitas' of Antony, c. 3. 9.

14. Desiderat, 'regrets,' caruit, 'has been without,' under the tyranny of Caesar.

18. Depulimus, &c., 'we drove them indeed from our walls, but that is not enough, we must wrench them from the hands of him who has usurped them.' The words 'extorquenda sunt' stand baldly, so that some editors have inserted 'sed,' but without authority. The reading of the later MSS. is 'nunc quidem extorquenda sunt,' but 'quidem' is wanted in the former clause, and weak in the latter.

19. Quod si, &c. Mr. Forsyth says of this sentence that it 'is as fine as anything in Demosthenes—perhaps finer—if we except the adjuration in the speech on the Crown' (Life of Cicero, 2. 221, edit. 1).

23. Urbani consulatus. His campaigns

maximam dissipavit, exsules sine lege restituit, vectigalia divendit, provincias de populi Romani imperio sustulit, regna addixit pecuniā, leges civitati per vim imposuit, armis aut obsedit aut exclusit senatum: ut haec, inquam, omittam, ne hoc quidem cogitatis eum, qui Mutinam, coloniam populi Romani firmis- 5 simam, oppugnarit, imperatorem populi Romani, consulem designatum, obsederit, depopulatus agros sit, hunc in eum ordinem recipi, a quo totiens ob has ipsas causas hostis iudicatus sit, quam foedum flagitiosumque sit?

- 16 Satis multa de turpitudine: dicam deinceps, ut proposui, de 10 periculo, quod etsi minus est fugiendum quam turpitudine, tamen
 6 offendit animos maioris partis hominum magis. Poteritis igitur exploratam habere pacem, cum in civitate M. Antonium videbitis vel potius Antonios? Nisi forte contemnitis Lucium: ego ne Gaium quidem. Sed, ut video, dominabitur Lucius; est enim 15 patronus quinque et triginta tribuum, quarum sua lege, qua cum C. Caesare magistratum partitus est, suffragium sustulit; patronus centuriarum equitum Romanorum, quas item sine suffragio esse voluit; patronus eorum, qui tribuni militares fuerunt; patronus 17 Iani medii. Quis huius potentiam poterit sustinere? praesertim 20

were carried on at home, against the liberty, the laws, the property of the state and people. The charges here brought against Antony have all been discussed already, in the notes to the second oration.

1. Divendit, 'has sold piecemeal;' cp. de Leg. Agr. 1. 3. 7 'Bona populi Romani divendere.'

2. Addixit, 'has given over to the highest bidder;' see 2. 21, 52 note.

6. Consulem designatum: see on 3. 15. 37.

7. Hunc. For this redundant use of 'hic,' after a long relative clause, see 2. 39, 101 note.

cc. 6, 7. Secondly, with Antony (or rather with the Antonii, for Lucius, the patron of the people, the knights, and the bankers, the doughty gladiator, was no less formidable than his brother), any peace must needs be full of danger, for there could be no security against his falling into his ancient evil practices. And if danger should arise, the senate must accept the blame of it, since they had Cicero to warn them, and all orders of the people were eager to assist them in averting it.

15. Dominabitur, 'will play the part of tyrant;' so pro Rab. Post. 14, 39 'Dominatus est enim, inquit, Alexandriae.'

16. Patronus. See 6. 5.

Sua lege, the law passed by L. Antonius, as tribune of the commons, in the preceding year, giving to Caesar the right of nominating the Consuls for the next two years, together with half the other magistrates who were usually elected by the people. (Suet. Caes. 41.)

17. Magistratum. This is the reading of the Vatican MS., which Halm supposes to be a corruption for 'magistratum comitia' or 'nominationem.' 'By virtue of which law he divided the election of the magistrates between Caesar and the people.' The use of 'magistratus' in the singular for the whole body of magistrates is hardly defensible. The other MSS. and most editors have 'magistratus.' Nipperdey (Philologus 3. 144) thinks that 'magistratum partitus est' may mean, 'shared the nomination of magistrates,' as in Tac. Ann. 1. 44 'Centurionatum egit' means 'he proceeded to the appointment of centurions.' For the general sense he compares Suet. Caes. 41 'Comitia cum populo partitus est.'

20. Praesertim cum, &c., 'especially when he shall have given these same clients allotments of the public lands.'

cum eosdem in agros etiam deduxerit. Quis umquam omnes tribus? quis equites Romanos? quis tribunos militares? Gracchorum potentiam maiorem fuisse arbitramini, quam huius gladiatoris futura sit? quem gladiatorem non ita appellavi, ut interdum etiam
 5 M. Antonius gladiator appellari solet, sed ut appellant ii, qui plane et Latine locuntur. Myrmillo in Asia depugnavit. Cum ornasset thraecidicis comitem et familiarem suum, illum miserum fugientem iugulavit; luculentam tamen ipse plagam accepit, ut declarat cicatrix. Qui familiarem iugularit, quid is occasione
 10 data faciet inimico? et qui illud animi causa fecerit, hunc praedae causa quid facturum putatis? Non rursus improbos decuriabit? non sollicitabit rursus agrarios? non queretur expulsos? M. vero Antonius non is erit, ad quem omni motu concursus fiat civium perditorum? Ut nemo sit alius nisi ii, qui una sunt, et ii, qui
 15 hic ei nunc aperte favent, parumne erunt multi? praesertim cum bonorum praesidia discesserint, illi parati sint ad nutum futuri? Ego vero metuo, si hoc tempore consilio lapsi erimus, ne illi brevi tempore nimis multi nobis esse videantur. Nec ego pacem nolo,
 20 sed pacis nomine bellum involutum reformido. Quare si pace frui volumus, bellum gerendum est: si bellum omittimus, pace numquam fruemur. Est autem vestri consilii, patres conscripti, in
 7 posterum quam longissime providere. Idcirco in hac custodia et

6. Plane et Latine, 'plain Latin;' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 4. 1, 2 'Latine me scitote, non accusatorie loqui.'

Myrmillo. See 3. 12, 31 note.

7. Thraecidicis, 'with the arms of a Thrac,' the usual antagonist of the myrmillo. See 6. 5, 13.

8. Luculentam, 'a serious blow.' The expression is probably taken from the slang of the arena: cp. ad Q. Fr. 3. 2, 1 'Gabinium luculente calefecerat Memmius.'

9. Familiarem, 'his comrade;' cp. 6. 1. c.

10. Animi causa, 'to amuse himself;' cp. Fam. 7. 2, 3 'Hic simiolus animi causa me, in quem inveheretur, delegerat.'

11. Decuriabit, 'place on the judicial bench.' See 1. 8, 19 note.

12. Sollicitabit agrarios, 'try to rouse those who are desirous of land;' cp. Cat. 4. 2, 4 'C. Gracchus, quod agrarios concitare conatus est.'

Queretur expulsos, 'bemoan the lot of those who lose their lands,' to make

way for the new settlers; so as to gain over desperadoes of all classes. Muretus suggests 'quaeret urbe expulsos' as the explanation of the Vatican reading 'quae retur,' but the 'expulsi' are obviously those who are deprived of their property. The new settlers would be those introduced by the decree passed in consequence of the fifth oration.

16. Ad nutum, 'to obey Antony without demur.'

19. Involutum. So Halm from the later MSS., and a comparison with a fragment of a letter to Octavian, ad Caes. Iun. Epist. 1. fr. 9 'Sed quod videret nomine pacis bellum involutum fore.' The Vatican MS. has 'novolutum,' whence Muretus suggested the common reading 'obvolutum,' as in 2. 31, 77.

21. Est vestri consilii, 'your character for prudence calls upon you.'

22. In hac custodia, &c., 'in this post of guardianship, this watch-tower, as it were.' To 'custodia' answers 'vigilia;' to 'specula' 'prospicientia.'

tamquam specula collocati sumus, uti vacuum metu populum Romanum nostra vigilia et prospicientia redderemus. Turpe est summo consilio orbis terrae, praesertim in re tam perspicua, consilium intelligi defuisse. Eos consules habemus, eam populi Romani alacritatem, eum consensum Italiae, eos duces, eos exercitus, ut nullam calamitatem res publica accipere possit sine culpa senatus. Equidem non deero: monebo, praedicam, denuntiabo, testabor semper deos hominesque quid sentiam, nec solum fidem meam, quod fortasse videatur satis esse, sed in principe civi non est satis: curam, consilium vigilantiamque praestabo.

8 Dixi de periculo: docebo ne coagmentari quidem posse pacem; de tribus enim, quae proposui, hoc extremum est. Quae potest pax esse M. Antonio primum cum senatu? quo ore vos ille poterit, quibus vicissim vos illum oculis intueri? quis vestrum illum, quem ille vestrum non oderit? Age, vos ille solum, et vos illum? Quid? ii, qui Mutinam circumsecident, qui in Gallia disiectus habent, qui in vestras fortunas imminēt, amici umquam vobis erunt aut vos illis? An equites Romanos amplectetur? occulta enim fuit eorum voluntas iudiciumque de Antonio. Qui frequentissimi in gradibus Concordiae steterunt, qui nos ad libertatem recuperandam excitaverunt, arma, saga, bellum flagitaverunt, me una cum populo Romano in contionem vocaverunt: hi Antonium diligēt et cum his pacem servabit Antonius? Nam quid ego de universo populo Romano dicam? qui pleno ac referto foro bis me una mente atque voce in contionem vocavit declaravitque maximam libertatis recuperandae cupiditatem. Ita quod erat

3. Summo consilio. Cp. 4. 6, 14 'Senatum, id est orbis terrae consilium.'

10. Civi. See 3. 3, 7 note.

c. 8. And lastly, peace with Antony could not be. Mutual hatred, the people's eagerness for liberty, the siege of Mutina, and the loyalty and readiness for service which had thereby been excited, together with the influence of C. Caesar and D. Brutus, all made peace impossible.

12. Coagmentari. The Vatican MS. has 'coamentari,' a reading which Muretus defends, deriving the word from 'amenta, ea quibus ad ligandum utimur.' This meaning of 'amentum' however does not occur before the writings of the elder Pliny, and if 'coamentari' be the right reading, it seems

more likely that it is taken from a form 'coamentum,' derived directly from 'cogo,' as 'amentum' (the impelling thong) is from 'ago.' Though several times used by Cicero (apologetically, with 'quasi' or 'quodammodo') of the combination of words, in his rhetorical treatises, the word 'coagmentari' appears to be nowhere else employed in so distinctly metaphorical a sense as here. 'I will show that peace cannot even be patched up with Antony.'

16. Age, vos, &c., 'is this mutual hatred confined to you and him?'

17. In Gallia. See 5. 12, 31 note.

25. Bis. On the occasions of the fourth and sixth orations.

27. Quod here is nearly equivalent to

optabile antea, ut populum Romanum comitem haberemus, nunc habemus ducem. Quae est igitur spes, qui Mutinam circumsedent, imperatorem populi Romani exercitumque oppugnant, iis pacem cum populo Romano esse posse? An cum mûnicipiis pax erit, 22
 5 quorum tanta studia cognoscuntur in decretis faciendis, militibus dandis, pecuniis pollicendis, ut in singulis oppidis curiam populi Romani non desideretis? Laudandi sunt ex huius ordinis sententia Firmani, qui principes pecuniae pollicendae fuerunt: respondendum honorifice est Marrucinis, qui ignominiam notandos
 10 censuerunt eos, si qui militiam subterfugissent. Haec iam tota Italia fient. Magna pax Antonio cum iis, his item cum illo. Quae potest esse maior discordia? in discordia autem pax civilis esse nullo pacto potest. Ut omittam multitudinem, L. Visidio, 24
 equiti Romano, homini in primis ornato atque honesto civique
 15 semper egregio, cuius ego excubias et custodias mei capitis cognovi in consulatu meo; qui vicinos suos non cohortatus est solum ut milites fierent, sed etiam facultatibus suis sublevavit: huic, inquam, tali viro, quem nos senatus consulto collaudare debemus, poteritne esse pacatus Antonius? Quid? C. Caesari? qui illum
 20 urbe, quid? D. Bruto, qui Gallia prohibuit? Iam vero ipse se 25
 placabit et leniet provinciae Galliae, a qua expulsus et repudiatus est? Omnia videbitis, patres conscripti, nisi prospicitis, plena odiorum, plena discordiarum, ex quibus oriuntur bella civilia.

'whereas,' the principal clause not containing a direct antecedent to it, but only an observation referring to the antecedent. See *Madv.* § 398 b. Obs. 2.

6. Ut in singulis, &c., 'that in reviewing the conduct of the several towns you nowhere feel the absence of the Roman senate:' they are all as zealous as if they were acting under the immediate influence of the senate.

8. Firmani. From the time of the Roman conquest of Picenum, 268 B.C., Firmum (now Fermo) always proved a staunch ally of Rome, remaining faithful even during the Social War, when it was the headquarters of Cn. Pompeius Strabo. The Marrucini, from their admission to the Roman alliance, in 304 B.C., were also conspicuous for their general fidelity to Rome, but they joined the Marsi and Peligni in the Social War, at the close of which, with the Picenians, they were admitted to the Roman franchise.

10. Subterfugissent, 'had made excuses to avoid military service.' Cp. *Off.* 3. 26, 97 'Ulixen insimulant tragoediae simulatione insaniae militiam subterfugisse.'

13. L. Visidio. Orelli and other editors, apparently without MS. authority, have 'Nasidio,' identifying this otherwise unknown knight with L. Nasidius, who commanded a fleet under Pompey in 49 B.C. To this it is objected that Nasidius would not have been appointed to such an office unless he had held some magistracy, and it is unusual to apply the term 'eques' to any one who had even been quaestor.

21. Leniet, sc. 'se provinciae leniet,' an apparently unparalleled construction of 'lenio,' due to the influence of its combination with 'placo,' which, with so closely cognate a meaning, is not unusual with this construction; cp. *Fam.* 13. 1, 3 'Uti te sibi placarem.' 'Will he now bring himself to look with kindly and gentle feelings on the province of Gaul?'

Nolite igitur id velle, quod fieri non potest, et cavete, per deos immortales! patres conscripti, ne spe praesentis pacis perpetuam pacem amittatis.

9 Quorsum haec omnis spectat oratio? quid enim legati egerint, 26 nondum scimus. At vero excitati, erecti, parati, armati animis iam esse debemus, ne blanda aut supplici oratione aut aequitatis simulatione fallamur. Omnia fecerit oportet, quae interdicta et denunciata sunt, prius quam aliquid postulet; Brutum exercitumque eius oppugnare, urbes et agros provinciae Galliae populari destiterit; ad Brutum adeundi legatis potestatem fecerit, exercitum 10 citra flumen Rubiconem eduxerit, nec propius urbem milia passuum ducenta admoverit; fuerit et in senatus et in populi Romani potestate. Haec si fecerit, erit integra potestas nobis deliberandi: si senatui non paruerit, non illi senatus, sed ille populo Romano 27 bellum indixerit. Sed vos moneo, patres conscripti: libertas agitur 15 populi Romani, quae est commendata vobis, vita et fortunae optimi cuiusque, quo cupiditatem infinitam cum immani crudelitate iam pridem intendit Antonius, auctoritas vestra, quam nullam habebitis, nisi nunc tenueritis: taetram et pestiferam beluam ne inclusam et constrictam dimittatis cavete. Te ipsum, Pansa, 20 moneo—quamquam non eges consilio, quo vales plurimum, tamen etiam summi gubernatores in magnis tempestatibus a vectoribus admoneri solent—, hunc tantum tuum apparatus tamque praeclarum ne ad nihilum recidere patiare. Tempus habes tale, quale nemo habuit umquam. Hac gravitate senatus, hoc studio equestris ordinis, 25 hoc ardore populi Romani potes in perpetuum rem publicam metu et periculo liberare. Quibus de rebus refers, P. Servilio assentior.

c. 9. *What remained was therefore to be firm and ready. If Antony gave way to all the orders of the senate, then deliberation might be possible and safe, but if he failed in any one particular, the only course in that case was to crush him, and thus free the Roman people from all danger and all fear for ever.*

7. Omnia fecerit, &c., 'he must have submitted to us in all that we have forbidden or commanded him to do, before he can claim a hearing for his requests.'

10. Exercitum, &c. See on 6. 3, 5.

13. Erit integra, 'we shall not prejudice our power to deliberate.'

15. Agitur, 'is at stake.'

21. Non eges, &c., although, that is,

you are rather fitted for administering than receiving such advice.

23. Apparatum, not merely the forces which he had collected from the levy, as Manutius thinks, but all his other resources, in the firmness of the senate, the zeal of the knights, and the eagerness of the people.

27. Quibus de rebus: the Appian way, and the Mint, the subjects of the Consul's motion; see c. 1, 1.

P. Servilio: probably P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus the younger, who was one of the chief supporters of the aristocratical party, and afterwards chosen as one of the envoys for the proposed second embassy to Antony. See 12. 1, 1 note.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE EIGHTH ORATION.

THE exact date of this oration cannot be determined, but it is clear from the last section that it was delivered some little time before the Ides of March. The occasion of it was the return of two of the ambassadors who had been sent to Antony. Servius Sulpicius, the third ambassador, had been in bad health before he started, and died before he reached the camp of Antony. The other two, L. Piso and L. Philippus, laid before Antony the demands of the senate; to which he replied, as Cicero had foretold, not by simple submission, but by a series of counter propositions. He offered indeed to give up his designs upon Cisalpine Gaul, but only on condition of his being invested with the command of the Transalpine province, to be held, against the law of Caesar, for a period of five years. He further demanded that six legions should be given him from the army of D. Brutus; that his troops should receive rewards in lands and money; that his previous grants in Campania and Leontini should be confirmed; that all the decrees which he had published as the acts of Caesar should continue valid; that no account should be demanded of the public money which he had embezzled; that the 'septemviri' for the division of lands should be maintained in their office; and that his own law concerning the 'iudicia' should be ratified. In making these proposals he did not suspend his operations against Mutina, even during the time of his interview with the ambassadors; and he refused to allow them to communicate with D. Brutus.

When the commissioners returned home with their report of these proceedings, public indignation was generally aroused. All thoughts of peace with Antony were laid aside; and the only question was what steps should be adopted against him. Hirtius had already gone to join the army under Mutina, but Pansa immediately summoned the senate, and proposed that war should be proclaimed. L. Caesar proposed the substitution of the milder term 'tumultus,' but with an apology on the

INTRODUCTION TO THE EIGHTH ORATION. 193

ground that Antony was his nephew. However he was supported by Q. Fufius Calenus, and some others, and eventually by the Consul himself. It is not easy to understand why Cicero took no prominent part in the debate (see however on c. 1, 1), but allowed the proposal of L. Caesar to be carried, though it was strongly in opposition to his own desires. On the following day, the senate having met again to consider further measures, he delivered the eighth oration, in which he criticizes severely both the proceedings of the senate on the previous day, and the pusillanimous conduct of the ambassadors in allowing such contemptuous insolence on the part of Antony. He protests against any half measures, urging that Antony could only be treated as an enemy to whom no terms could be granted; and that to send a second embassy to him was only to incur a second time the degradation which the first had brought upon them; and he concludes by proposing that Cotyla, the envoy sent by Antony, should at once be ordered to return to him, and that an amnesty should be granted to all of Antony's soldiers who should leave his standard before the Ides of March.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER OCTAVUS.

1 CONFUSIUS hesterno die est acta res, C. Pansa, quam pos-
1 tulabat institutum consulatus tui. Parum mihi visus es eos,
quibus cedere non soles, sustinere. Nam cum senatus ea virtus
fuisset, quae solet, et cum re viderent omnes esse bellum, quidam-
que id verbum removendum arbitrarentur, tua voluntas in dis- 5
cessione fuit ad lenitatem propensior. Victa est igitur propter
verbi asperitatem te auctore nostra sententia. Vicit L. Caesaris,
amplissimi viri, qui verbi atrocitate dempta oratione fuit quam
sententia lenior. Quamquam is quidem, antequam sententiam
diceret, propinquitatem excusavit. Idem fecerat me consule in 10
sororis viro, quod hoc tempore in sororis filio fecit, ut et luctu
2 sororis moveretur et saluti populi Romani provideret. Atque ipse
tamen Caesar praecepit vobis quodam modo, patres conscripti,
ne sibi assentiremini, cum ita dixit, aliam sententiam se dictu-
rum fuisse eamque se ac re publica dignam, nisi propinquitate

c. 1. Cicero begins by lamenting the leniency of the previous day's decision, though he maintains that L. Caesar, in proposing, out of feeling for his nephew, to style the crisis of affairs 'tumultus' rather than 'bellum,' was introducing an imaginary distinction, since in fact 'tumultus' was more serious a thing than ordinary war.

1. Hesterno die: the day on which the decree was passed, which declared the 'tumultus.' See introduction.

3. Sustinere, 'to withstand their attack.'

5. In discessione. See on 3. 9, 24.

7. Nostra sententia. From this it appears that Cicero had taken part in the debate of the preceding day, but probably he expressed his views before L. Caesar, and

not anticipating the amendment which he moved, did not deliver an important speech.

10. Propinquitatem. He was the brother of Julia, Antony's mother. After the death of the elder Antonius, she married P. Lentulus Sura, one of Catiline's accomplices, to whom allusion is made below. At the trial of the conspirators, L. Caesar declared himself in favour of any punishment short of death.

Idem fecerat, &c., 'in my consulship he had behaved in the same way with regard to his brother-in-law as now in respect of Antony; in both cases combining care for the public interest with sympathy for his sister's grief.'

impediretur. Ergo ille avunculus: num etiam vos avunculi, qui illi estis assensi?

At in quo fuit controversia? Belli nomen ponendum quidam in sententia non putabant: tumultum appellare malebant, ignari non modo rerum, sed etiam verborum; potest enim esse bellum, ut tumultus non sit, tumultus esse sine bello non potest. Quid est enim aliud tumultus nisi perturbatio tanta, ut maior timor oriat? unde etiam nomen ductum est tumultus. Itaque maiores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum nominabant. Gravius autem tumultum esse quam bellum hinc intelligi potest, quod bello vacationes valent, tumultu non valent. Ita fit, quem ad modum dixi, ut bellum sine tumultu possit, tumultus sine bello esse non possit. Etenim cum inter bellum et pacem medium nihil sit, necesse est tumultum, si belli non sit, pacis esse: quo quid absurdius dici aut existimari potest? Sed nimis multa de verbo: rem potius videamus, patres conscripti, quam quidem intelligo verbo fieri interdum deteriore solere. Nolumus hoc bellum videri. Quam igitur municipiis et coloniis ad excludendum

6. Ut tumultus, &c. The words 'tumultus non sit' are wanting in the Vatican MS., apparently owing to the recurrence of the word 'tumultus.' They have been recovered by Halm from a quotation in Isidorus, Orig. 18. 1, 7. The other MSS. have 'esse bellum sine tumultus: tumultus esse,' &c., taken, with great improbability, from Cicero's repetition of the sentiment just below.

Quid enim est, &c. This is added by Quintilian, 7. 3, 25, as an instance of definition by etymology, which he says is rarely found. It is hardly necessary to observe that in this case the etymology is wrong.

8. Itaque maiores nostri, &c. This is the 'locus classicus' for the meaning of 'tumultus,' properly a revolt of the Italian nations, and extended only to an inroad of the Gauls, which was looked upon with equal apprehension. Cp. Servius on Virg. Aen. 8. 1 'Tumultus, id est, bellum Italicum, vel Gallicum, in quibus ex periculi vicinitate erat timor multus.'

12. Vacationes. See on 5. 12, 31.

16. De verbo. The special pleading of Cicero is sufficiently shown by the fact of the senate looking on the amendment of L. Caesar as a milder measure; and the general use of the word 'tumultus' shows

that though looked on as more conducive to panic for the moment, it was never considered so serious a matter as 'bellum.'

17. Rem, &c., 'let us rather look at the reality, which, as I understand, is often made worse than it need be by the language which we employ;' i.e. for want of precision in our language we fail to form a right estimate of, and so take right measures in, any crisis.

cc. 2, 3. *That there was really war was shown by the zeal of the municipal towns; by the conduct of Antony himself; by the energetic measures of Octavianus; by the mission of Hirtius, and his victory over Antony; by the general levies, and the warlike attitude of the citizens. This all betokened civil war, and that of an enormity hitherto unparalleled. Unlike all others, it was entered on solely for private aggrandizement, in the midst of profound peace, when all classes were unanimously bent on defending the institutions of their country, and preserving their property and their homes. These Antony was promising as spoil to his abandoned crew of profligates and ruffians, after a fashion which contrasted strangely in its lawlessness and cruelty with the glorious rewards held out by the commonwealth to its patriotic soldiers.*

Antonium auctoritatem damus? quam, ut milites fiant sine vi, sine multa, studio, voluntate? quam, ut pecunias in rem publicam polliceantur? Si enim belli nomen tolletur, municipiorum studia tollentur: consensus populi Romani, qui iam descendit in causam, si nos languescimus, debilitetur necesse est. Sed quid plura? 5 D. Brutus oppugnatur: non est bellum? Mutina obsidetur: ne hoc quidem bellum est? Gallia vastatur: quae pax potest esse certior? Illud vero quis potest bellum esse dicere? Consulem, fortissimum virum, cum exercitu misimus: qui cum esset infirmus ex gravi diuturnoque morbo, nullam sibi putavit excusationem 10 esse oportere, cum ad rei publicae praesidium vocaretur. C. quidem Caesar non exspectavit vestra decreta, praesertim cum illud esset aetatis: bellum contra Antonium sua sponte suscepit; decernendi enim tempus nondum erat: bellum autem gerendi tempus si praetermisisset, videbat re publica oppressa nihil posse 15 decerni. Ergo illi nunc et eorum exercitus in pace versantur. Non est hostis is, cuius praesidium Claterna deiecit Hirtius; non est hostis, qui consuli armatus obsistit, designatum consulem oppugnat; nec illa hostilia verba nec bellica, quae paulo ante ex collegae litteris Pansa recitavit: Deieci praesidium; Cla- 20 terna potitus sum; fugati equites; proelium commissum; occisi aliquot. Quae pax potest esse maior? Dilectus tota Italia decreti sublati vacationibus; saga cras sumentur; consul se cum praesidio descensurum esse dixit.

7 Utrum hoc bellum non est? Etiam tantum bellum, quantum 25 numquam fuit. Ceteris enim bellis, maximeque civilibus, contentionem rei publicae causa faciebat. Sulla cum Sulpicio de iure

1. Ut milites fiant, 'that they should enrol themselves, as they are doing.'

2. Sine multa. The later MSS. have 'tumultus,' but Cicero is obviously enumerating the various motives, of terror or patriotism, whereby men are commonly induced to enlist.

4. Descendit in causam, 'is taking up the matter.' Cp. Livy 36. 7 'Cui, si semel in causam descenderit, nihil integri futurum sit.' The expression seems to be taken from coming down into the forum (see below, § 6), to support a friend's cause in the law courts.

9. Infirmus. See 7. 4, 12 note.

12. Praesertim cum, 'as he might well have done at his age.' Cp. 2. 24, 60 note.

17. Claterna was about ten miles south-

east of Bononia (*Bologna*), which was still in Antony's possession. Cp. Fam. 12. 5, 2. There are now no remains of the city, but its site is perhaps marked by the name of a small stream which crosses the ancient Via Aemilia, called Quaderna.

22. Tota Italia. See on 5. 12, 31.

24. Descensurum esse, sc. 'in forum.' Cp. 2. 6, 15 'Hodie non descendit Antonius.'

27. Rei publicae causa, 'a question affecting the state.'

Cum Sulpicio. P. Sulpicius Rufus, characterised by Cicero (*Brut.* 55, 203) as the grandest orator he had ever heard, joined Marius in 88 B.C., when tribune of the commons, and in his favour got a law passed by violence, distributing the Italians who had just received the franchise, among

legum, quas per vim consul Sulla latas esse dicebat; Cinna cum Octavio de novorum civium suffragiis; rursus cum Mario et Carbone Sulla, ne dominarentur indigni et ut clarissimorum hominum crudelissimam poeniretur necem. Horum omnium bel-
 5 lorum causae ex rei publicae contentione natae sunt. De proximo bello civili non libet dicere: ignoro causam, detestor exitum. Hoc bellum quintum civile geritur—atque omnia in nostram 3 aetatem inciderunt—primum non modo non in dissensione et 8 discordia civium, sed in maxima consensione incredibilique con-
 10 cordia. Omnes idem volunt, idem defendunt, idem sentiunt. Cum omnes dico, eos excipio, quos nemo civitate dignos putat. Quae est igitur in medio belli causa posita? Nos deorum im-
 mortalium templa, nos muros, nos domicilia sedesque populi Romani, aras, focos, sepulchra maiorum; nos leges, iudicia,
 15 libertatem, coniuges, liberos, patriam defendimus: contra M. Antonius id molitur, id pugnat, ut haec omnia perturbet, evertat, praedam rei publicae causam belli putet, fortunas nostras partim dissipet, partim disperiat parricidis.

the thirty-five old tribes, thus placing the whole political power in their hands. The Consuls attempted to prevent the passing of this law by declaring a 'iustitium,' but Sulpicius came into the forum with a force sufficient to overbear all opposition, overcame the Consuls, and drove Sulla from the city. Sulla shortly afterwards returned at the head of his army, and having made himself master of the city, killed Sulpicius, and obliged Marius to flee from Rome. The next year Cinna was Consul, and tried again to pass the obnoxious law, but was for a time successfully resisted by his colleague, Cn. Octavius, who was slain in the tumults that ensued.

De iure legum, 'how far the laws were constitutional: 'ius' being the principle of right which underlies all written law.

2. Cum Mario. This was the adopted son of the great Marius, who succeeded his father as the leader of his party, but in his consulship, 82 B.C., was utterly defeated by Sulla, and put an end to his own life. His colleague Cn. Papirius Carbo was defeated shortly after, but made his escape to Africa.

3. Indigni, the democratic party.

Clarissimorum hominum, e.g. Q. Catulus, the former colleague of Marius, M. Antonius the orator, L. Caesar, the

victor of Acerrae, 90 B.C., P. Crassus, who had gained distinction in the Spanish and Social Wars, and L. Merula, who had unwillingly superseded Cinna in his consulship.

4. Poeniretur. For the deponent form cp. Tusc. 1. 44, 107 'Multi inimicos etiam mortuos poeniriunt.'

5. Proximo, that between Caesar and Pompey.

7. Quintum. Cicero omits all mention of the war with Sertorius, perhaps because from the time of his quitting Rome in 82 B.C., till his death in 72 B.C., the scene of the struggle was in Spain.

In nostram aetatem. Cicero was 19 years old at the time of the contest between Sulpicius and Sulla, forty-five years before the time of this oration.

8. Primum, &c., 'and yet it is the first that has arisen when our citizens were not only free from variance and disunion, but even joined together by unusual and scarcely credible harmony of feeling.' Perhaps the same might be said of almost any civil war, by thus conveniently ignoring the right of those who differ from the speaker to be considered.

12. Quae est igitur, &c., 'what is then the avowed cause of the war?'

18. Parricidis. See on 2. 7, 17.

- 9 In hac tam dispari ratione belli miserrimum illud est, quod ille latronibus suis pollicetur primum domos; urbem enim divisurum se confirmat: deinde omnibus portis quo velint deducturum. Omnes Cafones, omnes Saxae ceteraeque pestes, quae secuntur Antonium, aedes sibi optimas, hortos, Tusculana, Albana definiunt. Atque etiam homines agrestes, si homines illi ac non pecudes potius, inani spe ad aquas usque et Puteolos provehuntur. Ergo habet Antonius quod suis polliceatur: quid nos? num quid tale habemus? Di meliora! id enim ipsum agimus, ne quis posthac quidquam eius modi possit polliceri. Invitus dico, sed dicendum est. Hasta Caesaris, patres conscripti, multis improbis et spem affert et audaciam. Viderunt enim ex mendicis fieri repente divites: itaque semper hastam videre cupiunt ii, qui nostris bonis imminet, quibus omnia pollicetur Antonius. Quid nos? nostris exercitibus quid pollicemur? Multo meliora atque maiora. Scelerum enim promissio et iis, qui exspectant, pernicio est et iis, qui promittunt. Nos libertatem nostris militibus, leges, iura, iudicia, imperium orbis terrae, dignitatem, pacem, otium pollicemur. Antonii igitur promissa cruenta, taetra, scelerata, dis hominibusque invisae, nec diuturna nec salutaria: nostra contra honesta, integra, gloriosa, plena laetitiae, plena pietatis.
- 4 Hic mihi etiam Q. Fufius, vir fortis ac strenuus, amicus meus,

11

1. In hac tam dispari ratione, 'in the midst of the war that calls forth such a painful contrast.'

3. Deducturum, &c., 'will lead them forth to seize upon what lands they will.'

4. Cafones. Cafo was one of Caesar's veterans (11. 5, 12), and is frequently denounced by Cicero as one of Antony's tools. Cp. also 10. 10, 22.

Saxae Decidius Saxa was a Spaniard, whom Caesar made tribune of the commons in 44 B.C. though not even a Roman citizen. (Cp. 11. 5, 12; 13. 13, 27.) He subsequently held commands under Antony and Octavianus in the East, but was defeated and killed by Q. Labienus, 40 B.C.

5. Tusculana, sc. 'praedia;' cp. Att. 7. 5, 3 'Ego in Tusculanum nihil sane hoc tempore . . . Sed de Formiano Tarracinam prid. Kal. Ian. Inde Pomptinam summam; inde Albanum Pompeii.'

7. Pecudes. See on 2. 12, 30.

Ad aquas: to Baiae. Cp. pro Planc. 27, 65 'Me unum ex iis feci, qui ad

aquas venissent.' From Att. 1. 16, 10 'Quid, inquit, homini Arpinati cum aquis calidis,' we may gather that it was considered presumption for any one not in good society at Rome to go to so fashionable a watering-place as Baiae.

9. Di meliora. Cp. de Sen. 14, 47 'Di meliora, inquit;' and Virg. G. 3. 513 'Di meliora piis, erroremque hostibus illum!'

11. Hasta Caesaris, the auctions of confiscated property, sold by Caesar's orders, as in the case of the estate of Pompey, bought by Antony himself. See 2. 26, 64 note.

13. Semper hastam . . . cupiunt, &c. Manutius compares Off. 2. 8, 29 'Nec vero umquam bellorum civilium semen et causa deerit, dum homines perdit hastam illam cruentam' et meminerint et sperabunt.'

16. Scelerum promissio, 'to promise what is wicked.'

21. Integra, opposed to 'taetra,' 'without taint of crime.'

22. Q. Fufius: Calenus; see on 5. 1,

pacis commoda commemorat. Quasi vero, si laudanda pax esset, ego id aeque commode facere non possem. Semel enim pacem defendi? non semper otio studui? quod cum omnibus bonis utile esset, tum praecipue mihi. Quem enim cursum industria mea
 5 tenere potuisset sine forensibus causis, sine legibus, sine iudiciis? quae esse non possunt civili pace sublata. Sed quaeso, Calene, 12
 quid tu? servitutem pacem vocas? Maiores quidem nostri non modo, ut liberi essent, sed etiam, ut imperarent, arma capiebant: tu arma abiicienda censes, ut serviamus? Quae causa iustior
 10 est belli gerendi quam servitutis depulsio? in qua etiam si non sit molestus dominus, tamen est miserrimum posse, si velit. Immo aliae causae iustae, haec necessaria est. Nisi forte ad te hoc non putas pertinere, quod te socium fore speras dominationis Antonii. In quo bis laberis: primum, quod tuas rationes com-
 15 munibus interponis, deinde, quod quidquam stabile aut iucundum in regno putas. Non, si tibi antea profuit, semper proderit. Quin etiam de illo homine queri solebas: quid te facturum de 18
 belua putas? Atque ais eum te esse, qui semper pacem optaris, semper omnes cives volueris salvos. Honesta oratio, sed ita,
 20 si bonos et utiles et e re publica cives: sin eos, qui natura cives sunt, voluntate hostes, salvos velis, quid tandem intersit inter te et illos? Pater tuus quidem, quo utebar sene auctore adolescens,

1. For Cicero's real feelings towards Calenus see Att. 9. 8, 2 'Fufius est illic (with Caesar), mihi inimicissimus;' *ib.* 15. 2, 4 'Sane insulse (scribit), ut solet.'

cc. 4-6. To advocate war at the present time was quite consistent with an undiminished love of peace, and care for the safety of the citizens, for war meant now deliverance from tyranny and permanent safety for all honest men, and these were blessings well worth winning by a temporary sacrifice of peace. In like manner Scipio Nasica and L. Opimius were rightly praised for choosing present bloodshed rather than a lasting slavery, when the Graeci tried successively to overthrow the constitution. So the treason of Saturninus and of Catiline could only be subdued by force of arms; the guilty always must be rooted out to save the innocent, and though in the single case of P. Clodius popular opinion of course was wrong, and Calenus showed himself more keen of sight than Cicero, yet none could now dispute the fact that in upholding D. Brutus Cicero was

asserting the freedom of the Roman people and its colonies. Calenus, on the contrary, showed himself to be unpatriotic, first, by defending Antony in spite of his open warfare and insulting conduct towards the state; and secondly, by his persistent attacks upon a city so loyal as Massilia, whose sufferings excited the compassion even of their oppressor, Caesar.

1. Si laudanda pax esset. See 7. 3, 7 foll.

16. Antea, during the time of Caesar's rule.

17. De illo homine. The last word is emphatic, 'of him, who was a man.'

19. Ita, si, &c., 'only with the proviso that all these citizens should be loyal.' Cp. 2. 34, 85 note.

22. Pater. The father is mentioned only here. From his estimate of Scipio Nasica Dr. Schmitz (Smith's Dict. of Biogr.) argues that he was a considerable holder of public land.

homo severus et prudens, primas omnium civium P. Nasicae, qui Ti. Gracchum interfecit, dare solebat; eius virtute, consilio, 14 magnitudine animi liberatam rem publicam arbitrabatur. Quid? nos a patribus num aliter accepimus? Ergo is tibi civis, si temporibus illis fuisses, non probaretur, quia non omnes salvos esse 5 voluisset. Quod L. Opimius consul verba fecit de re publica, de ea re ita censuerunt, uti L. Opimius consul rem publicam defenderet. Senatus haec verbis, Opimius armis. Num igitur eum, si tum esses, temerarium civem aut crudelem putares? aut Q. Metellum, cuius quattuor filii consulares? P. 10 Lentulum, principem senatus, complures alios summos viros, qui cum Opimio consule armati Gracchum in Aventinum persecuti sunt? quo in proelio Lentulus grave vulnus accepit, interfectus est Gracchus et M. Fulvius consularis eiusque duo adolescentuli filii. Illi igitur viri vituperandi; non enim omnes cives salvos 15 esse voluerunt. Ad propiora veniamus. C. Mario L. Valerio

15

1. Primas. Sc. 'partes'; cp. Att. 1. 17, 5 'Amoris erga me tibi primas defero.'

P. Nasicae. Cicero is fond of eulogising this man as a patriot, though he seems to have been a hotheaded, unscrupulous partizan of the aristocratic faction. Cp. Brut. 58, 212 'Ex dominatu Ti. Gracchi privatus in libertatem rem publicam vindicavit'; Off. 1. 22, 76 'Nec plus Africanus in excindenda Numantia rei publicae profuit, quam P. Nasica privatus, cum Ti. Gracchum interemit.' The part he took in the murder of Gracchus made Nasica so unpopular in Rome, that the senate made an excuse for sending him to Asia, whence he never returned.

6. Voluisset. The subjunctive is used, because containing the reason which Calenus would have given: 'because, you would have said, he had not wished for the safe preservation of all the citizens.'

L. Opimius was Consul in 121 B.C., and introduced the law against the restoration of Carthage, which led to the disturbances in which C. Gracchus perished. He acted at the instigation of the senate (see Cat. 1. 2, 4), and was looked on by their party as a hero, 'servator ipse rei publicae,' pro Planc. 28, 69; cp. *ib.* 29, 70 'Praetor finitimo, Consul domestico bello rem publicam liberavit.'

9. Esses. See Madv. § 347 b. Obs. 2.

10. Q. Metellus Macedonicus was a steady opponent of the Gracchi, and is

praised by Cicero (Brut. 21, 81) for the eloquence of his speech against the elder brother. His fourth son was praetor, and candidate for the consulship when he died, 115 B.C.; cp. Fin. 5. 27, 82 'Tris filios consules vidit, e quibus unum etiam et censorem et triumphantem, quartum autem praetorem, eosque salvos reliquit et tris filias nuptas.'

P. Lentulus was Consul 162 B.C., and must therefore have been far advanced in years at the time of Gracchus' death. Cp. Cat. 4. 6, 13 'Huius avus Lentuli, vir clarissimus, armatus Gracchum est persecutus; ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit, ne quid de summa re publica demineretur.'

12. In Aventinum. Gracchus himself escaped across the Tiber, through the self-devotion of two of his attendants, but having sprained his ankle in descending the Aventine, he fell, probably by his own hand, in the Lucus Furrinae, at the foot of the Janiculum.

14. M. Fulvius Flaccus, Consul 125 B.C., was one of the supporters of the Gracchi, and the chief advocate for resisting the senate by force of arms. His elder son was seized and put to death with him, the younger son was detained when sent by his father to arrange, if possible, a compromise with the senate, and was afterwards put to death in prison. See Cat. 1. 2, 4; and 12, 29; *ib.* 4. 6, 13.

16. C. Mario, &c. 100 B.C. Cicero

consulibus senatus rem publicam defendendam dedit: L. Saturninus tribunus pl., C. Glaucia praetor est interfectus. Omnes illo die Scauri, Metelli, Claudii, Catuli, Scaevolae, Crassi arma sumpserunt. Num aut consules illos aut clarissimos viros vituperandos putas? Ego Catilinam perire volui. Num tu, qui omnes salvos vis, Catilinam salvum esse voluisti? Hoc interest, Calene, inter meam sententiam et tuam: ego nolo quemquam civem committere ut morte multandus sit: tu, etiam si commiserit, conservandum putas. In corpore si quid eius modi est, quod reliquo corpori noceat, id uri secarique patimur, ut membrum aliquod potius quam totum corpus intreat: sic in rei publicae corpore, ut totum salvum sit, quidquid est pestiferum, amputetur. Dura vox! multo illa durior: Salvi sint improbi, scelerati, impii; deleantur innocentes, honesti, boni, tota res publica. Uno in homine, Q. Fufi, fateor te vidisse plus quam me. Ego P. Clodium arbitrabar perniciosum civem, sceleratum, libidinosum, impium, audacem, facinerosum, tu contra sanctum, temperantem, innocentem, modestum, retinendum civem et optandum: in hoc uno te plurimum vidisse, me multum errasse concedo. Nam quod me tecum iracunde agere dixisti solere, non est ita. Vehementer me agere fateor, iracunde nego. Omnino irasci amicis non temere soleo, ne si merentur quidem. Itaque sine verborum contumelia a te dissentire possum, sine animi summo dolore non possum. Parva est enim mihi tecum aut parva de re dissensio? Ego huic faveo, tu illi? immo vero ego D. Bruto faveo, tu M. Antonio: ego conservari coloniam populi Romani cupio, tu expugnari studes. An hoc negare potes, qui omnes moras interponas, quibus infirmetur Brutus, melior fiat Antonius? Quousque enim dices

says (Brut. 62, 224) that Saturninus was 'seditiosorum omnium post Gracchos eloquentissimus, Glaucia longe post homines natos improbissimus.' The lawless conduct of Saturninus in his tribuneship reached a climax in the murder of C. Memmius, on which he and Glaucia were declared public enemies, and after an ineffectual struggle to defend themselves in the Capitol, they surrendered to Marius, but were pelted to death by the mob.

7. Committere ut, &c., 'should act so as to deserve the punishment of death,' a favourite construction with Cicero; cp. Off. 2. 14, 50 'Committere ut accusator

nominere.'

15. Te vidisse plus. When P. Clodius was accused of violating the mysteries of the Bona Dea, Calenus, then tribune of the commons, proposed a law that he should be tried by the ordinary tribunal, instead of by a special court, and thus made possible the corruption which procured his acquittal. The irony of the passage is obvious.

17. Facinerosum. So Halm, following the Vatican MS. and the general custom of the most ancient MSS.

24. Ego huic, &c., 'is it a mere question of political partizanship, one supporting A, the other B?'

pacem velle te? Res geritur, † conductae lineae sunt, pugnatur acerrime. Qui intercurrerent, misimus tres principes civitatis. Hos contempsit, reiecit, repudiavit Antonius: tu tamen permanes
 18 constantissimus defensor Antonii. Et quidem, quo melior senator videatur, negat se illi amicum esse debere: cum suo magno esset 5 beneficio, venisse eum contra se. Vide quanta caritas sit patriae: cum homini sit iratus, tamen rei publicae causa defendit Antonium.

Ego te, cum in Massilienses tam es acerbus, Q. Fufi, non animo aequo audio. Quousque enim Massiliam oppugnabis? ne 10 triumphus quidem finem facit belli? per quem lata est urbs ea, sine qua numquam ex transalpinis gentibus maiores nostri triumphaverunt. Quo quidem tempore populus Romanus ingemuit. Quamquam proprios dolores suarum rerum omnes habebant, tamen huius civitatis fidelissimae miseras nemo erat civis qui a se 15
 19 alienas arbitraretur. Caesar ipse, qui illis fuerat iratissimus, tamen propter singularem eius civitatis gravitatem et fidem quotidie aliquid iracundiae remittebat: te nulla sua calamitate civitas satiare tam fidelis potest? Rursus iam me irasci fortasse dices. Ego autem sine iracundia dico omnia, nec tamen sine 20

1. Lineae. This is the reading in all the MSS., though its meaning is uncertain, the word not being elsewhere found in connection with military operations. It may perhaps be, like our 'lines,' the entrenched position of the army, 'the opposing forces are already in close contact.' All editors before Halm have 'vineae,' a reading which still leaves a difficulty about 'conductae,' though it may be 'the system of mantelets is brought against the city'; cp. Veget. de Re Mil. 4. 15 'Cum plures (vineae) factae fuerint, iunguntur in ordinem, sub quibus subsidentes tuti ad subruenda murorum penetrant fundamenta.'

2. Qui intercurrerent, 'to throw themselves between the contending parties.'

5. Cum suo, &c., 'Antony had taken part against him, though under great obligations to him.' Manutius compares Fam. 7. 30, 3 'Acilius, qui in Graeciam cum legionibus missus est, maximo meo beneficio est.' The construction seems akin to that of the descriptive ablative.

9. Massilienses. The friendship between Massilia and Rome dated from the second Punic war, and the Massiliots had always aided Rome in all her contests with

the Transalpine Gauls. Cp. pro Font. 5. 13 'Urbs Massilia, fortissimorum fidelissimorumque sociorum, qui Gallicorum bellorum pericula populo Romano copiis remisque compensarunt.' In 49 B.C. Massilia declared for Pompey, and being reduced by Caesar after a determined resistance, was deprived of part of its territory and privileges. Cp. Off. 2. 2, 28 'Portari in triumpho Massiliam vidimus et ex ea urbe triumphari, sine qua numquam imperatores nostri ex transalpinis bellis triumpharunt.' It appears from Att. 14. 14, 6, and Phil. 13. 15, 32 that after Caesar's death the Massiliots applied for restitution of their lands and rights.

11. Lata est, 'was borne in effigy'; cp. Quint. 6. 3, 61 'Cum in triumpho Caesaris eborea oppida essent translata.'

18. Aliquid remittebat, sc. grew less and less displeased with it every day. 'It retained its freedom and its nationality, and continued, though with diminished proportions in a material point of view, to be intellectually the centre of Hellenic culture in that distant Celtic country which at this very time was attaining a new historical significance.' (Mommson, Hist. of Rome, Eng. Tr. 4. 390.)

20. Dico omnia. So the Vatican MS.

dolore animi: neminem illi civitati inimicum esse arbitror, qui amicus huic sit civitati. Excogitare quae tua ratio sit, Calene, non possum. Antea deterrere te ne popularis esses non poteramus: exorare nunc ut sis popularis non possumus. Satis multa
5 cum Fufio ac sine odio omnia, nihil sine dolore. Credo autem, qui generi querellam moderate ferat, aequo animo laturum amici.

Venio ad reliquos consulares, quorum nemo est—iure hoc meo 7 dico—quin mecum habeat aliquam coniunctionem gratiae; alii 20
10 maximam, alii mediocrem, nemo nullam. Quam hesternus dies nobis, consularibus dico, turpis illuxit! iterum legatos? quid? si ille faceret inducias? Ante os oculosque legatorum tormentis Mutinam verberavit; opus ostendebat munitionemque legatis; ne punctum quidem temporis, cum legati adessent, oppugnatio
15 respiravit. Ad hunc legatos? cur? an ut eorum reditu vehementius pertimescatis? Equidem cum ante legatos decerni non 21 censuissem, hoc me tamen consolabar, quod, cum illi ab Antonio contempti et reiecti revertissent renuntiavissentque senatui non modo illum de Gallia non discessisse, ut censuissemus, sed ne
20 a Mutina quidem recessisse, potestatem sibi D. Bruti conveniendi non fuisse, foret ut omnes inflammati odio, excitati dolore armis,

The later MSS. insert 'ut' before 'omnia,' but the asyndeton is less abrupt if we have expressed a direct object of 'dico.'

4. Popularis is here used with a play on the word. In the first place it means 'one of the democratic party,' in the second, 'on the side of the mass of Roman citizens.' 'Formerly we could not make you by our threats give up the party of the people, now we cannot bring you by our prayers to join the people's cause.'

6. Generi, the Consul, C. Vibius Pansa. See on 5. 1, 1.

cc. 7-9. *It was with pain that Cicero turned to comment on the conduct of the other consulars. They were willing to despatch a second embassy, when the first had even now come back insulted and unable to accomplish anything. He was left alone, in circumstances which might well have caused alarm, to maintain single-handed the honour of the senate. Things were sadly changed since the time when Antiochus was brought to submit upon the spot, by the mere threat of breaking off negotiations, now that Antony replied to the demands of the senate by making counter-*

propositions; and these too involving no less than the reward of men who really merited execution, indemnity for all illegal actions done by himself and his adherents, and a province wherein he might carry on his treasonable practices without interference for a period far exceeding all the limits which the law allowed.

8. Iure hoc meo dico, 'as I may fairly say.'

11. Quid? si, &c., 'what is left for you, if he should consent to a truce?' Success in the negotiations would really cause the greatest embarrassment, and only waste time. A common reading, though apparently without MS. authority, is 'ut ille faceret inducias?' 'not surely with any idea of his consenting to a truce,' like Cat. 1. 9, 22 'Quamquam quid loquor? te ut ulla res frangat.'

19. Ut censuissemus, 'according to the terms of our decree.'

21. Foret ut. So Halm, from the Vatican reading 'fore tu,' the subjunctive being conditional, without any inherent idea of futurity. The other MSS. have 'fore

equis, viris D. Bruto subveniremus. Nos etiam languidiore
 postea facti sumus, quam M. Antonii non solum audaciam et
 22 scelus, sed etiam insolentiam superbiamque perspeximus. Utinam
 L. Caesar valeret, Servius Sulpicius viveret! multo melius haec
 causa ageretur a tribus, quam nunc agitur ab uno. Dolenter hoc 5
 dicam potius quam contumeliose: deserti, deserti, inquam, sumus,
 patres conscripti, a principibus. Sed—saepe iam dixi—omnes
 in tanto periculo, qui recte et fortiter sentient, erunt consulares.
 Animum nobis afferre legati debuerunt: timorem attulerunt,
 quamquam mihi quidem nullum, quamvis de illo, ad quem missi 10
 8 sunt, bene existiment: a quo etiam mandata acceperunt. Pro
 23 di immortales! ubi est ille mos virtusque maiorum? C. Popilius
 apud maiores nostros cum ad Antiochum regem legatus missus
 esset et verbis senatus nuntiasset ut ab Alexandria discederet,
 quam obsidebat, cum tempus ille differret, virgula stantem cir- 15
 cumscriptit dixitque se renuntiaturum senatui, nisi prius sibi

ut,' as though Cicero had forgotten the preceding 'quod,' after the long intervening clause.

Armis, equis, viris, 'with all the forces at their command;' so metaphorically Fam. 9. 7, 1 'Quoniam confecta sunt omnia, non est dubitandum, quin equis viris.' Cp. Livy 35. 44 'Omnem se Graeciam armis, viris, equis, omnem oram maritimam clasibus completurum.' The later MSS. have 'viribus.'

1. Nos etiam, &c., 'as a matter of fact we became even more devoid of energy, so soon as we found in M. Antonius not only boldness and wickedness, but insolence and arrogance as well.'

5. Ab uno, i.e. by Cicero himself, who was now bereft of his two main supporters, and left to fight the battle of his cause alone. From c. 1, 1 we learn that L. Caesar was virtually on Cicero's side, though differing from him on the choice of words to be employed.

Dolenter, &c., 'I speak in sorrow more than in reproach.'

7. A principibus, 'by the consulars,' as is explained by the following clause. Cp. Cat. 3. 6, 13 'Dictae sunt a principibus acerrimae ac fortissimae sententiae, quas senatus sine ulla varietate est secutus.'

11. Bene existiment, 'they express a favourable opinion;' an infatuation on the part of public officers which Cicero maintains might well strike panic into the boldest.

13. Ad Antiochum. The occasion of this embassy was the war between Syria and Egypt, 171 B.C., caused primarily by a dispute about the cities of Coele-Syria, which had been granted to Egypt as the dowry of Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and not restored upon her death. Antiochus Epiphanes thought this a favourable opportunity of advancing the traditional policy of the Seleucidae, and seizing upon Egypt. In 168 B.C. he had advanced, after considerable successes, as far as Alexandria, when he was induced by the menace of C. Popilius Laenas to obey the injunctions of the Roman senate, and give up the enterprise. For the incident cp. Livy 45. 12 'Popilius, pro cetera asperitate animi, virga, quam in manu gerebat, circumscriptit regem: ac, "Priusquam hoc circulo excedas," inquit, "redde responsum, senatui quod referam." Obstupefactus tam violento imperio parumper cum haesitasset, "Faciám," inquit, "quod censet senatus." Pliny (N. H. 34. 6, 24) erroneously attributes this action to Cn. Octavius, ambassador to Antiochus V, the son of Epiphanes. See g. 2, 4 note.

16. Se renuntiaturum, 'that he would report progress,' and so stop the negotiations. Halm thinks that in 're' there lies the notion of negation, and that the word in itself implies the refusal of Antiochus to comply with the demands of the senate: but though this is easily gathered from the context, it is not contained in the word, which has its customary meaning of reporting the

respondisset quid factururus esset, quam ex illa circumscriptione
 exisset. Praeclare: senatus enim faciem secum attulerat auctori-
 tatemque populi Romani: cui qui non paret, non ab eo mandata
 accipienda sunt, sed ipse est potius repudiandus. An ego ab eo 24
 5 mandata acciperem, qui senatus mandata contemneret? aut ei cum
 senatu quidquam commune iudicarem, qui imperatorem populi
 Romani senatu prohibente obsideret? At quae mandata! qua arro-
 gantia! quo stupore! quo spiritu! Cur autem ea legis nostris dabat,
 cum ad nos Cotylam mitteret, ornamentum atque arcem amicorum
 10 suorum, hominem aedilicium? si vero tum fuit aedilis, cum eum
 iussu Antonii in convivio servi publici loris ceciderunt. At quam 25
 modesta mandata! Ferrei sumus, patres conscripti, qui quidquam
 huic negemus. Utramque provinciam, inquit, remitto; ex-
 ercitus depono; privatus esse non recuso: haec sunt enim
 15 verba. Redire ad se videtur. Omnia obliviscor, in gratiam
 redeo. Sed quid adiungit? Si legionibus meis sex, si equi-
 tibus, si cohorti praetoriae praedam agrumque dederitis.
 Iis etiam praemia postulat, quibus ut ignoscatur si postulet, im-
 pudentissimus iudicetur. Addit praeterea, ut quos ipse cum
 20 Dolabella dederit agros, teneant ii, quibus dati sint.
 Hic est Campanus ager et Leontinus, quae duo maiores nostri 26
 annonae perfugia ducebant. Cavet mimis, aleatoribus, lenonibus: 9
 Cafoni etiam et Saxae cavet, quos centuriones pugnaces et lacer-
 atos inter mimorum et mimarum greges collocavit. Postulat

result of a commission. The later MSS. have 'se non ante renuntiaturum,' which vitiates the meaning.

4. Potius. The later MSS. have 'totus,' as in Att. 9. 2, 1 'Repudiari se totum.'

8. Quo stupore. The unsuitableness of this word between two of such cognate meaning as 'arrogantia' and 'spiritus' has led to the conjecture 'quo tumore.' If the reading be genuine, it may perhaps qualify 'qua arrogantia,' 'with what infatuated arrogance,' as *ἐμπεληκτος, ἐμπερόντης* are used in Greek.

9. Cotylam. See on 5. 2, 5.

11. Loris ceciderunt, 'deliciarum causa' 13. 12, 26.

13. Utramque provinciam. Not the two provinces of Gaul, for Plancus still held Gallia Transalpina (5. 2, 5), but Cisalpine Gaul and Macedonia (see 7. 1, 3). Hence there is no discrepancy between this demand of Antony and that in the next chapter:

'Galliam togatam remitto, Comatam pos-
 tulo.'

17. Cohorti praetoriae, the body-guard, attached to the person of every Roman general. Cp. Caes. B.G. 1. 40 'Si praeterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum sola decima legione iturum, de qua non dubitaret, sibi eam praetoriam cohortem futuram.'

Praedam. The audacity of this proposal, and the absence of any spoils which could be so distributed, have led to the probable conjecture of 'praemia' for 'praedam,' which is however found in all the MSS. The conjecture is borne out by the repetition of 'praemia' in the following clause.

21. Campanus ager et Leontinus. See on 2. 39, 101.

22. Annonae perfugium, 'our reserve of corn.'

23. Cafoni et Saxae. See above. c. 3, 9 note.

praeterea, ut [chirographorum] sua et commentariorum collegaeque sui decreta maneant. Quid laborat, ut habeat quod quisque mercatus est, si quod accepit habet qui vendidit? Et ne tangantur rationes ad Opis: id est, ne septiens miliens reciperetur. Ne fraudi sit septemviris quod egissent.⁵ Nucula hoc, credo, admonuit; verebatur fortasse ne amitteret tantas clientelas. Caveri etiam vult iis, qui secum sint, quidquid contra leges commiserint. Mustelae et Tironi²⁷ prospicit: de se nihil laborat. Quid enim commisit umquam? num aut pecuniam publicam attigit aut hominem occidit aut¹⁰ secum habuit armatos? Sed quid est quod de iis laboret? postulat enim ne sua iudiciaria lex abrogetur. Quo impetrato quid est quod metuat? an ne suorum aliquis a Cyda, Lysiade, Curio condemnetur? Neque tamen nos urget mandatis pluribus; remittit aliquantum et relaxat. Galliam, inquit, togatam re-¹⁵mitto, comatam postulo. Otiosus videlicet esse mavult. Cum sex legionibus, inquit, iisque suppletis ex D. Bruti exercitu, non modo ex dilectu suo, tamdiuque ut obtineat, dum M. Brutus C. Cassius consules prove consulibus pro-

1. Chirographorum. If this word, which is found in all the MSS., be genuine, it must be applicable to all the three classes of decrees which are afterwards specified. 'The decrees, existing under the hand of himself and Caesar (as found in his note-books) and Dolabella.' It is more probably an interpolation, arising from the recollection of such passages as 1. 7, 16; 2. 14, 35 'Commentariorum et chirographorum officina.'

2. Quid laborat, &c., 'why so anxious to secure the title of the buyers, so long as he, the seller, is in safe possession of the purchase-money?' Antony had got all that he could make by his wholesale forgery of decrees, and Cicero thinks that it is not like him to be so careful of the interests of his customers.

4. Ad Opis. See 1. 7, 18 note.

5. Septemviris. See 2. 38, 99 note.

7. Clientelas: of the partizans to whom he had assigned land.

8. Mustelae et Tironi. See 2. 4, 8 note.

9. Quid commisit? Cicero recurs ironically to the three main charges against Antony; the appropriation of the public treasure, the murder of the centurions, and his being in arms against the state.

12. Iudiciaria lex, de tertia decuria

iudicum. See 1. 8, 19; 5. 5, 12 foll., with the notes upon both passages.

15. Togatam. Cisalpine Gaul, which was so far civilized as to have adopted the Roman dress; Comatam, Transalpine Gaul, so called from the fashion of the people to let their hair grow long. In 7. 1, 3 Cicero shows that Antony's real object in demanding an unsettled province like Transalpine Gaul was not that he might be 'otiosus,' but that he might be able to raise forces in it for the overthrow of the commonwealth.

18. Tamdiu, &c. Antony apparently foresaw that if the senatorial party continued in the ascendant M. Brutus and C. Cassius would certainly be elected Consuls on the first possible occasion. This would be for the year 41 B.C., on the expiration of two years from their praetorship, and as they would subsequently have been able to hold the command of provinces as proconsuls for two years (1. 8, 19), compliance with Antony's demand would give him Gallia Transalpina for five years (43-39 B.C.), in direct violation of the very law by which he assumed that the command of Brutus and Cassius would be limited. His pretext for this proposal would doubtless be that he anticipated danger to himself from the possession of power by his enemies.

vincias obtinebunt. Huius comitiis C. frater—eius est enim annus—iam repulsam tulit. Ipse autem ut quinquennium, 28 inquit, obtineam. At istud vetat lex Caesaris, et tu acta Caesaris defendis.

- 5 Haec tu mandata, L. Piso, et tu, L. Philippe, principes civitatis, 10 non dico animo ferre, verum auribus accipere potuistis? Sed, ut suspicor, terror erat quidam: nec vos ut legati apud illum fuistis nec ut consulares, nec vos vestram nec rei publicae dignitatem tenere potuistis. Et tamen nescio quo pacto sapientia 10 quadam, credo, quod ego non possem, non nimis irati revertistis. Vobis M. Antonius nihil tribuit, clarissimis viris, legatis populi Romani: nos quid non legato M. Antonii Cotylae concessimus? Cui portas huius urbis patere ius non erat, huic hoc templum patuit, huic aditus in senatum fuit, hic hesterno die sententias 15 vestras in codicillos et omnia verba referebat, huic se etiam summis honoribus usi contra suam dignitatem venditabant. O 20 di immortales! quam magnum est personam in re publica tueri principis! quae non animis solum debet, sed etiam oculis servire civium. Domum recipere legatum hostium, in cubiculum admit- 20 tere, etiam seducere hominis est nihil de dignitate, nimium de periculo cogitantis. Quod autem est periculum? nam si maximum

1. Huius comitiis, 'by his mode of determining the election, he accepts as a foregone conclusion the defeat of his brother.' C. Antonius had been a colleague of Brutus and Cassius in the praetorship, and would therefore naturally be a candidate for the consulship in the same year, and hence his brother, by assuming that Brutus and Cassius would be Consuls, admits the probability of his defeat.

c. 10. *He marvelled how Piso and Philip- pus could so tamely suffer such affronts. The sacred character of ambassadors had been insulted in a manner which the senate would not condescend to imitate even towards a man like Cotta. He was admitted to the senate; certain consulars even treated him with friendly hospitality, letting their fears master both their love of liberty and their duty towards the state, and failing to profit by the example of such men as Q. Scaevola, who thought no pains or assiduity too great in labouring for the common good.*

5. Haec tu mandata, &c. Manutius compares Fam. 12. 4, 1 'Nihil autem foedius Philippo et Pisone, legatis, nihil flagitio-

sus; qui cum essent missi, ut Antonio ex senatus sententia certas res denuntiarent, cum ille earum rerum nulli paruiet, ultro ab illo ad nos intolerabilia postulata rettulerunt.'

10. Non nimis irati. The Vatican MS. omits the negative, but it seems essential to the sense. The envoys had the command over their tempers which was called for by a wise discretion.

Revertistis. One MS. has 'reversistis,' but the active form of the perfect is usual in authors of the ante-Augustan period.

13. Ius non erat: he being on a reasonable errand, as a traitor's messenger.

15. Venditabant se, 'tried to recommend themselves,' as a salesman showing off his goods; cp. pro Sull. 10, 31 'Ita illos audituros quibus se venditabat.'

17. Personam tueri principis, 'to sustain the character of a leading citizen.' See on 6. 1, 2.

20. Seducere, 'to take aside for private conversation.' Cp. Att. 5. 21, 12 'Cum haec disseruissem, seducit me Scaevola; ait se nihil contra dicere.'

in discrimen venit, aut libertas parata victori est aut mors
proposita victo: quorum alterum optabile est, alterum effu-
gere nemo potest. Turpis autem fuga mortis omni est morte
30 peior. Nam illud quidem non adducor ut credam, esse quosdam,
qui inuideant alicuius constantiae, qui labori, qui eius per- 5
petuam in re publica adiuvanda voluntatem et. senatui et populo
Romano probari moleste ferant. Omnes id quidem facere de-
beamus, eaque erat non modo apud maiores nostros, sed etiam
nuper summa laus consularium, vigilare, adesse animo, semper
31 aliquid pro re publica aut cogitare aut facere aut dicere. Ego, 10
patres conscripti, Q. Scaevolam augurem memoria teneo bello
Marsico, cum esset summa senectute et perdita valetudine, quo-
tidie, simul atque luceret, facere omnibus conveniendi potestatem
sui: nec eum quisquam illo bello vidit in lecto, senexque debilis
primus veniebat in curiam. Huius industriam maxime quidem 15
vellem ut imitarentur ii, quos oportebat: secundo autem loco,
11 ne alterius labori inviderent. Etenim, patres conscripti, cum
32 in spem libertatis sexennio post simus ingressi diutiusque ser-
vitutem perpassi, quam captivi servi frugi et diligentes solent,
quas vigilias, quas sollicitudines, quos labores liberandi populi 20

5. Qui labori. Halm reads 'qui labori eius,' from two of the later MSS., but the insertion of the pronoun would lead us to look forward for the construction of 'labori,' instead of referring it to 'inuideant.' One MS. has 'laboribus,' but this is unlikely with 'labori' at the end of § 31.

11. Q. Scaevolam. Cp. de Am. 1, 1. 'Ego a patre ita eram deductus ad Scaevolam sumpta virili toga, ut, quoad possem et liceret, a senis latere numquam discederem.' Scaevola was Consul 117 B.C., and lived to the end of the Marsic war, 88 B.C., but how much longer he survived does not appear. He is commonly called the Augur in distinction to his son Q. Mucius Scaevola Pontifex.

13. Simul atque luceret. That early rising was common among the Romans is shown, among other passages, by the well-known epigram of Martial, 4. 8, which gives the first and second hours, which in summer would be from about 4.30 to 7 a.m., to the reception of clients and friends: 'Prima salutantes atque altera continet hora.'

14. Debilis. The later MSS. have 'et debilis,' which is adopted by Orelli, on the

ground that so 'melius distinguuntur duo mala, senectus et debilitas.'

c. 11. When zeal for the public service was so much needed, and so little shown, it was no time for the leaders of the people to insist on special privileges. He had insisted that all should alike wear the military garb, lest the people should be reminded that the consulars were also specially distinguished for cowardice and disloyalty. For himself, he could offer no terms to the insurgents except upon immediate submission; and therefore he proposed that Cotta, and no one else, should now return to Antony, and that those of his adherents should be pardoned who returned to their allegiance by the 1st of March.

18. Sexennio: the slavery beginning with the outbreak of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, 49 B.C.

19. Captivi servi. The latter word is omitted in the later MSS., but Cicero seems to imply a distinction between slaves taken in war, and persons born in slavery. The former would be more likely, if honest and industrious, to win the compassion of their masters, and gain an early manumission.

Romani causa recusare debemus? Equidem, patres conscripti, quamquam hoc honore usi togati solent esse, cum est in sagis civitas, statui tamen a vobis ceterisque civibus in tanta atrocitate temporis tantaque perturbatione rei publicae non differre vestitu.

5 Non enim ita gerimus nos hoc bello consulares, ut aequo animo populus Romanus visurus sit nostri honoris insignia, cum partim e nobis ita timidi sint, ut omnem populi Romani beneficiorum memoriam abiecerint, partim ita a re publica aversi, ut se hosti favere prae se ferant, legatos nostros ab Antonio despectos et

10 irrisos facile patiantur, legatum Antonii sublevatum velint. Hunc enim reditu ad Antonium prohiberi negabant oportere et in eodem excipiendo sententiam meam corripiebant: quibus geram morem. Redeat ad imperatorem suum Varius, sed ea lege, ne umquam Romam revertatur. Ceteris autem, si errorem suum

15 deposuerint et cum re publica in gratiam redierint, veniam et impunitatem dandam puto.

Quas ob res ita censeo: Eorum, qui cum M. Antonio sunt, qui 23 ab armis discesserint et aut ad C. Pansam aut ad A. Hirtium consules aut ad Decimum Brutum imperatorem, consulem designatum, aut ad C. Caesarem pro praetore ante Idus Martias primas adierint, iis fraudi ne sit, quod cum M. Antonio fuerint. Si quis eorum, qui cum M. Antonio sunt, fecerit quod honore praemiove dignum esse videatur, uti C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove, si iis videbitur, de eius honore praemiove primo quoque

25 die ad senatum referant. Si quis post hoc senatus consultum ad Antonium profectus esset praeter L. Varium, senatum existimaturum eum contra rem publicam fecisse.

2. Hoc honore usi, 'those who have been Consuls,' cp. c. 10, 28 'summis honoribus usi.'

10. Sublevatum velint, 'are anxious that all difficulties should be removed from his path.'

12. In eodem excipiendo, &c., 'in the matter of his reception my views were overruled;' Cicero having been of opinion that he should never have been received into the city; see above, c. 10, 28.

13. Varius, Cotyla. See on 5. 2, 5.

20. Ante Idus Martias primas, 'before the Ides of March next.' Cp. Cato

R. R. 147 'Locus vinis ad Kal. Octob. primas dabitur,' and Livy 23. 32 'Q. Fabius edixit, ut frumenta omnes ex agris, ante Kal. Iun. primas, in urbes munitas conveharent.' The exact precision of expression is due to the formal character of the vote or proclamation. Cp. also Livy 42. 21.

21. Si quis eorum, &c. This seems to point to the contemplation of some act of treachery, or even open violence, among the soldiery of Antony.

23. Consules, &c. This appears in the Vatican MS. in the contracted form 'cosas sis.' See on 5. 19, 53.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE NINTH ORATION.

SHORTLY after the delivery of the eighth oration, another meeting of the senate was held, to consider what honours should be paid to the memory of Servius Sulpicius, who had died on the embassy to Antony. He had been chosen as ambassador on account of his eminence as a jurist, and his high reputation for uprightness of character; and Cicero is probably guilty of no exaggeration in pronouncing him the mainstay of the expedition. He had been in very bad health before he started, and was anxious to decline the commission, but yielded to the pressure put on him by the senate, so that Cicero had some foundation for saying that the senate were responsible for his death. The Consul, Pansa, proposed that he should be honoured with a public funeral, and a gilt pedestrian statue placed in the Rostra; and it was in support of this motion that Cicero delivered his ninth Philippic oration. He says that he need have spoken a very few words, had not P. Servilius opposed the latter part of the decree, on the ground that a statue had never before been voted to any ambassador, unless he had been slain by violence on his embassy. Cicero urges that Sulpicius even more truly gave his life for his country than any who had been so put to death, since he knew before he started that he had small chance of returning. He points out how fully worthy Sulpicius had proved himself of such honours, and how the form of them was most appropriate to the man. The motion of the Consul was carried in its integrity, and a statue was erected before the Rostra, which was still standing in the time of Aurelian, as a testimony to the fame of Sulpicius and the eloquence of Cicero.

The speech is one of the most genial and pleasing which we have of Cicero's: it displays genuine feeling for the loss of a friend, and in the warm panegyric which he utters over the illustrious jurist, he forgets for

a time the bitterness of his animosity towards Antony. There is but little difficulty in the language of the speech, which is probably owing partly to the fact that Cicero could on this occasion speak exactly as he felt, and had no occasion for the complications caused by veiled sarcasm and artificial innuendo.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER NONUS.

1 VELLEM di immortales fecissent, patres conscripti, ut vivo
1 potius Ser. Sulpicio gratias ageremus quam honores mortuo quae-
reremus. Nec vero dubito quin, si ille vir legationem renuntiare
potuisset, reditus eius et vobis gratus fuerit et rei publicae salutaris
futurus, non quo L. Philippo et L. Pisoni aut studium aut cura 5
defuerit in tanto officio tantoque munere, sed cum Ser. Sulpicius
aetate illos anteiret, sapientia omnes, subito ereptus e causa
a totam legationem orbam et debilitatam reliquit. Quod si cui-
quam iustus honos habitus est in morte legato, in nullo iustior
quam in Ser. Sulpicio reperietur. Ceteri, qui in legatione mor- 10
tem obierunt, ad incertum vitae periculum sine ullo mortis
metu profecti sunt: Ser. Sulpicius cum aliqua perveniendi ad

c. 1. *In proposing that a statue should be erected in memory of Ser. Sulpicius, who had died on a mission to Antony, Cicero expresses his deep sense of the loss which the embassy had sustained in the death of the oldest and wisest of its members. He points out that Sulpicius had started with the full conviction that it would cause his death, and had therefore more truly sacrificed his life for his country than those who had on former occasions received the same honour of a statue.*

3. *Legationem renuntiare, 'to report the issue of his embassy,' cp. 6. 6, 16 'Cum enim legati renuntiarent, quod certe renuntiabunt,' and 8. 8, 23 note.*

5. *Non quo... defuerit. See on 1. 4, 9.*

6. *In tanto officio tantoque munere, 'in performing duties so arduous and services so important.' The original difference between these two words, so constantly combined by Cicero, seems to be that 'officium' represents an act as binding on the doer, 'munus' as beneficial to some other*

person or persons.

7. *Illos... omnes. The readings vary between the accusative and dative, but the former has the sanction of the Vatican MS., and is more in accordance with Cicero's usage, though he has the dative in Fin. 5. 31, 93 'Quamvis minimam animi praestantiam omnibus bonis corporis anteiredicamus;' and Off. 2. 10, 37 'Qui anteire ceteris virtute putantur.'*

Ereptus e causa, 'the sudden loss of his services in the commission.' 'Causa,' though more generally used of pleading in a court of law, is sometimes extended to any more general commission: cp. Verr. Act. 2. 3. 73, 170 'Aeneas, cui senatus dederat publicam causam, ut mihi gratias ageret.'

8. *Cuiquam. For the use of 'quisquam' in affirmative sentences see on 1. 9, 22; and Adv. § 494 b.*

11. *Ad incertum, &c., 'to meet the various ordinary risks of life, with no especial ground for apprehending death.'*

M. Antonium spe profectus est, nulla revertendi. Qui cum ita affectus esset, ut, si ad gravem valetudinem labor accessisset, sibi ipse diffideret, non recusavit quo minus vel extremo spiritu, si quam opem rei publicae ferre posset, experiretur. Itaque non illum
 5 vis hiemis, non nives, non longitudo itineris, non asperitas viarum, non morbus ingravesceus retardavit, cumque iam ad congressum colloquiumque eius pervenisset, ad quem erat missus, in ipsa cura ac meditatione obeundi sui muneris excessit e vita.

Ut igitur alia, sic hoc, C. Pansa, praeclare, quod et nos ad
 10 honorandum Ser. Sulpicium cohortatus es, et ipse multa copiose de ipsius laude dixisti. Quibus a te dictis nihil praeter sententiam dicerem, nisi P. Servilio, clarissimo viro, respondendum putarem, qui hunc honorem statuae nemini tribuendum censuit nisi ei, qui ferro esset in legatione interfectus. Ego autem, patres con-
 15 scripti, sic interpretor sensisse maiores nostros, ut causam mortis censuerint, non genus esse quaerendum. Etenim cui legatio ipsa morti fuisset, eius monimentum exstare voluerunt, ut in bellis periculosis obirent homines legationis munus audacius. Non igitur exempla maiorum quaerenda, sed consilium est eorum,
 20 a quo ipsa exempla nata sunt, explicandum. Lars Tolumnius, 2 rex Veientium, quattuor legatos populi Romani Fidenis interemit, 4 quorum statuae steterunt usque ad meam memoriam in rostris. Iustus honos; iis enim maiores nostri, qui ob rem publicam mortem obierant, pro brevi vita diuturnam memoriam reddiderunt.
 25 Cn. Octavii, clari viri et magni, qui primus in eam familiam, quae postea viris fortissimis floruit, attulit consulatum, statuam

1. Cum ita affectus esset, &c., 'though in such a state of health, as to feel his danger imminent.' Cp. Att. 14. 17, 2 'L. Caesari, quem pridie Neapoli affectum graviter videram.'

3. Si . . . posset. For the use of 'si' in dependent questions, after words which signify an attempt, see Madv. § 451 d.

11. Nihil praeter sententiam, 'I should give my vote without adding any further words.' See on 3. 9, 24.

12. Clarissimo viro. These words were added by Th. Mommsen, as the explanation of the previously undeciphered Vatican reading 'cui.'

cc. 2, 3. The envoys slain by Lars Tolumnius, and Cn. Octavius who was assassinated on an embassy to Antiochus, had fallen in

the service of their country, but Sulpicius had gone to face an almost certain death, allowing no precautions for his health even to delay his exertions in performing what he felt to be his duty.

21. Legatos interemit. See Livy 4. 17. Livy and Pliny (N. H. 34. 6, 23) both call the envoy Cloelius Tullus instead of Cluvius, and Pliny has the name 'Nautius' instead of 'Antius.'

25. Cn. Octavii. Octavius was killed when on an embassy to Antiochus V, the son of Epiphanes (see on 8. 8, 23), in 162 B.C., to enjoin obedience to the terms of the treaty made with his grandfather, Antiochus the Great. He was Consul in 165 B.C.

videmus in rostris. Nemo tum novitati invidabat; nemo virtutem non honorabat. At ea fuit legatio Octavii, in qua periculi suspicio non subesset. Nam cum esset missus a senatu ad animos regum perspiciendos liberorumque populorum, maximeque ut nepotem regis Antiochi, eius qui cum maioribus nostris bellum gesserat, classes habere, elephantos alere prohiberet, Laudiceae in gymnasio a quodam Leptine est interfectus. Reddita est ei tum a maioribus statua pro vita, quae multos per annos progeniem eius honestaret, nunc ad tantae familiae memoriam sola restat. Atqui et huic et Tullo Cluvio et L. Roscio et Sp. Antio et C. Fulcinio, qui a Veientium rege caesi sunt, non sanguis, qui est profusus in morte, sed ipsa mors ob rem publicam obita honori fuit. Itaque, patres conscripti, si Ser. Sulpicio casus mortem attulisset, dolerem equidem tanto rei publicae vulnere, mortem vero eius non monumento, sed luctu publico esse ornandam putarem. Nunc autem quis dubitat quin ei vitam abstulerit ipsa legatio? Secum enim ille mortem extulit: quam, si nobiscum remansisset, sua cura, optimi filii fidelissimaeque coniugis diligentia vitare potuisset. At ille cum videret, si vestrae auctoritati non paruisset, dissimilem se futurum sui, sin paruisset, munus sibi illud pro re publica susceptum vitae finem fore, maluit in maximo rei publicae discrimine emori quam minus quam potuisset

1. Novitati, 'his want of noble birth.'

9. Restat. So Ernesti, followed by Halm and Kayser, for the MS. reading 'restaret.' The correction seems almost necessary, since the extinction of the race could not enter into the calculations of those who granted the statue, and is merely introduced by Cicero as a historical fact, adding additional interest to it. The mistake might easily slip into the MSS., from the influence of the preceding 'honestaret.' If 'restaret' is right, the subjunctive must in both cases mark the ordinance of fate, not the intentions of the senate; 'which was destined to confer honour'—'to remain now,' &c.; but even so the presence of 'nunc' occasions greater awkwardness than the occurrence of a subjunctive and an indicative belonging to the same relative. The last descendant of Cn. Octavius of whom we hear is M. Octavius, aedile in 65 B.C., and one of Pompey's generals at the battle of Thapsus, 46 B.C. He is said by Dr. Smith (Dict. Biogr. s.v.) to have commanded a portion of Antony's fleet at Actium, but this

might well have been another of the name. Augustus was descended from the uncle of the murdered envoy.

12. Obita. So Halm, following one MS., and the conjecture of Ferrarius, who compares pro Sest. 38, 83 'Quos a maioribus nostris morte obita positos in illo loco atque in rostris collocatos videtis.' The other MSS. have 'habita;' which S. C. Schirlitz (de Philippica Nona Dissertatio, p. 11) defends, as going closely with 'honori;' 'what was deemed an honour to Octavius, and the envoys slain by Lars Tolumnius, was not the blood which was shed in their death, but the very fact of dying for the state.' For 'honori habere' he compares Sall. Jug. 31, 10 'Perinde quasi ea honori non praedae habeant;' and for the expression 'mors ob rempublicam,' such phrases as 'pietas adversum deos' Fin. 3. 22, 73.

15. Non monumento, &c., 'should be marked, not by a monument, but by public demonstrations of mourning.' Cp. pro Sest. l. c.: 'cuius mortem ornandam monumento sempiterno putaretis.'

videri rei publicae profuisse. Multis illi in urbibus, iter qua faciebat, reficiendi se et curandi potestas fuit. Aderat hospitum invitatio liberalis pro dignitate summi viri et eorum hortatio, qui una erant missi, ad requiescendum et vitae suae consulendum.

5 At ille properans, festinans, mandata vestra conficere cupiens, in hac constantia morbo adversante perseveravit. Cuius cum 7 adventu maxime perturbatus esset Antonius, quod ea, quae sibi iussu vestro denuntiarentur, auctoritate erant et sententia Ser. Sulpicii constituta, declaravit quam odisset senatum, cum auctorem senatus extinctum laete atque insolenter tulit. Non igitur 10 magis Leptines Octavium nec Veientium rex eos, quos modo nominavi, quam Ser. Sulpicium occidit Antonius. Is enim profecto mortem attulit, qui causa mortis fuit. Quocirca etiam ad posteritatis memoriam pertinere arbitror exstare, quod fuerit de 15 hoc bello iudicium senatus. Erit enim statua ipsa testis bellum tam grave fuisse, ut legati interitus honoris memoriam consecutus sit. Quod si excusationem Ser. Sulpicii, patres conscripti, legationis 4 obeundae recordari volueritis, nulla dubitatio relinquetur quin 8 honore mortui, quam vivo iniuriam fecimus, sarciamus. Vos 20 enim, patres conscripti,—grave dictu est, sed dicendum tamen—vos, inquam, Ser. Sulpicium vita privastis: quem cum videretis re magis morbum quam oratione excusantem, non vos quidem crudeles fuistis—quid enim minus in hunc ordinem convenit?—sed cum speraretis nihil esse, quod non illius auctoritate et 25 sapientia effici posset, vehementius excusationi obstitistis atque eum, qui semper vestrum consensum gravissimum iudicavisset,

9. Auctorem senatus, 'the senate's representative;' cp. pro Flacc. 15, 36 'Praeclarus iste suae civitatis auctor.'

16. Honoris memoriam, 'the record of a public honour.'

cc. 4, 5. *The senate itself could not escape the charge of having caused his death, by setting aside the excuses which he urged for exemption from this service. It had made the interests of the state a higher consideration than his life, and was thus peculiarly bound to pay him honour in his death. This was due to his friends, and especially to the exemplary filial piety of his son, who was himself the best memorial of his father's virtues. The memory of his life was sufficiently secured by his excellence, and his unequalled legal skill and judgment, so that this statue would*

only be a monument of his death, and of the senate's gratitude.

17. Excusationem legationis obeundae, 'his plea for declining the commission of ambassador.' This is a rare construction with 'excusatio,' the genitive being more generally used with it to signify the substance of the excuse. We find, however, 'excusatio peccati,' de Am. 11, 37; 'excusationes iniuriarum,' pro Sull. 16, 47.

22. Re magis, &c., 'enforcing the plea of illness by his looks more than by his words.' The later MSS. have 'se,' a mistake which has given rise to the further false reading 'morbo'; but the antithesis evidently is intended to be between the proof of illness given by his words, and that visible in his worn-out and feeble looks.

9 de sententia deiecistis. Ut vero Pansae consulis accessit cohortatio gravior quam aures Ser. Sulpicii ferre didicissent, tum vero denique filium meque seduxit atque ita locutus est, ut auctoritatem vestram vitae suae se diceret anteferre. Cuius nos virtutem admirati non ausi sumus adversari voluntati. Movebatur singulari pietate filius; non multum eius perturbationi meus dolor concedebat: sed uterque nostrum cedere cogebatur magnitudini animi orationisque gravitati, cum quidem ille maxima laude et gratulatione omnium vestrum pollicitus est se quod velletis esse facturum, neque eius sententiae periculum vitaturum, cuius ipse 10 auctor fuisset: quem exsequi mandata vestra properantem mane postridie prosecuti sumus. Qui quidem discedens mecum ita locutus est, ut eius oratio omen fati videretur.

5 Reddite igitur, patres conscripti, ei vitam, cui ademistis: vita 10 enim mortuorum in memoria est posita vivorum. Perficite, ut 15 is, quem vos inscii ad mortem misistis, immortalitatem habeat a vobis. Cui si statuam in rostris decreto vestro statueritis, nulla eius legationem posteritatis obscurabit oblivio. Nam reliqua Ser. Sulpicii vita multis erit praeclarisque monumentis ad omnem memoriam commendata. Semper illius gravitatem, 20 constantiam, fidem, praestantem in re publica tuenda curam atque prudentiam omnium mortalium fama celebrabit. Nec vero silebitur admirabilis quaedam et incredibilis ac paene divina eius in legibus interpretandis, aequitate explicanda scientia. Omnes ex omni aetate, qui in hac civitate intelligentiam iuris habuerunt, 25

3. Seduxit. See 8. 10, 20 note.

5. Singulari pietate, the descriptive ablative, not dependent on 'movebatur.' 'His son, a man of singular affection for his father, was deeply moved.'

10. Eius sententiae, the proposal that ambassadors should be sent to Antony.

12. Prosecuti sumus, 'we set him on his way,' προεπιμνημεν; cp. Att. 6. 3, 6 'Is me nec proficiscentem Apameam prosecutus est.'

14. Vita enim mortuorum, &c. Cp. de Sen. 13, 82 'Nescio quo modo animus erigens se posteritatem ita semper prospiciebat, quasi, cum excessisset e vita, tum denique victurus esset.' So far however was Cicero from holding that men had no objective existence after death, that in the passage quoted he is arguing from the instinctive desire felt by men to live 'in the remem-

brance of posterity,' to the conclusion that after death we shall necessarily be conscious of the opinion which men hold of us.

22. Nec vero silebitur. For the transitive use of 'sileo' cp. Att. 2. 18, 3 'Tu hoc silebis;' and Or. M. 12. 575

'Nec tamen ulterius, quam fortia facta silendo,

Ulciscar fratres.'

And for the estimate of the legal eminence of Sulpicius cp. de Legg. 1. 5, 17 'Sit ista res (iuris disciplina) magna, sicut est, quae quondam a multis claris viris, nunc ab uno summa auctoritate ac scientia sustinetur.'

24. Aequitate, the application to individual cases of the principle rather than the letter of the law: ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων νόμον, ἢ ἐλλείπει διὰ τὸ καθόλου, Arist. Eth. N. 5. 10, 6.

si unum in locum conferantur, cum Ser. Sulpicio non sint comparandi. Nec enim ille magis iuris consultus quam iustitiae fuit. Ita ea quae proficiscebantur a legibus et ab iure civili ¹¹ semper ad facilitatem aequitatemque referebat, neque instituere ⁵ litum actiones malebat quam controversias tollere. Ergo hoc statuæ monumento non eget: habet alia maiora. Haec enim statua mortis honestae testis erit, illa memoria vitae gloriosae, ut hoc magis monumentum grati senatus quam clari viri futurum sit. ¹ Multum etiam valuisse ad patris honorem pietas filii vide- ¹² bitur: qui quamquam afflictus luctu non adest, tamen sic animati esse debetis, ut si ille adesset. Est autem ita affectus, ut nemo umquam unci filii mortem magis doluerit quam ille maeret patris. Et quidem etiam ad famam Ser. Sulpicii filii arbitror pertinere, ut videatur honorem debitum patri praestitisse. Quamquam ¹⁵ nullum monumentum clarius Ser. Sulpicius relinquere potuit quam effigiem morum suorum, virtutis, constantiae, pietatis, ingenii filium, cuius luctus aut hoc honore vestro aut nullo solacio levare potest.

Mihi autem recordanti Ser. Sulpicii multos in nostra fami- ⁶ liaritate sermones gratior illi videtur, si qui est sensus in morte, ¹⁰ aenea statua futura et ea pedestris quam inaurata equestris, qualis

2. Iuris consultus, &c., 'more skilled in the letter than in the spirit of the law.' For the case see on 2. 37, 96.

4. Facilitatem, properly 'readiness to listen,' seems here, from its conjunction with 'aequitas,' to mean 'willingness to admit arguments from special circumstances,' such as might prevent the rigorous application of the letter of the law. 'Arguments which started from the letter of our statutes and the common law were invariably referred by him to the standard of tolerance and equity.' So 'facilitas' is joined with 'humanitas,' Fam. 13. 24, 2 'Pro tua facilitate et humanitate purgatum se tibi scribit esse.' A conjectural emendation, 'utilitatem,' quoted by Lambinus, would place the reputation of Servilius on much lower grounds, in substituting expediency for equity.

Neque . . . malebat. He thus showed himself in contrast to the general class of 'iureconsulti,' according to Cicero's estimation of them. Cp. pro Mur. 12, 27 'Cum permulta praeclare legibus essent constituta, ea iureconsultorum ingeniis pleraque corrupta ac depravata sunt.'

7. Illa, 'those other greater monuments

of his worth.'

8. Hoc magis, &c., 'this will bear witness rather to the gratitude of the senate than the greatness of the man.'

12. Doluerit . . . maeret, 'that no one has ever felt more grief for the loss of an only son than he shows for the death of his father.' For this distinction between 'doleo' and 'maereo' cp. Att. 12. 28, 2 'Maerorem minui, dolorem non potui, nec si possem, vellem.'

c. 6. The form of monument, a pedestrian statue of brass, was just what Sulpicius himself, with his characteristic moderation, would have wished. Nor could he fear opposition on the part of those who had proposed the greater and more permanent memorial of a public funeral; while he rejoiced that by the same vote a well-earned honour would be paid to Sulpicius, and another brand of infamy impressed on Antony.

20. Si qui est sensus, &c. In de Am. 4, 13 he expresses less doubtfully his views of the consciousness of the soul after death: 'Neque enim adsentior iis, qui nuper haec disserere coeperunt, cum corporibus simul animos interire atque omnia morte deleri.'

- L. Sullae primum statuta est. Mirifice enim Servius maiorum continentiam diligebat, huius saeculi insolentiam vituperabat. Ut igitur si ipsum consulam quid velit, sic pedestrem ex aere statuam tamquam ex eius auctoritate et voluntate decerno: quae quidem magnum civium dolorem et desiderium honore monimenti minuet
 14 et leniet. Atque hanc meam sententiam, patres conscripti, P. Servilii sententia comprobari necesse est: qui sepulchrum publice decernendum Ser. Sulpicio censuit, statuam non censuit. Nam si mors legati sine caede atque ferro nullum honorem desiderat, cur decernit honorem sepulturae, qui maximus haberi
 15 potest mortuo? Sin id tribuit Ser. Sulpicio, quod non est datum Cn. Octavio, cur, quod illi datum est, huic dandum esse non censet? Maiores quidem nostri statuas multis decreverunt, sepulchra paucis. Sed statuæ intereunt tempestate, vi, vetustate: sepulchrorum autem sanctitas in ipso solo est, quod nulla vi
 moveri neque deleri potest; atque, ut cetera exstinguuntur, sic
 15 sepulchra sanctiora fiunt vetustate. Augeatur igitur isto honore etiam is vir, cui nullus honos tribui non debitus potest; grati simus in eius morte decoranda, cui nullam iam aliam gratiam referre possumus. Notetur etiam M. Antonii, nefarium bellum
 20 gerentis, scelerata audacia. His enim honoribus habitis Ser. Sulpicio repudiatae reiectaeque legationis ab Antonio manebit testificatio sempiterna.
- 7 Quas ob res ita censeo: Cum Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. Lemonia Rufus difficillimo rei publicae tempore, gravi periculosoque morbo
 25

1. Primum. See on 2. 44, 114. The gilding must have been the innovation, since Livy records an equestrian statue of Cloelia, placed on the Via Sacra, as early as 506 B.C. (Livy 2. 13).

2. Insolentiam, 'extravagance,' which passes all the bounds of precedent and authority; cp. Or. 52, 176 'Gorgias festivitibus insolentius abutitur, quas Isocrates moderatius etiam temperavit.'

Ut . . . si. Cp. Fam. 2. 14 'Eius negotium sic velim suscipias, ut si esset mea.'

5. Minuet. Cp. Pliny Ep. 2. 7, 7 'Si defunctorum imagines domi positae dolorem nostrum levant, quanto magis eae, quibus in celeberrimo loco non modo species et vultus illorum, sed honor etiam et gloria refertur.'

15. Sepulchrorum, &c. The ground being consecrated by the usual rites and

sacrifices. See de Legg. 2. 22, 55 foll. Till this was done, Cicero tells us that the resting-place of the corpse was only 'situs,' not 'sepulchrum.' Cp. also Tusc. 1. 12, 27.

17. Isto honore, 'with the honour already proposed to you;' sc. of a public funeral.

c. 7. He concludes with a formal motion, that Ser. Sulpicius should be buried at the public expense on the Esquiline, and that a brazen statue should be erected on the Rostra in his honour, with a space of five feet on each side reserved for his posterity for ever.

24. Lemonia, 'of the tribe Lemonia,' which was one of the original sixteen country tribes, cp. Verr. 1. 8, 23 'Q. Verrem Romilia;' ib. Act. 2. 2. 43, 107 'C. Claudius C. F. Palatina.'

affectus, auctoritatem senatus, salutem rei publicae vitae suae praeponeret contraque vim gravitatemque morbi contenderit, ut in castra M. Antonii, quo senatus eum miserat, perveniret, isque, cum iam prope castra venisset, vi morbi oppressus vitam amiserit
 5 maximo rei publicae tempore, eiusque mors consentanea vitae fuerit sanctissime honestissimeque actae, in qua saepe magno usui rei publicae Ser. Sulpicius et privatus et in magistratibus fuerit: cum talis vir ob rem publicam in legatione mortem obierit, 10
 10 senatui placere Ser. Sulpicio statuam pedestrem aeneam in rostris ex huius ordinis sententia statui circumque eam statuam locum ludis gladiatoribusque liberos posterosque eius quoquo versus pedes quinque habere, quod is ob rem publicam mortem obierit, eamque causam in basi inscribi utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove, si iis videatur, quaestoribus urbis imperent, ut eam
 15 basim statuamque faciendam et in rostris statuendam locent, quantique locaverint, tantam pecuniam redemptori attribuendam solvendamque curent: cumque antea senatus auctoritatem suam in virorum fortium funeribus ornamentisque ostenderit, placere eum quam amplissime supremo suo die efferri. Et cum Ser. 17
 20 Sulpicius Q. F. Lemonia Rufus ita de re publica meritis sit, ut iis ornamentis decorari debeat, senatum censere atque e re publica aestimare aediles curules edictum, quod de funeribus habeant,

5. Maximo rei publicae tempore. So Halm from the Vatican MS. The other MSS. have 'munere,' but in such formal votes repetition of the same idea in nearly the same words is very common. For the expression 'maximo tempore' cp. de Legg. 3. 19, 43 'Est boni auguris meminisse se maximis rei publicae temporibus praesto esse debere.'

11. Ludis gladiatoribusque: perhaps a hendiadys for 'ludis gladiatoris,' since these were the only exhibitions held in the forum.

Quoquo versus, 'in every direction from the statue;' and thus expressive of a slightly different mode of measurement from 'pedes xxx. quoquo versus' in § 17; which means 'thirty feet square,' 'in each direction in which ground is usually measured,' that is, 'in fronte' and 'in agrum.' Cp. Hor. S. I. 8, 12 'Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum Hic dabat.'

14. Quaestoribus urbis, elsewhere 'quaestores urbani;' but cp. Verr. Act. 2. 3.

53. 123 'Quas ad quaestores urbis misit;' and Livy 25. 1 'M. Atilio praetori urbis.' This duty would fall on them, as keepers of the public treasury.

16. Attribuendam. See on §. 2, 6.

19. Supremo suo die, 'on the day of his funeral;' an expression which is perhaps without an exact parallel, though 'supremus' is commonly used in reference to the various portions of the funeral rites. Cp. 'Supremi tori' Ov. Fast. 6. 668; 'Supremus ignis' id. Am. 1. 15, 41.

Efferri, ἐκφέρεισθαι, 'should be carried out to burial.'

22. Edictum, 'the bye-law,' ('edictum perpetuum,') promulgated by the aediles on entering office, to regulate the expenses permissible at funerals. Though these 'edicts' were only technically in force for the year of the magistrate's tenure of office, it was the custom for those which were found to work well to be re-enacted from year to year.

Ser. Sulpicii Q. F. Lemonia Rufi funeri remittere; utique locum sepulchro in campo Esquilino C. Pansa consul, seu quo in loco videbitur, pedes xxx. quoquo versus adsignet, quo Ser. Sulpicius inferatur: quod sepulchrum ipsius, liberorum posterorumque eius esset, uti quod optimo iure publice sepulchrum datum esset. 5

1. Remittere, 'to relax in favour of the funeral of Sulpicius.'

2. In campo Esquilino. On that part of the Esquiline which was outside of the Agger of Servius Tullius. See on 1. 2, 5. The more usual place for public funerals was in the Campus Martius, the Campus Esquilinus being also used as a burial-ground for

the lowest class of citizens (Hor. S. 1. 8, 10); but from the '*magna sepulchra*' which he mentions (*ib.* 35) it would seem that some at least of the higher classes were buried there. The site of the burial-ground was turned into a kind of public park by Maecenas (*ib.* 14).

18

INTRODUCTION

TO THE TENTH ORATION.

ABOUT the same time that M. Antonius left Rome, his brother C. Antonius started for Macedonia, to take possession of that province. The government of it for the year 43 B.C. had been originally assigned by Caesar to M. Brutus; it had been transferred by a decree of the senate on the 5th of June to M. Antonius; when he obtained from the people, probably in July, the province of Cisalpine Gaul, it had been transferred, in the general allotment of the provinces, to his brother Gaius, and lastly, on the 20th of December, this allotment had been annulled on the motion of Cicero, and a decree passed that the provinces should remain in the hands of their present governors till successors should be appointed by the senate. With this complication it was no wonder that the possession of the province should be disputed. The best title was perhaps that of M. Antonius, and Cicero himself acknowledges that it was valid (see on 11. 12, 27); but he had abandoned his claim in his attempts upon Cisalpine Gaul; and the contest remained between the two other claimants. M. Brutus, who had gone to Athens in September, and had there received a large supply of money from the quaestor M. Apuleius, and been joined by the remnants of the forces of Pompey, was the first in the field, and was acknowledged by Q. Hortensius, the son of the orator, whom he found in command of the province, as his legitimate successor. Being thus placed at the head of the regular forces in the province, he was enabled to set C. Antonius at defiance, and force him to take refuge in Apollonia, where he kept him closely shut up. He was also warmly supported by the troops of P. Vatinius, who was proconsul in Illyricum, though it is doubtful how far this was by the will of Vatinius himself. (Compare 10. 6, 13 with Livy Epit. 118 and Vell. Pat. 2. 69, 3.)

When the news of these proceedings reached Rome, the Consul Pansa

called a meeting of the senate, and speaking of M. Brutus in the highest terms, laid before them the question whether he should be confirmed in the government which he had assumed. Q. Fufius Calenus, who opened the debate, proposed that he should be removed from his command; and it was in answer to him that Cicero delivered his tenth oration. It is mainly a warm panegyric on the conduct of M. Brutus. The two main objections to be urged against him were that he had no more right in Macedonia than Antonius, and that if one of Caesar's murderers were supported the veterans would take offence. The first point Cicero passes over as lightly as possible, maintaining that even if he were not borne out by the letter of the law, yet in all that he had done he had anticipated the wishes of the senate, and been actuated by a spirit of the purest patriotism: so that no loyal citizen could hesitate to prefer him to Antonius. With regard to the second point he declares that the veterans had shown themselves superior to such prejudices, when they interfered with the welfare of the state; and indignantly protests against the idea of submitting the highest interests of the commonwealth to the will and pleasure of the soldiery.

He concludes by formally proposing that M. Brutus should be confirmed in the government of the province, and that he should be supplied with all the requisites for carrying on the campaign. His motion was agreed to by the senate. The exact date of the speech cannot be ascertained, but it was probably delivered about the beginning of March, 43 B.C.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER DECIMUS.

1 MAXIMAS tibi, Pansa, gratias, omnes et habere et agere
1 debemus: qui cum hodierno die senatum te habiturum non ar-
bitraremur, ut M. Bruti, praestantissimi civis, litteras accepisti,
ne minimam quidem moram interposuisti quin quam primum
maximo gaudio et gratulatione frueremur. Cum factum tuum 5
gratum omnibus debet esse, tum vero oratio, qua recitatis litteris
usus es. Declarasti enim verum esse id, quod ego semper sensi,
2 neminem alterius, qui suae confideret, virtuti invidere. Itaque
mihi, qui plurimis officiis sum cum Bruto et maxima familiaritate
coniunctus, minus multa de illo dicenda sunt. Quas enim ipse 10
mihi partes sumpseram, eas praecepit oratio tua. Sed mihi, patres
conscripti, necessitatem attulit paulo plura dicendi sententia eius,
qui rogatus est ante me: a quo ita saepe dissentio, ut iam verear

cc. 1, 2. *Congratulating Pansa on his promptitude in convening the senate, and on the generosity of his speech in praise of M. Brutus, Cicero laments that once again his lead had not been followed by Calenus, who appeared at present to be doomed to find himself on all occasions in a minority of one. He seemed to have some special quarrel with the Bruti, though Cicero could hardly believe it possible that he should not prefer them to any one of the Antonii, the last men whom he should wish a son of his to imitate. And in modifying the vote proposed in honour of M. Brutus, Calenus made the strange proposal, which had not even the excuse of being unpremeditated, that the composition of his letter should be praised, and nothing said about its substance.*

1. Gratias et habere et agere, 'both to feel and to express our gratitude.'

2. Qui cum, &c., 'seeing that though we did not expect that you would convene the senate to-day, yet on receiving the letters of M. Brutus, you allowed no time to be lost before putting us in the receipt of the greatest pleasure and the most acceptable congratulations.' Manutius takes 'gratulatione' of the congratulations which the senate would send to M. Brutus, in which case 'frueremur' would be applied to it by a kind of zeugma; but it refers rather to the mutual congratulations of the senators, when the Consuls reported his success.

11. Praecepit, 'has anticipated.'

12. Eius: of Calenus. See on 5. 1, 1.

ne, id quod fieri minime debet, minuere amicitiam nostram videatur perpetua dissensio.

Quae est enim ista tua ratio, Calene, quae mens, ut numquam post Kalendas Ianuarias idem senseris, quod is, qui te sententiam primum rogat? numquam tam frequens senatus fuerit, cum unus aliquis sententiam tuam secutus sit? Cur semper tui dissimiles defendis? cur, cum te et vita et fortuna tua ad otium, ad dignitatem invitet, ea probas, ea decernis, ea sentis, quae sint inimica et otio communi et dignitati tuae? Nam ut superiora omittam, hoc certe, quod mihi maximam admirationem movet, non tacebo. Quod est tibi cum Brutis bellum? cur eos, quos omnes paene venerari debemus, solus oppugnas? alterum circumsederi non moleste fers, alterum tua sententia spoliis iis copiis, quas ipse suo labore et periculo ad rei publicae, non ad suum praesidium per se nullo adiuvante perfecit? Qui est iste tuus sensus, quae cogitatio, Brutos ut non probes, Antonios probes? quos omnes carissimos habent, tu oderis? quos acerbissime ceteri oderunt, tu constantissime diligas? Amplissimae tibi fortunae sunt, summus honoris gradus, filius, ut et audio et spero, natus ad laudem, cui cum rei publicae causa faveo, tum etiam tua. Quaero igitur, eumne Bruti similem malis an Antonii? ac permitto ut de tribus Antoniis eligas quem velis. Di meliora! inquires. Cur igitur non iis faves, eos laudas, quorum similem tuum filium esse vis? Simul enim et rei publicae consules et propones illi exempla ad imitandum. Hoc vero, Q. Fufi, cupio sine offensione nostrae amicitiae sic tecum ut a te dissentiens senator-queri: ita enim dixisti et quidem de scripto—nam te inopia verbi lapsus putarem

6. Sententiam tuam secutus sit. Yet a portion of the motion of Calenus on the 1st of January was carried, even in opposition to Cicero. See introduction to the fifth oration.

7. Ad dignitatem. The later MSS. have 'et ad dignitatem,' but the asyndeton is preferable, marking that Cicero substitutes the appeal to his dignity as a correction for the lower motive of personal leisure. So in the next clause he brings in public tranquillity in the place of individual case.

10. Mihi . . . admirationem movet. The later MSS. have 'me maxima admiratione,' but the construction in the text is more common in Cicero; cp. pro Mur. 13,

28 'Si mihi stomachum moveritis,' Att. 2. 14, 1 'Quantam tu mihi moves expectationem.'

12. Alterum circumsederi: viz. D. Brutus, blockaded by Antony in Mutina.

15. Perfecit, 'has organized.' The later MSS. have the more ordinary expression 'confecit,' 'has got together.'

18. Summus honoris gradus. He was Consul in 47 B.C.

19. Filius. Of this son we only know that on his father's death in 41 B.C. he surrendered to Octavianus the army which his father was commanding in Cisalpine Gaul as the legate of Antony.

22. Di meliora. See 8, 3, 9 note.

27. Nam . . . putarem, 'for otherwise I

—litteras Bruti recte et ordine scriptas videri. Quid est aliud
 6 librarium Bruti laudare, non Brutum? Usus in re publica,
 Calene, magnum iam habere et debes et potes. Quando ita de-
 cerni vidisti? aut quo senatus consulto huius generis—sunt enim
 innumerabilia—bene scriptas litteras decretum a senatu? Quod
 8 verbum tibi non excidit, ut saepe fit, fortuito: scriptum, medi-
 3 tatum, cogitatum attulisti. Hanc tibi consuetudinem plerisque
 in rebus bonis obtrectandi si qui detraxerit, quid tibi quod sibi
 quisque velit non relinquetur? Quam ob rem collige te placaque
 animum istum aliquando et mitiga; audi viros bonos, quibus 10
 multis uteris; loquere cum sapientissimo homine, genero tuo,
 saepius quam ipse tecum: tum denique amplissimi honoris nomen
 obtinebis. An vero hoc pro nihilo putas, in quò quidem pro
 amicitia tuam vicem dolere soleo, efferri hoc foras et ad populi
 Romani aures pervenire, ei, qui primus sententiam dixerit, 15
 neminem assensum? quod etiam hodie futurum arbitrator.

Legiones abducis a Bruto. Quas? nempe eas, quas ille a
 C. Antonii scelere avertit et ad rem publicam sua auctoritate

should suppose.' Some MSS. insert 'nisi tuam in dicendo facultatem nossem,' to the detriment of the sense, the protasis evidently being, 'had you not been reading from a written copy of your speech.' This seems to have been a most unusual practice in the Roman senate.

1. Recte et ordine. Calenus probably meant 'with propriety and deference to the authority of the senate.' Cicero puts on the words the puerile interpretation 'in good writing and decent style.'

Quid est aliud. See on I. 9, 22.

c. 3. Calenus did injustice to himself, by always seeking to disparage men of worth. For now, in seeking to take away from M. Brutus the legions which he had won over to the salvation of the state, he was striving to dishonour a man who had not only dared the noblest of deeds in order to secure freedom for his country, but had also shown himself capable of the more difficult virtues of patience and self-abnegation, in resigning the chief honours of his praetorship.

7. Hanc tibi consuetudinem, &c., 'could some one but have cured you of this habit of disparaging the good on every occasion, all your remaining qualities will be such as any one would gladly welcome in himself.' Some MSS. have 'bonos,' but 'obtrectare' does not seem to be used with

the accusative till the time of Tacitus, and then mainly with inanimate objects.

9. Collige te, 'recover yourself.' Cp. Tusc. 4. 36, 78 'Quid est se ipsum colligere nisi dissipatas animi partis rursum in suum locum cogere?'

10. Quibus multis uteris, 'with many of whom you are intimate.' This is better than the reading of the later MSS, 'quibus uteris multum,' 'whose society you much frequent,' with which 'audi bonos viros' would be little more than mere tautology.

11. Genero tuo. The Consul, C. Vibius Pansa.

12. Amplissimi honoris, &c., 'you will make good your claim to a title of such high rank; i.e. you will show yourself to be indeed a consular.'

14. Tuam vicem, 'on your account; σὴν χάριν. Cp. Fam. 12. 23, 3 'Tuam vicem saepe doleo;' and see Madv. § 237 c. Obs. 3.

17. A C. Antonii scelere. In spite of the decree of the 20th of December, annulling the apportionment of the provinces made by Antony (see 3. 15, 38 and 10, 26), his brother had gone to take the command in Macedonia, when he was opposed and eventually taken prisoner by M. Brutus, after being deserted by several of his legions.

traduxit. Rursus igitur vis nudatum illum atque solum a re publica relegatum videri. Vos autem, patres conscripti, si 7 M. Brutum deserueritis et prodideritis, quem tandem civem umquam ornabitis? nisi forte eos, qui diadema imposuerint, 5 conservandos, eos, qui regni nomen sustulerint, deserendos putatis. Ac de hac quidem divina atque immortalī laude Bruti silebo, quae gratissima memoria omnium civium inclusa nondum publica auctoritate testata est. Tantamne patientiam, di boni! tantam moderationem, tantam in iniuria tranquillitatem et mo- 10 destiam! qui cum praetor urbis esset, urbe caruit, ius non dixit, cum omne ius rei publicae recuperavisset, cumque concursu quotidiano bonorum omnium, qui admirabilis ad eum fieri solebat, praesidioque Italiae cunctae saeptus posset esse, absens iudicio bonorum defensus esse maluit quam praesens manu: qui ne 15 Apollinares quidem ludos pro sua populiue Romani dignitate apparatus praesens fecit, ne quam viam patefaceret sceleratissimorum hominum audaciae. Quamquam qui umquam aut ludi 4 aut dies laetiores fuerunt, quam cum in singulis versibus populus 8 Romanus maximo clamore et plausu Bruti memoriam prosequ- 20 batur? Corpus aberat liberatoris, libertatis memoria aderat: in qua Bruti imago cerni videbatur. At hunc iis ipsis ludorum diebus videbam in insula clarissimi adolescentis, Luculli,

3. Deserueritis et prodideritis, 'ye have deserted and betrayed,' the climax expressed in the words being more clearly shown in *Epist. ad Q. Fr.* 1. 3, 5 'Cum amici partim deseruerint me, partim etiam prodiderint.'

4. Qui diadema imposuerint. See 2. 34, 85 note.

8. Testata est: so rarely in a passive sense, and only in the tenses compounded with the perfect participle.

Tantumne patientiam. For the simple accusative, without an infinitive, in interrogative exclamations, cp. *Verr. Act.* 2. 5, 25, 62 'Huncine hominem! hancine impudentiam, iudices! hanc audaciam!' and see Zumpt, § 402.

10. Praetor urbis. See 9. 7, 16 note. The reading 'urbis,' which is found in the Vatican MS., seems here preferable in itself to 'urbanus,' on account of the play on the word in the following 'urbe caruit.'

Ius non dixit. He had restored to the state the privilege of being governed according to the laws, and yet was not him-

self allowed his rightful part in the administration of those laws. See introduction to the first oration.

12. Admirabilis, 'to a marvellous extent.'

15. Apollinares ludos. The presidency of these belonged to him as city praetor. See 1. 15, 36 note; and 2. 13, 31.

16. Apparatos, 'which he had got up with magnificence proportionate to the honour of the Roman people and himself.'

c. 4. Even while all the world was lamenting his absence from the games, so grandly celebrated at his expense, he was passing his time contentedly in retirement, planning measures for his country's good. Presently he quitted Italy, followed in a few days by C. Cassius, only to find a new sphere for his patriotism, in rescuing Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece from the grasp of C. Antonius.

18. In singulis versibus, 'echoing the sentiments of casual verses in the play. See 1. 15, 36 notes.

22. In insula. Probably the small island of Nesis, at the extremity of the head-

propinqui sui, nihil nisi de pace et concordia civium cogitantem. Eundem vidi postea Veliae cedentem Italia, ne qua oreretur belli civilis causa propter se. O spectaculum illud non modo hominibus, sed undis ipsis et litoribus luctuosum! cedere e patria servatorem eius, manere in patria perditores! Cassii classis 5 paucis post diebus consequebatur, ut me puderet, patres conscripti, 6 in eam urbem redire, ex qua illi abirent. Sed quo consilio redierim, initio audistis, post estis experti: expectatum igitur tempus a Bruto est. Nam quoad vos omnia pati vidit, usus est ipse incredibili patientia: postea quam vos ad libertatem sensit 10 erectos, praesidia vestrae libertati paravit.

At cui pesti quantaque restitit! Si enim C. Antonius quod animo intenderat perficere potuisset, aut potius nisi eius sceleri virtus M. Bruti obstitisset, Macedoniam, Illyricum, Graeciam perdidissemus: esset vel receptaculum pulso Antonio vel agger 15 oppugnandae Italiae Graecia: quae quidem nunc M. Bruti imperio, auctoritate, copiis non instructa solum, sed etiam ornata tendit dexteram Italiae suumque ei praesidium pollicetur. Quod qui ab illo abducit exercitum, et respectum pulcherrimum et 10 praesidium firmissimum adimit rei publicae. Equidem cupio haec 20 quam primum Antonium audire, ut intelligat non D. Brutum, 5 quem vallo circumsedeat, sed se ipsum obsideri. Tria tenet oppida

land between Puteoli and Naples. It was in the immediate neighbourhood of the celebrated Neapolitan villa of Lucullus, and we know from Att. 16. 1-4. that Brutus was residing there while making preparations for his games.

1. Propinqui. Brutus and Lucullus were cousins: their mothers being daughters of Q. Servilius Caepio, and half-sisters of M. Cato Uticensis.

Nihil nisi de pace. Cp. a letter of Brutus and Cassius to Antony, Cic. Fam. 11. 2, 2 'Nos ab initio spectasse otium nec quidquam aliud libertate communi quasisse declarat exitus.'

2. Veliae. Cp. 1. 4. 9.

5. Perditores. Probably the three Antonii. One MS. gives the more usual word 'proditores,' but 'perditores' is more immediately opposed to 'servatorem,' and is quite classical. Cp. pro Planc. 36, 89 'ut idem perditor rei publicae nominarem, qui servator fuissem.'

6. Ut me puderet. Cp. 1. 4. 9 'Turpe mihi ipsi videbatur in eam urbem

me audere reverti, ex qua Brutus cederet, et ibi velle tuto esse, ubi ille non posset.'

8. Initio, at the beginning of these orations. See 1. 3 and 4.

15. Receptaculum... agger oppugnandae Italiae. Ferrarius compares the two Greek words πρόβολος and ἐπιτειχισμα, as in Xen. Cyr. 5. 3, 23 ἐβουλεύσαντο κοινῇ φυλάττειν (τὸ φρούριον), ὥπως αὐτοῖς μὲν πρόβολος εἴη πολέμου, τοῖς δ' Ἀσσυρίοις ἐπιτειχισμένον.

18. Quod qui, &c., 'wherefore if any one deprives Brutus of his army, he thereby deprives the state of a most excellent asylum and the strongest of its fortresses.' 'Quod' is here used as a sort of adverbial or cognate accusative, similar to its use in adjurations. See Prof. Conington on Virg. Aen. 2. 141.

c. 5. This would be most fatal tidings to the other Antony, who was in the midst of enemies in Gaul, and placed his sole dependence on his brother. Yet that brother, in spite both of his indecent haste in starting for his provinces, and of his unauthorised

toto in orbe terrarum; habet inimicissimam Galliam; eos etiam, quibus confidebat, alienissimos, Transpadanos; Italia omnis infesta est; exteræ nationes a prima ora Graeciae usque ad Aegyptum optimorum et fortissimorum civium Imperiis et praesidiis tenentur.
 5 Erat ei spes una in C. Antonio, qui duorum fratrum aetatibus medius interiectus vitiis cum utroque certabat. Is tamquam extruderetur a senatu in Macedoniam, et non contra prohiberetur proficisci, ita cucurrit. Quae tempestas, di immortales! quae 11
 flamma, quae vastitas, quae pestis Graeciae, nisi incredibilis ac
 10 divina virtus furentis hominis conatum atque audaciam compressisset! Quae celeritas illa Bruti! quae cura! quae virtus! Etsi ne C. quidem Antonii celeritas contemnenda est: quam nisi in via caducae hereditates retardassent, volasse eum, non iter fecisse diceres. Alios ad negotium publicum ire cum cu-
 15 pimus, vix solemus extrudere: hunc retinentes extrusimus. At quid ei cum Apollonia? quid cum Dyrrachio? quid cum Illyrico?

intrusion in Illyricum, was utterly thwarted by the energy of Brutus, who, without waiting for the orders of the senate, had carried out completely all the senate could have wished.

Tria. Manutius compares Fam. 12. 8, 2 'Praeter Bononiam, Regium Lepidi, (Reggio), Parmam, totam Galliam tenebamus studiosissimam rei publicae. Tuos etiam clientes Transpadanos mirifice coniunctos cum causa habebamus.'

3. A prima ora. Halm quotes Fam. 10. 1 'a prima enim ora Graeciae usque ad Aegyptum optimorum civium imperiis muniti erimus et copiis,' as his reason for departing from the Vatican reading 'a primo ore.' Garatoni shows that though 'Os Graeciae' might possibly have been used for 'the entrance of Greece,' in consideration of its being approached from Italy by sea, yet 'primum os' could add nothing to this meaning.

6. Vitiis cum utroque certabat, 'was a match for each of them in his own special vices.'

Tamquam extruderetur, &c., 'as though he had been driven into Macedonia, instead of having been expressly forbidden to go.' For the use of 'ac non' see Madv. § 458 a. Obs. 1.

9. Graeciae. The later MSS. add 'fuisset,' but see 2. 29, 74 note.

10. Virtus. The Vatican MS. adds 'Caes.' evidently in mistake, perhaps from recollection of the beginning of 13. 9, 19;

but some genitive seems required in opposition to 'furentis hominis.' Some editors have suggested 'Caepionis,' but that name alone does not appear to have been applied to M. Brutus.

12. Quam. So Halm from the Vatican MS. The others have 'quem.'

13. Caducae hereditates. 'Caduca bona' were legacies of which the person to whom they were left failed to take possession. 'Quod quis sibi testamento relictum aliqua ex causa non ceperit, caducum appellatur, quia quasi cecidit ab eo.' Ulp. lib. regular. tit. 17. They would probably become the property of the next heir-at-law. Cp. Juv. 9. 88 'Legatum omne capis, nec non et dulce caducum,' and Cic. de Or. 3. 31, 122 'Nostra est omnis ista prudentiae doctrinaeque possessio, in quam homines quasi caducam atque vacuum abundantes otio, nobis occupatis, involaverunt.' C. Antonius is represented as thrusting himself into the position of the reverentary heir, and seizing on these properties in default of the persons to whom in the first instance they were left. Manutius says that, in default of the heir, they fell 'ad fiscum,' but the very use of this word shows that he is anticipating the regulations of a later time, when the disposal of these 'caduca bona' was elaborately settled by the 'Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea,' A.D. 9.

16. Cum Apollonia? cum Dyrrachio? That these towns were at this time in the province of Illyricum might be inferred

quid cum P. Vatinii imperatoris exercitu? Succedebat, ut ipse dicebat, Hortensio. Certi fines Macedoniae, certa conditio, certus, si modo erat ullus, exercitus: cum Illyrico vero et cum
 12 Vatinii legionibus quid erat Antonio? At ne Bruto quidem: id enim fortasse quispiam improbus dixerit. Omnes legiones, omnes 5 copiae, quae ubique sunt, rei publicae sunt: nec enim eae legiones, quae M. Antonium reliquerunt, Antonii potius quam rei publicae fuisse dicentur. Omne enim et exercitus et imperii ius amittit
 6 is, qui eo imperio et exercitu rem publicam oppugnat. Quod si ipsa res publica iudicaret, aut si omne ius decretis eius sta- 10 tueretur, Antonione an Bruto legiones populi Romani adiudicaret? Alter advolarat subito ad direptionem pestemque sociorum, ut, quocumque iret, omnia vastaret, diriperet, auferret, exercitu populi Romani contra ipsum populum Romanum uteretur. Alter eam legem sibi statuerat, ut, quocumque venisset, lux venisse 15 quaedam et spes salutis videretur. Denique alter ad evertendam rem publicam praesidia quaecebat, alter ad conservandam. Nec vero nos hoc magis videbamus quam ipsi milites, a quibus tanta
 18 in iudicando prudentia non erat postulanda. Cum VII cohortibus esse Apolloniae scribit Antonium, qui iam aut captus est—quod 20 di dent!—aut certe homo verecundus in Macedoniam non accedit,

from this passage, and seems clear from c. 6, 13, and Plut. Brut. 25 ἀγγέλλεται Γάιος, ὁ Ἀντωνίου ἀδελφός, ἐξ Ἰταλίας διαβέβηκός βαδίζειν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς θυράμεις, ἃς ἐν Ἐπιδόμῳ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ Βατίνιος συνείχε. P. Vatinus had been proconsul in Illyricum since 46 B.C., and Cicero's argument is that whatever claim C. Antonius might urge on Macedonia, he must be acting illegally in meddling with Illyricum. From the fact that L. Piso, when proconsul in Macedonia, extended his extortion to Apollonia and Dyrrachium (in Pis. 40, 96), it would seem that the country known by the name of Illyris Graeca, extending from the river Drilo southwards to the Acroceraunian mountains, formed a kind of debateable land between the provinces of Illyricum and Macedonia, being attached to one or the other at the will of the senate.

2. Hortensio. Q. Hortensius, the son of the orator, received the province of Macedonia from Caesar in 44 B.C.

Certa conditio, definite terms on which it was held.

4. At ne Bruto quidem. Cicero

supposes an objection, that M. Brutus had no more right to appropriate the legions of Vatinus than C. Antonius. Technically such an objection would be valid, and Cicero can only urge that Brutus was acting in accordance with the policy of the senate, and for the good of his country, while Antony was striving for the ruin of his country, in direct opposition to what he knew to be the senate's will.

c. 6. *The conduct of Brutus was best justified by comparing his loyalty of purpose with the treason of C. Antonius, who throughout sought nothing but the ruin of the state. Brutus had blockaded him in Apollonia; and was well seconded by Q. Hortensius, the younger M. Cicero, Cn. Domitius, and P. Vatinus, by whose united energies the Graecian provinces were saved, and all the forces there kept loyal to their country's cause.*

21. Homo verecundus, &c., 'or at any rate the man has the modesty not to enter Macedonia.' Cp. §. 3, 7 'Angur verecundus sine collegis de auspiciis.'

ne contra senatus consultum fecisse videatur. Dilectus habitus in Macedonia est summo Q. Hortensii studio et industria: cuius animum egregium dignumque ipso et maioribus eius ex Bruti litteris perspicere potuistis. Legio, quam L. Piso ducebat, legatus 5 Antonii, Ciceroni se filio meo tradidit. Equitatus, qui in Syriam ducebatur bipertito, alter eum quaestorem, a quo ducebatur, reliquit in Thessalia seseque ad Brutum contulit; alterum in Macedonia Cn. Domitius adolescens summa virtute, gravitate, constantia a legato Syriaco abduxit. P. autem Vatinius, qui et 10 antea iure laudatus a vobis et hoc tempore merito laudandus est, aperuit Dyrrachii portas Bruto et exercitum tradidit. Tenet 14 igitur res publica Macedoniam, tenet Illyricum, tuetur Graeciam: nostrae sunt legiones, nostra levis armatura, noster equitatus, maximeque noster est Brutus semperque noster, cum sua excel- 15 lentissima virtute rei publicae natus, tum fato quodam paterni maternique generis et nominis. Ab hoc igitur viro quisquam 7 bellum timet, qui ante quam nos id coacti suscepimus, in pace iacere quam in bello vigere maluit? quamquam ille quidem

5. Filio meo. In 45 B.C. M. Cicero the younger went to Athens, for the purposes of study. On Caesar's death he attached himself to M. Brutus, who made him military tribune, in which capacity he distinguished himself in the Macedonian campaign, not only gaining over the legion of L. Piso, but taking C. Antonius prisoner.

Equitatus . . . alter . . . alter. This use of 'alter' . . . 'alter,' dividing a singular nominative with which they stand in apposition, seems to be without a parallel. It is like the Greek ἡ μὲν . . . ἡ δὲ in Plato Phaedr. p. 255 C. ἡ τοῦ πεδύματος ἑκαστοῦ πῆχη, . . . ἡ μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ἔβη, ἡ δ' ἀπομετρούμενον ἔκω ἀπορροῖ. The cavalry appears to have been going into Syria as Dolabella's share of the army in Macedonia, Antony having summoned the four legions of infantry to join him in Italy (see 3. 3). In Fam. 12. 14, 6, P. Lentulus speaks of a third body of cavalry which he had gained over to the service of the state: 'Primus equitatum Dolabellae ad rem publicam tra-duxi Cassioque tradidi.'

8. Cn. Domitius. See 2. 11, 27 note.

9. A legato Syriaco, 'from the officer commanding the detachment on its

way to Syria.' From Plutarch (Brut. 25) we learn that this was Cinna, probably a son of the popular leader; though he refers the exploit to Antistius.

10. A vobis. Some MSS. have 'nobis,' but this would have been too much even for Cicero, after the abuse lavished on him in the speeches pro Sestio and in Vatinius.

11. Dyrrachii. See on c. 5, 11.

15. Paterni maternique generis, viz. the Bruti and Servilii. See on 2. 11, 26.

c. 7. Nor was Brutus influenced by thirst for military renown. He was always willing to sacrifice himself for the sake of peace, and his moderation and patience formed a theme for praise with every one. Nor was there much more force in the suggested jealousy of the veterans. M. Brutus, like Decimus and the Consuls and Octavianus, was fighting for the liberty of Rome; and if either of the Bruti could be thought to be obnoxious to Caesar's soldiery, surely it was Decimus, for whose safety they were yet content to fight.

17. In pace iacere, 'the inactivity of peace,' as shown during the time that Brutus remained in Italy after Caesar's death.

numquam iacuit, neque hoc cadere verbum in tantam virtutis praestantiam potest. Erat enim in desiderio civitatis, in ore, in sermone omnium. Tantum autem aberat a bello, ut, cum cupiditate libertatis Italia arderet, defuerit civium studiis potius quam eos in armorum discrimen adduceret. Itaque illi ipsi, si qui sunt, qui tarditatem Bruti reprehendant, tamen idem moderationem patientiamque mirantur.

- 15 Sed iam video, quae loquantur; neque enim id occulte faciunt. Timere se dicunt, quo modo ferant veterani exercitum Brutum habere. Quasi vero quidquam intersit inter A. Hirtii, C. Pansae, 10 D. Bruti, C. Caesaris et hunc exercitum M. Bruti. Nam si quattuor exercitus ii, de quibus dixi, propterea laudantur, quod pro populi Romani libertate arma ceperunt, quid est cur hic M. Bruti exercitus non in eadem causa ponatur? At enim veteranis suspectum nomen est M. Bruti. Magisne quam Decimi? 15 Equidem non arbitror: etsi est enim Brutorum commune factum et laudis societas aequa, Decimo tamen iratiores erant ii, qui id factum dolebant, quo minus ab eo rem illam dicebant fieri debuisse. Quid ergo agunt nunc tot exercitus nisi ut obsidione Brutus liberetur? Qui autem hos exercitus ducunt? Ii, credo, 20 qui C. Caesaris res actas everti, qui causam veteranorum prodi 8 volunt. Si ipse viveret C. Caesar, acrius, credo, acta sua 16 defenderet, quam vir fortissimus defendit Hirtius: aut amior causae quisquam inveniri potest quam filius? At horum alter,

1. Neque cadere potest, 'it cannot apply to Brutus.'

3. Aberat a bello. Cp. Fam. II. 3, 4 (a letter from Brutus and Cassius to Antony) 'Nos in hac sententia sumus, ut te cupiamus in libera re publica magnum atque honestum esse; vocemus te ad nullas inimicitias, sed tamen pluri nostram libertatem quam tuam amicitiam aestimemus.'

4. Defuerit, &c., 'he has preferred disappointing the ardour of the citizens to involving them in the risks of war.' For the construction potius quam . . . adduceret see Madv. § 360. Obs. 4.

9. Veterani, 'the veterans of Caesar's army,' who might well dislike to serve under his assassin.

17. Decimo tamen, &c., 'yet those who mourned over the deed were more enraged with Decimus, in proportion as they urged that he had greater reasons for abstaining from the plot.' Decimus had all

along been a favourite with Caesar; he obtained from him the government of Cisalpine Gaul, and in his will was found to be named among the 'heredes secundi.'

20. Ii, credo: their readiness, at any rate, to confirm the measures of Caesar, and his grants to the veterans, is quite beyond suspicion; therefore why should the veterans object to M. Brutus, who was aiding them with all his might?

c. 8. Caesar himself could not have been more eager for the maintenance of his measures than A. Hirtius and Octavianus. Yet both of these were using all their energies in the cause of D. Brutus, and thereby virtually declared their trust in him and in Marcus. The latter too was deemed by C. Pansa—the eager supporter of the acts of Caesar, whose keen foresight would at once detect the slightest danger—to be the most important bulwark of the state.

24. Filius: his adopted son, Octavianus.

nondum ex longinquitate gravissimi morbi recreatus, quidquid habuit virium, id in eorum libertatem defendendam contulit, quorum votis iudicavit se a morte revocatum: alter, virtutis robore firmior quam aetatis, cum istis ipsis veteranis ad D. Brutum liberandum est profectus. Ergo illi certissimi idemque acerrimi Caesaris actorum patroni pro D. Bruti salute bellum gerunt, quos veterani secuntur; de libertate enim populi Romani, non de suis commodis armis decernendum vident. Quid est igitur 17 cur iis, qui D. Brutum omnibus opibus conservatum velint, 10 M. Bruti sit suspectus exercitus? An vero, si quid esset quod a M. Bruto timendum videretur, Pansa id non videret? aut, si videret, non laboraret? Quis aut sapientior ad coniecturam rerum futurarum aut ad propulsandum metum diligentior? Atquin huius animum erga M. Brutum studiumque vidistis. Prae- 15 cepit oratione sua, quid decernere nos de M. Bruto, quid sentire oporteret, tantumque afuit ut periculosum rei publicae Bruti putaret exercitum, ut in eo firmissimum rei publicae praesidium et gravissimum poneret. Scilicet hoc Pansa aut non videt—hebeti enim ingenio est—aut negligit: quae enim Caesar egit, 20 ea rata esse non curat; de quibus confirmandis et sancendis legem comitiis centuriatis ex auctoritate nostra laturus est. Desinant igitur aut ii, qui non timent, simulare se timere et 9 prospicere rei publicae, aut ii, qui omnia verentur, nimium esse timidi, ne illorum simulatio, horum obsit ignavia. Quae, malum! 18

1. Morbi. Cp. i. 15, 37; 7. 4, 12.

Quidquid virium. Cp. Livy 23. 9 'Iurantes per quidquid Deorum est;' and Hor. Epod. 5, 1 'At O Deorum quidquid in caelo regit.'

4. Quam aetatis. Cp. 4. 1, 3 'Sunt enim facta eius immortalitatis, nomen aetatis.'

12. Laboraret, 'would he not show anxiety?'

13. Atquin. So the Vatican MS. The rule, however, quoted by Wernsdorf from Muretus, that 'alioqui' and 'atqui' were written with a final 'n' when a vowel followed is not to be depended on. The form 'atqui' is frequently used by Cicero before a vowel, and those authors who employ 'alioqui' (which is not found till after the Augustan period, see Halm on Cic. de Legg. 2. 25, 62; Munro on Lucr. 3. 415), as frequently insert the 'n' before a consonant. It was probably purely euphonic, and arbi-

trarily inserted according to the writer's taste, though Hand ('Tursell. 1. 235) thinks that it is akin to the final 'n' of 'sin,' and intensifies the idea of opposition. That 'atqui' is the original form seems to be proved by the fact that 'atquin' does not appear in the writings of Plautus or Terence. (Hand. 1. 523.)

18. Scilicet, &c.: an ironical argument from a manifest absurdity, that Pansa could be neglecting the measures of Caesar, when he was actually preparing a bill, in obedience to the senate, for confirming them.

c. 9. Urging his hearers to lay aside unfounded fears, Cicero indignantly protests against subservience to the veterans. They were not the only people willing to fight for the cause of freedom; and it were better for the people all to die than to change that freedom for a slavery which they might avoid.

24. Quae, malum! &c. Cp. 1. 6, 15

est ista ratio semper optimis causis veteranorum nomen opponere ? quorum etiam si amplecterer virtutem, ut facio, tamen, si essent arrogantes, non possem ferre fastidium. At nos conantes servitutis vincula rumpere impedit, si quis veteranos nolle dixerit ? Non sunt enim, credo, innumerabiles, qui pro communi libertate arma capiant ; nemo est praeter veteranos milites vir, qui ad servitutem propulsandam ingenuo dolore excitetur. Potest igitur stare res publica freta veteranis sine magno subsidio iuventutis ? quos quidem vos libertatis adiutores complecti debetis, servitutis
 10 auctores sequi non debetis. Postremo—erumpat enim aliquando vera et me digna vox !—si veteranorum nutu mentes huius ordinis gubernantur omniaque ad eorum voluntatem nostra dicta facta referuntur, optanda mors est, quae civibus Romanis semper fuit servitute potior. Omnis est misera servitus ; sed fuerit quaedam necessaria : ecquodnam principium putatis libertatis capessendae ?
 15 An, cum illum necessarium et fatalem paene casum non tulerimus, hunc feremus voluntarium ? Tota Italia desiderio libertatis exarsit : servire diutius non potest civitas ; serius populo Romano hunc vestitum atque arma dedimus, quam ab eo flagitati sumus.
 20
 10 Magna quidem nos spe et prope explorata libertatis causam suscepimus : sed ut concedam incertos exitus esse belli Mar-

'Quae, malum ! est ista voluntaria servitus ? On the sentiment of the passage Mr. Forsyth (Life of Cicero, 2. 231) remarks that 'Cicero little foresaw that the time would come when the Praetorian guards would put up to auction the Imperial throne.'

8. Sine magno subsidio inventutis, 'without considerable reinforcements from the younger men ?'

13. Quae civibus, &c. Cp. 3. 11, 29 'Ut aut libertatem propriam Romani et generis et nominis recuperemus aut mortem servituti anteponamus ;' and Dem. Cor. p. 296, 14 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄξιον, εἰ μὴ μὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἔσονται τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

14. Fuerit quaedam necessaria, when Caesar was supreme. Cp. 1. 6, 15 note.

15. Ecquodnam, &c., 'do ye entertain the idea of ever beginning to assert your liberty ?'

16. Fatalem paene casum, 'that disaster which one might almost say was brought on us by fate.' Cp. 3. 11, 29 'Si

illa tulimus, quae nos necessitas ferre coëgit, quae vis quaedam paene fatalis, quae tamen ipsa non tulimus : etiamne huius impori latronis feremus taeterrimum crudelissimumque dominatum ?'

19. Hunc vestitum : the military garb. Cp. 8. 11, 32.

c. 10. *The struggle certainly was not without its risk, but no risk would be too great to run for such a prize, especially when Roman citizens were concerned : and on their side were all the men and all the forces worth considering, while Antony had with him only his abandoned brother and a crew of men like him, who merely wished to re-instate their ruined fortunes by seizing on the public lands.*

22. Martem communem. Cp. Fam. 6. 4, 1 'Omnis belli Mars communis ;' and Livy 5. 12 'Sergio Martem communem belli fortunamque accusante ;' with the Homeric expression ἐνὸς Ἑρῆλῆος, 'Ares deals his favours forth impartially.'

temque communem, tamen pro libertate vitæ periculo decer-
tandum est; non enim in spiritu vita est, sed ea nulla est omnino
servienti. Omnes nationes servitutem ferre possunt: nostra
civitas non potest, nec ullam aliam ob causam, nisi quod illae
5 laborem doloremque fugiunt, quibus ut careant, omnia perpeti
possunt, nos ita a maioribus instituti atque imbuti sumus, ut
omnia consilia atque facta ad dignitatem et ad virtutem refer-
remus. Ita praeclara est recuperatio libertatis, ut ne mors quidem
sit in repetenda libertate fugienda. Quod si immortalitas con-
10 sequeretur praesentis periculi fugam, tamen eo magis ea fugienda
videretur, quo diuturnior servitus esset. Cum vero dies et noctes
omnia nos undique fata circumstent, non est viri minimeque
Romani dubitare eum spiritum, quem naturae debeat, patriae
reddere. Concurritur undique ad commune incendium restin- 21
15 guendum. Veterani, qui primi Caesaris auctoritatem secuti *sunt*,
conatum Antonii reppulerunt: post eiusdem furorem Martia legio
fregit, quarta afflixit. Sic a suis legionibus condemnatus irrupit
in Galliam, quam sibi armis animisque infestam inimicamque
cognovit. Hunc A. Hirtii, C. Caesaris exercitus insecuti sunt:
20 post Pansae dilectus urbem totamque Italiam erexit. Unus
omnium est hostis: quamquam habet secum L. fratrem, carissimum
populo Romano civem, cuius desiderium ferre diutius civitas non
potest. Quid illa tætrius belua? quid immanius? qui ob eam 22

3. Nationes, 'all foreign nations;' like the Jewish use of the word *έθνη*.

10. Eo magis, &c. Cp. Hom. Il. 12. 322

ὃ πέπον, εἰ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε
φυγόντε
αἰεὶ δὴ μέλλοιμεν ἀγῆρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε
ἔσσεσθ', οὔτε κεν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρώτοις
μαχοίμην
οὔτε κέ σε στέλλοιμι μάχην ἐς κυδί-
ναιραν
νῦν δ', ἔμπης γὰρ Κῆρες ἐφ' ἐστῶσιν
θανάτοιο
μυρία, ἃς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτῶν, οὐδ'
ὑπαλῆξαι,
τοῖαν, ἥ ἐ τῷ εὖχος ὀρέζομεν, ἥ τις
ἡμῶν.

followed by Demosth. Cor. p. 258, 15
Πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἔπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ
βίου θάνατος, κἂν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν
καθεύδῃς τηρήῃ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας
ἐγχεῖρειν μὲν ἔπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν
ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίζον, φέρειν δ'

δ τι ἂν ὁ Θεὸς διδῷ γενναίως; and by Virg.
Ae. 10. 467

'Stat sua cuique dies, breve et irreparabile
tempus

Omnibus est vitæ: sed famam extendere
factis

Hoc virtutis opus;'

though Cicero goes beyond the rest in
deeming even immortality wretched if at-
tended with dishonour; reminding us of
the envy felt by Tennyson's Tithonus to-
wards 'happy men that have the power to
die.'

11. Dies et noctes, 'whole days and
nights;' not merely 'by day and night.'

15. Sunt is omitted in the MSS., the
later ones correcting the deficiency by the
improbable reading 'veteranique,' for 'vete-
rani, qui.' Halm restores it in italics, being
uncertain in what position it should stand.

16. Martia . . . Quarta. See 3. 3
notes.

causam natus videtur, ne omnium mortalium turpissimus esset M. Antonius. Est una Trebellius, qui iam cum tabulis novis redit in gratiam, Plancus et ceteri pares: qui id pugnant, id agunt, ut contra rem publicam restituti esse videantur. Sollicitant homines imperitos Saxa et Cafo, ipsi rustici atque agrestes, qui 5 hanc rem publicam nec viderunt umquam nec videre constitutam volunt, qui non Caesaris, sed Antonii acta defendunt, quos avertit agri Campani infinita possessio: cuius eos non pudere demiror, 11 cum videant se mimos et mimas habere vicinos. Ad has pestes 23 opprimendas cur moleste feramus quod M. Bruti accessit exercitus? immoderati, credo, hominis et turbulenti⁹ videte ne nimium patientis: etsi in illius viri consiliis atque factis nihil nec nimium nec parum umquam fuit. Omnis voluntas M. Bruti, patres conscripti, omnis cogitatio, tota mens auctoritatem senatus, libertatem populi Romani intuetur: haec habet 15 proposita, haec tueri vult. Tentavit quid patientia perficere posset: nihil cum proficeret, vi contra vim experiendum putavit. Cui quidem, patres conscripti, vos idem hoc tempore tribuere debetis, quod a. d. XIII. Kal. Ian. D. Bruto C. Caesari me auctore tribuistis; quorum privatum de re publica consilium et factum 20 24 auctoritate vestra est comprobatum atque laudatum. Quod idem in M. Bruto facere debetis, a quo insperatum et repentinum rei publicae praesidium legionum, equitatus, auxiliorum magnae et

1. Ne omnium, &c. Cp. de Prov. Cons. 5, 12 'Piso gloriatur se brevi tempore perfecisse, ne Gabinus unus omnium nequissimus existimaretur.'

2. Qui iam, &c., 'who is now becoming reconciled to the general abolition of debts,' which, before he himself became insolvent, Trebellius had strenuously resisted. See 6. 4, 11 note.

3. Plancus. See on 6. 4, 10.

6. Nec viderunt umquam: their introduction to Rome dates back only to the time when it was crushed beneath the tyranny of Caesar.

7. Avertit, 'perverts from loyally maintaining Caesar's acts.'

c. 11. *There was no fear of M. Brutus being too impetuous. His moderation was more to be feared, but all his wishes were subordinate to the authority of the senate. He deserved the same honours as Decimus and Octavianus, while some acknowledgment was due to M. Apuleius and Q. Hortensius;*

and therefore Cicero concludes by a formal motion, approving of the conduct of Brutus and Hortensius, confirming them in their commands, and giving to Brutus authority to levy money and supplies in the name of the republic.

11. Ne nimium patientis. The reading of the Vatican MS. is 'paenitentes'; whence most of the later MSS., followed by Halm, give 'paene patientis.' One MS. alone has the reading in the text, which is maintained by J. Frey (Rhein. Mus. for 1857, p. 631) to be the true one, the letters 'ene' in the Vatican reading being interpolated from 'videte ne' above. The sense is much improved by the omission of the 'paene.'

15. Haec habet proposita, 'these he has always set before him.' Cp. Att. 8. 2, 3 'Positas omnes nostras spes habemus;' and see on 5. 18, 50.

19. D. Bruto C. Caesari. See 3. 15, 37 and 38.

firmæ copiae comparatae sunt: adiungendus est Q. Hortensius, qui cum Macedoniam obtineret, adiutorem se Bruto ad comparandum exercitum fidissimum et constantissimum prae-
buit. Nam de M. Apuleio separatim censeo referendum: cui testis est
5 per litteras M. Brutus, eum principem fuisse ad conatum exercitus comparandi. Quae cum ita sint, quod C. Pansa consul verba 25
fecit de litteris, quae a Q. Caepione Bruto pro consule allatae et in hoc ordine recitatae sunt, de ea re ita censeo: Cum Q. Caepionis Bruti pro consule opera, consilio, industria, virtute
10 difficillimo rei publicae tempore provincia Macedonia et Illyricum et cuncta Graecia et legiones, exercitus, equitatus in consulum, senatus populi-
que Romani potestate sint, id Q. Caepionem pro consule bene et e re publica pro sua maiorumque suorum dignitate
consuetudineque rei publicae bene gerendae fecisse, eam rem
15 senatui populoque Romano gratam esse et fore: utique Q. Caepio 20
Brutus pro consule provinciam Macedoniam, Illyricum cunctam-
que Graeciam tueatur, defendat, custodiat incolumemque con-
servet, eique exercitui, quem ipse constituit comparavit, praesit,
pecuniamque ad rem militarem, si qua opus sit, quae publica sit
20 et exigi possit, utatur exigit, pecuniasque a quibus videatur ad
rem militarem mutuasumat frumentumque imperet operamque
det ut cum suis copiis quam proxime Italiam sit: cumque ex
litteris Q. Caepionis Bruti pro consule intellectum sit, Q. Hor-
tensii pro consule opera et virtute vehementer rem publicam
25 adiutam omniaque eius consilia cum consiliis Q. Caepionis Bruti
pro consule coniuncta fuisse, eamque rem magno usui rei publicae

4. M. Apuleio. From Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 4. 75, we learn that on the arrival of Brutus in Macedonia M. Apuleius handed over to him all the money which he held as quaestor, and all the troops under his command. Cp. the complaint of Antony, 13. 16, 32 'Apuleiana pecunia Brutum subornastis.'

7. Caepione. M. Brutus was so called in consequence of his adoption by his uncle, Q. Servilius Caepio. Cicero uses the name in his formal vote as being his strictly legal appellation. Hence it also appears on his coins, of which one is engraved in Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Biography*, with the head of Brutus and 'LEIBERTAS' on the obverse, and a lyre and the inscription

'CAEPIO BRUTUS PROCOS' on the reverse.

14. Consuetudineque. 'Que' is very seldom found in Cicero appended to a word ending in 's,' and perhaps would not have been so used by him except in a passage like the present, where legal phraseology is of more importance than euphonic rules.

21. Mutuasumat. Cicero more generally uses 'mutuari' for 'to borrow,' though 'mutuum dare' is with him the customary expression for 'to lend.' Cp. *Plaut. Aul.* 1. 3. 95 'Nam si mutuas non potero, certum est, sumam fenore.'

22. Quam proxime Italiam. Cp. *Att.* 6. 5, 3 'Exercitum habere quam proxime hostem.'

fuisse: Q. Hortensium pro consule recte et ordine exque re publica fecisse, senatuique placere Q. Hortensium pro consule cum quaestore prove quaestore et legatis suis provinciam Macedoniam obtinere, quoad ei ex senatus consulto successum sit.

3. Prove quaestore. The title of 'proquaestor' was sometimes given to a man who had been quaestor at Rome, and in the following year accompanied a proconsul to his province in the same capacity: but it more generally signified one who was appointed to the quaestor's office by the

governor in his province, either as an extra honorary officer, or to supply a deficiency in the number.

4. Quoad ei, &c., 'till some one be appointed by the senate to succeed him. Cp. 3. 15. 38.

/ x

INTRODUCTION

TO THE ELEVENTH ORATION.

TOWARDS the end of the year 44 B.C., Dolabella left Rome, in order to anticipate C. Cassius in occupying the province of Syria, in which he had supplanted him by the decree of June 5th. Being in great need of money, he endeavoured to supply his wants by levying contributions on his road, in Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia Minor. At Smyrna, about the end of February, he was excluded from the city by the proconsul, C. Trebonius, one of Caesar's murderers; but received a supply of provisions, and an escort to Ephesus, for which place he started after an apparent reconciliation with Trebonius. He returned, however, with the escort, and entering the city by night, he treacherously murdered the proconsul. If we may believe the account of Cicero, he previously tortured him for two days, and then treated his dead body with the utmost ignominy; but the former part at least of this statement is improbable. (See on c. 3, 17.)

When the news of this outrage was received at Rome, a meeting of the senate was immediately held, and Dolabella was proclaimed a public enemy. Whether Cicero took any part in the debate we have no means of knowing; but on the following day, when a second meeting was held to consider what provision should be made for the government of Syria, left vacant by the deposition of Dolabella, he delivered his eleventh Philippic oration. Two proposals had been made, one that P. Servilius should be sent out as proconsul, the other that the Consuls of the current year should themselves be appointed to the governments of Asia and Syria. To the latter proposal Cicero objected that they had already work enough on hand, in crushing the designs of Antony; to the former he opposed the technical objection that, as Servilius held no public office, it was not competent to the senate to appoint him to the command of a province.

He proposed to bestow the province on C. Cassius, to whom it had

originally been assigned, and who was already there, in arms against Dolabella. He acknowledges that Cassius was acting against the orders of the senate, but urges that he was really furthering the true interests of the state with energy and judgment; and that in a crisis like the present such patriotism should be encouraged without pressing too closely the letter of the law. The speech, which opens with a violent tirade against Dolabella, was unsuccessful, mainly through the influence of Pansa; and it was agreed, on the motion of Q. Fufius Calenus, to commit the charge of the two provinces to the Consuls, so soon as they should have ended the campaign against Antony. (Fam. 12. 7, 1.) Cassius however, as Cicero had predicted, took the law into his own hands, and assuming the government of Syria, shortly afterwards reduced Laodicea, into which Dolabella had thrown himself; and Dolabella, to escape falling into his hands, committed suicide. The text of this speech is in a less satisfactory state than that of the preceding ones, the Vatican MS. failing in the middle of the ninth chapter, and thenceforth only supplying us with fragments of the twelfth and thirteenth orations, containing 12. 5, 12;—12. 9, 23; and 13. 1, 1;—13. 5, 10.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER UNDECIMUS.

1 MAGNO in dolore, patres conscripti, vel maerore potius, quem ex crudeli et miserabili morte C. Trebonii, optimi civis moderatissimique hominis, accepimus, inest tamen aliquid, quod rei publicae profuturum putem. Perspeximus enim quanta in iis, qui contra patriam scelerata arma ceperunt, inesset immanitas. Nam duo haec capita nata sunt post homines natos taeterrima et spurcissima, Dolabella et Antonius: quorum alter effecit quod optarat, de altero patefactum est quid cogitaret. L. Cinna crudelis, C. Marius in iracundia perseverans, L. Sulla vehemens; neque ullius horum in ulciscendo acerbitas progressa¹⁰ ultra mortem est: quae tamen poena in cives nimis crudelis

cc. 1-3. *The death of Trebonius, grievous calamity as it was, might furnish a useful lesson to the state. Antony and Dolabella were twins in wickedness, and now that Dolabella had shown how far he could go beyond all previous precedents in cruelty, and had thereby given warning what they both were capable of doing, the sternest measures must be adopted in dealing with either of them. Each was an intruder in a province not his own. Antony indeed was checked in Gaul by D. Brutus, but in Asia Dolabella had made good his ground, having sent a ruffianly subordinate to prepare the way for him. He had followed up a treacherous show of friendship for Trebonius, by surprising his city and murdering himself, with all the aggravation of torture before and insult after death, and had then proceeded to play the tyrant in a triumphal progress*

throughout Asia. It were good for the senators to observe this well in all its horrors, for it was but typical of what Antony would do if he should be allowed to have his way.

1. Magno in dolore, &c., 'in the midst of my great grief, grief which I cannot control.' See on 9. 5, 12.

2. C. Trebonii. See the introduction to this oration. Trebonius was Consul in 45 B.C., and soon after Caesar's death, in which he took a prominent part, he went as proconsul to the province of Asia.

9. L. Cinna, &c. The introduction of Cinna and Sulla as examples of tyranny had now become a commonplace with Cicero; cp. 2. 42, 108; 5. 6, 17. For the sake of a rhetorical point he here ignores the indignity which Sulla practised on the remains of Marius, on which he elsewhere enlarges, de Legg. 2. 22, 56. Cp. Val. Max. 9. 2, 1.

putabatur. Ecce tibi geminum in scelere par, invisitatum, in-
 auditum, ferum, barbarum. Itaque quorum summum quondam
 inter ipsos odium bellumque meministis, eosdem postea singulari
 inter se consensu et amore devinxit improbiissimae naturae et
 5 turpissimae vitae similitudo. Ergo id, quod fecit Dolabella in
 quo potuit, multis idem minatur Antonius. Sed ille cum procul
 esset a consulibus exercitibusque nostris neque dum senatum cum
 populo Romano conspirasse sensisset, fretus Antonii copiis ea
 scelera suscepit, quae Romae iam suscepta arbitrabatur a socio
 10 furoris sui. Quid ergo hunc aliud moliri, quid optare censetis
 aut quam omnino causam esse belli? Omnes, qui libere de re
 publica sensimus, qui dignas nobis sententias diximus, qui po-
 pulum Romanum liberum esse volumus, statuit ille quidem non
 inimicos, sed hostes: maiora tamen in nos quam in hostem
 15 supplicia meditatur: mortem naturae poenam putat esse, ira-
 cundiae tormenta atque cruciatum. Qualis igitur hostis habendus
 est is, a quo victore si cruciatus absit, mors in beneficii parte nu-
 meretur? Quam ob rem, patres conscripti, quamquam hortatore 2
 non egetis—ipsi enim vestra sponte exarsistis ad libertatis recu-
 20 perandae cupiditatem—, tamen eo maiore animo studioque liber-
 tatem defendite, quo maiora proposita victis supplicia servitutis

1. Invisitatum, though only found in one of the later MSS. for 'inuitatum,' is upheld by Halm, as being the less likely word of the two to have been substituted by mistake, and as being more suited to the context. He compares Livy 4. 33 'Acies, inaudita ante id tempus invisitataque,' id. 5. 37 'Invisitato atque inaudito hoste.' In these passages, as in almost every passage where the word is used, the same confusion with 'inuitatus' has arisen. Cp. de Div. 2. 67, 138; Off. 3. 9, 38; Livy 5. 7 and 35; 35. 42.

3. Odium bellumque, as in the conduct of Antony when Dolabella was standing for the consulship (see 2. 31 foll.); and the proceedings of Dolabella after Caesar's death. See on 1. 2, 5.

10. Quid hunc, &c., 'wherein conceive you that Antony's plans are different? or if his plans and wishes are not of such a nature, what do you suppose is the reason why we are at war?'

13. Non inimicos, sed hostes, 'not merely unfriendly, but deadly enemies.' 'Inimicos' it might suffice to shun, 'hostes'

must be crushed.

15. Poenam, which is found in all the MSS., is placed by Halm in brackets, as though he thought, with Ferrarius, that death could scarcely be called 'poena naturae.' Cp. pro Mil. 37, 101 'Milo exsilium ibi esse putat, ubi virtuti non sit locus; mortem naturae finem esse, non poenam.' But Dolabella is represented as considering what kind of punishment will suit his purpose best, and rejecting the punishment of death, as coming naturally at some time on man. Since therefore it is as a punishment that it comes before his thoughts, it is only consistent to look on nature, who inflicts it, as a punisher. In the first clause 'poenam' is appropriate, as carrying on the notion of 'supplicia,' while without it in the second the opposition of 'iracundiae' to 'naturae' would be forced and artificial.

17. A quo victore, &c., 'who thinks that we should look on death as a boon, if when victorious he abstains from torture.'

19. Exarsistis, &c. Cp. 4. 6, 16 'Ad spem libertatis exarsimus.'

4 videtis. In Galliam invasit Antonius, in Asiam Dolabella, in alienam uterque provinciam: alteri se Brutus obiecit impetumque furentis atque omnia divexare ac diripere cupientis vitae suae periculo colligavit, progressu arcuit, a reditu refrenavit: obsideri se passus ex utraque parte constrinxit Antonium. Alter in Asiam 5 irrupit. Cur? si, ut in Syriam, patebat via et certa neque longa: *sin ut ad Trebonium*, quid opus fuit cum legione? Praemisso Marso nescio quo Octavio, scelerato latrone atque egenti, qui popularetur agros, vexaret urbes, non ad spem constituendae rei familiaris, quam tenere eum posse negant qui norunt—mihi enim 10 hic senator ignotus est—, sed ad praesentem pastum mendicitatis 5 suae, consecutus est Dolabella. Nulla suspitione belli—quis enim id putaret?—secutae collocutiones familiarissimae cum Trebonio complexusque: summae benevolentiae indices falsi exstiterunt in amore simulato; dexteræ, quæ fidei testes esse solebant, sunt 15

1. In alienam uterque provinciam. Cp. c. 12, 27 'In Macedoniam alienam advolavit.' These provinces had been assigned by Caesar to D. Brutus and C. Trebonius respectively, and though the people had apparently consented that Antony should have Cisalpine Gaul, this arrangement had not been sanctioned by the senate. See on 2. 13; 31, and introduction to the tenth oration.

2. Brutus, sc. Decimus.

4. Colligavit, 'has hampered the onset:' cp. Fam. 9. 17, 2 'Quid faciat tamen non habet, ita se cum multis impedivit;' and below, c. 11, 26 note.

6. Cur? si, &c. I have followed the reading of Halm, who adopts the conjecture of Lambinus, inserting the words 'sin ut ad Trebonium,' as though Cicero were discussing the only two possible reasons for Dolabella entering Asia Minor. He might be merely taking that road into his own province of Syria, which the senate had taken from C. Cassius and given to Dolabella after Caesar's death. To this suggestion Cicero answers that the way to Syria, which was generally reached by sea, was well enough known, and too short to admit of such a deviation. Or he might be going to join Trebonius, the legal governor of Asia, but in that case he would hardly have entered another man's province at the head of an army. Hence Cicero infers that there is no explanation of his conduct consistent with innocence of treasonable designs. And this inference was confirmed by his sending in advance an un-

scrupulous plunderer like Octavius. Orelli, rejecting the words inserted by Lambinus, stops the passage thus: 'Quid opus fuit cum legione praemisso Marso . . . egenti? qui popularetur agros, . . . mendicitatis suae. Consecutus est Dolabella nulla suspitione belli,' &c.

11. Hic senator, 'this upstart senator;' sc. Octavius.

14. Complexusque. According to the common reading these words belonged to the following clause, 'complexusque summae benevolentiae falsi indices exstiterunt in amore simulato;' which must either mean 'and embraces stood forth as false witnesses of the highest goodwill, whose love was wholly feigned,' or 'and embraces, false witnesses of the highest goodwill, were conspicuous amid the pretence of love.' Nipperdey (Philol. 3. 146), whom Halm follows, first proposed to transpose 'indices falsi,' and place the stop after 'complexusque,' so that the sense is, 'then followed the most intimate conversations with Trebonius, accompanied by embraces: the symbols of the highest goodwill proved false where love was only feigned.' S. Rau, by a somewhat more violent change, suggests 'Complexus, qui sunt mutuae benevolentiae indices, falsi exstiterunt,' &c., which agrees very well with the following clause. Prof. Conington suggests removing the colon after 'complexusque,' so that 'secutae' should be a participle, and 'falsi indices' the predicate of the sentence.

perfidia et scelere violatae: nocturnus introitus Zmyrnam quasi in hostium urbem, quae est fidissimorum antiquissimorumque sociorum: oppressus Trebonius, si ut ab eo, qui aperte hostis esset, incautus, si ut ab eo, qui civis etiam tum speciem haberet, miser. 5 Ex quo nimirum documentum nos capere fortuna voluit, quid esset victis extimescendum. Consularem hominem, consulari imperio provinciam Asiam obtinentem, Samiario exsuli tradidit: interficere captum statim noluit, ne nimis, credo, in victoria liberalis videretur. Cum verborum contumeliis optimum virum 10 incesto ore lacerasset, tum verberibus ac tormentis quaestionem habuit pecuniae publicae idque per biduum: post cervicibus fractis caput abscidit idque adfixum gestari iussit in pilo: reliquum corpus tractum [atque laniatum] abiecit in mare. Cum hoc hoste bellandum est, cuius taeterrima crudelitate omnis 15 barbaria superata est. Quid loquar de caede civium Romanorum? de direptione fanorum? quis est qui pro rerum atrocitate deplorare tantas calamitates queat? Et nunc tota Asia vagatur, volitat ut rex, nos alio bello distineri putat: quasi vero non idem unumque bellum sit contra hoc iugum impiorum nefarium. Ima- 20 ginem M. Antonii crudelitatis in Dolabella cernitis: ex hoc illa efficta est, ab hoc Dolabellae scelerum praecepta sunt tradita. Num leniorem, quam in Asia Dolabella fuit, in Italia, si liceat, fore putatis Antonium? Mihi quidem et ille pervenisse videtur,

1. Zmyrnam. So Halm, on MS. authority, here and pro Balb. 11, 28. Smyrna especially distinguished itself, in the war with Mithridates, for fidelity to Rome.

3. Si ut ab eo, &c., 'if by one who was in the position of an open enemy, he merits blame for want of caution, but if by one who even then maintained the semblance of a citizen, his fate deserves our unmixed pity.'

7. Samiario. Orelli (Onomast. Tull. s. v.) thinks that this word refers to the man's trade, 'a vendor of Samian pottery,' whence the late Latin word 'samio,' 'to polish with Samian stone,' but Garatonius, who first suggested this idea, doubts the existence of such a term in Cicero's time, as well as the propriety of mentioning the trade of the murderer in this passage. More probably it is the man's name. Appian (B.C. 3. 26) says that Trebonius was slain by a centurion directly he was taken; and neither he nor Strabo (14. p. 646) makes any men-

tion of the cruelty or treachery of Dolabella. Appian attributes the insulting treatment of the body to the hatred felt by the soldiers towards one of Caesar's murderers.

Exsuli. A play on the words, which is untranslatable, is perhaps intended here between 'consul' and 'exsul.'

10. Quaestionem, &c., 'tortured him to make him say where he had hidden the public money.'

13. [Atque laniatum]. These words are added in the Vatican MS. by a later hand.

16. Deplorare, 'sufficiently lament.'

18. Distineri, 'are kept away from him by pressure in another place': so better than 'detineri,' the reading of some MSS., which would merely be 'are kept employed.'

19. Hoc iugum. Cp. c. 1, 2 'Ecce tibi geminum in scelere par.'

23. Et ille . . . neque Antonius. So c. 2, 4 'Patebat via et certa neque longa.'

quoad progredi potuerit feri hominis amentia, neque Antonius ullius supplicii adhibendi, si potestatem habeat, ullam esse partem
 7 relicturus. Ponite igitur ante oculos, patres conscripti, miseram illam quidem et flebilem speciem, sed ad incitandos nostros animos necessariam: nocturnum impetum in urbem Asiae claris-
 5 simam, irruptionem armatorum in Trebonii domum, cum miser ille prius latronum gladios videret, quam quae res esset audisset: furentis introitum Dolabellae, vocem impuram atque os illud infame, vincla, verbera, eculeum, tortorem carnificemque Sami-
 10 arum: quae tulisse illum fortiter et patienter ferunt. Magna laus meoque iudicio omnium maxima; est enim sapientis, quidquid homini accidere possit, id praemeditari ferundum modice esse, si evenerit. Maioris omnino est consilii providere ne quid tale
 8 accadat, animi non minoris fortiter ferre, si evenerit. Ac Dolabella quidem tam fuit immemor humanitatis—quamquam eius
 15 numquam particeps fuit—, ut suam insatiabilem crudelitatem exercuerit non solum in vivo, sed etiam in mortuo, atque in eius corpore lacerando atque vexando, cum animum satiare non posset, oculos paverit suos.
 4 O multo miserior Dolabella quam ille, quem tu miserrimum
 20 esse voluisti! Dolores Trebonius pertulit magnos; multi ex

3. Ponite ante oculos, &c. Muretus thinks that Cicero is here imitating Aeschin. in Ctes. p. 76, *ἵ ἐπειδὴ τοῖς σώμασιν οὐ παρεγγεσθε, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε διανοαῖς ἀποβλέφατ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς συμφορὰς, καὶ νομίσαθ' ὅρῶν ἀλικομένην τὴν πόλιν κ.τ.λ.*

9. Eculeum. Of this instrument of torture, so often mentioned in the persecutions of the early Christians, we have no account in any writer of authority.

11. Est enim sapientis, &c. Lambinus compares a saying of Pittacus, *συνετῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶ, πρὶν γενέσθαι τὰ δυσχερῆ προνοῆσαι μὴ γένηται ἀνδρείων δὲ γενόμενα εὖ θέσθαι*. Compare also Tusc. 3. 14, 30 'Quoniam multum potest provisio animi et praeparatio ad minuendum dolorem, sint semper omnia homini humana meditata;' and Eur. Fr. Thes. 384

ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ σοφοῦ τινὸς μαθὼν, εἰς φροντίδας νοῦν συμφορὰς τ' ἐβαλόμην, φυγὰς τ' ἐμᾶντ' προστιθεὶς πάτρας ἐμῆς, θανάτους τ' ἄδρους, καὶ κακῶν ἅλλας ὁδοῖς,

ἴν', εἴ τι πάσχοιμ', ὧν ἰδέσθον φρενί, μὴ μοι νεωπὲς προσπεσὼν μᾶλλον ὀδοῖ.

16. Fuit. So Halm, following one MS., the others having 'fuerit.' The correction seems to be so plainly stated as a fact that the indicative is absolutely necessary.

19. Paverit. All the MSS. have 'pavit,' but the connection of ideas, as well as the rhythm of the sentence, seems to require that this clause, as well as the preceding one, should be dependent on 'fuit immemor.'

c. 4. *Even in his hour of triumph Dolabella failed, for he inflicted on himself the lasting agonies of remorse, a thousand times more hard to bear than the two days' torture which Trebonius underwent. He was moreover judged to be an enemy of the state, a far worse fate than death; and so, even in respect of their present condition, Trebonius might be deemed the happier man; even without setting his noble nature against the viciousness of Dolabella's character, which an unsuspecting trustfulness had hitherto prevented Cicero from discovering in a near connection of his own.*

morbi gravitate maiores, quos tamen non miseros, sed laboriosos solemus dicere. Longus fuit dolor bidui, at compluribus annorum saepe multorum: nec vero graviora sunt carnificum cruciamenta quam interdum tormenta morborum. Alia sunt, alia, inquam, 5 o perditissimi homines et amentissimi, multo miseriora. Nam quo maior vis est animi quam corporis, hoc sunt graviora ea, quae concipiuntur animo, quam illa, quae corpore. Miserior igitur qui suscipit in se scelus quam si qui alterius facinus subire cogitur. Cruciatu est a Dolabella Trebonius: et quidem a 10 Karthaginiensibus Regulus. Qua re cum crudelissimi Poeni iudicati sint in hoste, quid in cive de Dolabella iudicandum est? An vero hoc conferendum est aut dubitandum, uter miserior sit, isne, cuius mortem senatus populusque Romanus ulcisci cupit, an is, qui cunctis senatus sententiis hostis est iudicatus? Nam ceteris 15 quidem vitae partibus quis est qui possit sine Trebonii maxima contumelia conferre vitam Trebonii cum Dolabellae? Alterius consilium, ingenium, humanitatem, innocentiam, magnitudinem animi in patria liberanda quis ignorat? alteri a puero pro deliciis crudelitas fuit, deinde ea libidinum turpitudine, ut in hoc sit 20 semper ipse laetatus, quod ea faceret, quae sibi obiici ne ab inimico quidem possent verecundo. Et hic, di, immortales! ali- 10 quando fuit meus: occulta enim erant vitia non inquirenti.

2. Longus fuit dolor bidui at, &c. So Halm. Madvig (Jahn's Jahrbuch for 1856, p. 124) would stop the clause 'Longus fuit dolor. Bidui; at, &c.' He says that the mention of the definite and comparatively short period of two days is inappropriate in an objection urging the length of the sufferings of Trebonius; and that it comes in much more fitly in Cicero's answer: 'two days, I grant, he suffered, yet how many have been sufferers for many years;' but two days of incessant torture would generally be considered long enough.

7. Miserior igitur, &c. Cp. Plat. Gorg. p. 469 c: Πῶλ. σὺ ἄρα βούλοιο ἂν ἄδικεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἄδικεῖν; Σωκρ. βουλομένη μὲν ἂν ἔργῳ οὐδέτερον· εἰ δ' ἀναγκῶν εἴη ἄδικεῖν ἢ ἄδικεῖσθαι, ἐλομένη ἂν μᾶλλον ἄδικεῖσθαι ἢ ἄδικεῖν.

10. Regulus. The story of the mission of Regulus to Rome in 250 B.C., and his subsequent cruel treatment by the Carthaginians, is looked upon by many modern writers, and amongst others by Mommsen (Hist. of Rome, 2. 46), as an

the later Romans.

11. In hoste, 'in dealing with an enemy;' cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 541 'At non ille, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles Talis in hoste fuit Priamo:' and see Kritze on Sall. Cat. 9, 2.

17. Magnitudinem animi, in sacrificing all feelings of gratitude and private friendship, by sharing in Caesar's murder.

22. Meus, 'mine by every tie of kindred and affection.' He styles him 'meus' even after his divorce from Tullia, Att. 14. 15, 2 'O mirificum Dolabellam meum, iam enim dicam meum; antea, crede mihi, subdubitabam.' That Cicero's blindness to the notorious profligacy of Dolabella was wilful seems clear from the language used by M. Caelius, in his letter congratulating Cicero on his daughter's engagement (Fam. 8. 13, 1); in which he extenuates the vices which he cannot deny to have existed in the man. While Caesar lived, Cicero appears to have thought it useful to have a friend at court in the person of his son-in-law; and on his death there was a hope at first that Dola-

Neque nunc fortasse alienus ab eo essem, nisi ille nobis, nisi moenibus patriae, nisi huic urbi, nisi dis penatibus, nisi aris et focus omnium nostrum, nisi denique naturae et humanitati inventus esset inimicus. A quo admoniti diligentius et vigilantius caveamus Antonium.

- 5 Etenim Dolabella non ita multos secum habuit notos atque insignes latrones: at videtis quos et quam multos habeat Antonius. Primum Lucium fratrem: quam facem, di immortales! quod facinus! quod scelus! quem gurgitem! quam voraginem! Quid eum non sorbere animo, quid non haurire cogitatione, *cuius* 10 *sanguinem non bibere censetis?* in cuius possessiones atque fortunas 11 non impudentissimos oculos spe et mente defigere? Quid Censorinum? qui se verbo praetorem esse urbanum cupere dicebat, re certe noluit. Quid Bestiam? qui consulatum in Bruti locum se petere proficitur: atque hoc quidem detestabile omen avertat 15 Iuppiter! Quam absurdum autem, qui praetor fieri non potuerit, petere eum consulatum! nisi forte damnationem pro praetura putat. Alter Caesar Vopiscus ille summo ingenio, summa potentia,

bella would be serviceable as a check to Antony. Hence, even after his ill-treatment of Tullia, Cicero maintained a constant show of friendship towards him.

1. Nobis. So Halm for the Vatican reading 'bonis,' the two words being often confused in MSS. Cp. 3. 2, 4 note. The other MSS. have 'vobis.'

5. Antonium: because, as he said above, cc. 1, 2 and 3, 6, Dolabella had only proved more cruel than Antony from having had a better opportunity.

cc. 5, 6. *The guilt of Dolabella might serve as a warning against Antony, who was the more dangerous because of the desperate character of his followers. His brother Lucius was indeed the worst, but he had besides in his army men notorious in every way, who had violated every precept of political or moral probity. Outlaws, foreign upstarts, bankrupts, murderers formed the flower of his army, and they would eagerly have followed the example set by Dolabella, had not the senate wisely adopted the proposal of Calenus, and denounced him as a public enemy.*

9. Quem gurgitem! So he speaks of M. Antonius as worse than any Charybdis, 2. 27, 67.

10. Cuius... censetis? in are omitted in the Vatican MS., but the omission of the last word makes it appear as though a complete line had escaped the copyist, 'in'

being indispensable for the construction.

12. Quid Censorinum? The accusative may depend on 'habet,' to be supplied from 'habeat,' but it is more probably 'what say you of Censorinus? who was always saying that he wished to be praetor of the city, but has shown himself in fact unwilling so to be;' i.e. he had practically abdicated the office, by going to the camp of Antony, whereas it was illegal for the city praetor to be away from Rome. L. Marcius Censorinus was one of Antony's staunchest supporters, and through his interest gained the consulship in 39 B.C.

14. Bestiam. L. Calpurnius Bestia was one of Catiline's adherents. In 57 B.C. he was an unsuccessful candidate for the praetorship, and in the following year was prosecuted for bribery, and convicted, though Cicero defended him. Having thus failed in gaining the praetorship, he was ineligible for the consulship, in which he was hoping to supplant M. Brutus.

In Bruti locum, 'to fill the place which naturally would fall to Brutus.' The construction 'in locum' depends upon the idea of being elected, which is involved in 'consulatum petere.'

18. Alter Caesar Vopiscus. C. Iulius Caesar Strabo Vopiscus, having been curule aedile in 90 B.C., was brought forward by the aristocratic party as a candidate for

qui ex aedilitate consulatum petit, solvatur legibus: quamquam leges cum non tenent propter eximiam, credo, dignitatem. At hic me defendente quinquies absolutus est: sexta palma urbana etiam in gladiatore difficilis. Sed haec iudicum culpa, non mea
 5 est. Ego defendi fide optima: illi debuerunt clarissimum et praestantissimum senatorem in civitate retinere. Qui tamen nunc nihil aliud agere videtur, nisi ut intelligamus illos, quorum res iudicatas irritas fecimus, bene et e re publica iudicavisse. Neque
 10 hoc in hoc uno est: sunt alii in isdem castris honeste condemnati, turpiter restituti. Quod horum consilium, qui omnibus bonis hostes sunt, nisi crudelissimum putatis fore? Accedit Saxa nescio quis, quem nobis Caesar ex ultima Celtiberia tribunum pl. dedit, castrorum antea metator, nunc, ut sperat, urbis: a qua cum sit alienus, suo capiti salvis nobis ominetur. Cum hoc
 15 veteranus Cafo, quo neminem veterani peius oderunt. His quasi praeter dotem, quam in civilibus malis acceperant, agrum Campanum est largitus Antonius, ut haberent reliquorum nutriculas

the consulship, in violation of the 'Lex Villia Annalis,' as he had never held the praetorship. His election was prevented by the forcible intervention of the tribunes, and Cicero thus implies that Bestia could only bring forward one precedent for his illegal conduct, and that a precedent of failure.

1. Solvatur legibus. See on 2. 13 31.

Quamquam leges, 'and yet,' Cicero would say, 'a decree to this effect is hardly necessary, since the laws already prove too narrow to confine such singular merit.'

3. Sexta palma urbana. Cicero had gained his cause five times for Bestia; defeat in the sixth, in his trial for bribery, was hardly to be avoided. Such unqualified success would scarcely find a parallel even in the arena. That the defeat in question was already sustained is clear from the following words, 'illi debuerunt . . . retinere.'

6. Qui tamen, &c. In 49 B.C. Caesar procured the recall from banishment of most of the exiles, especially those convicted of bribery under the 'Lex Pompeia de Vi.' It is probable that Bestia, though convicted under an earlier statute, would take advantage of the grace thus offered to return to Rome; and Cicero, to whom this act of Caesar's had been most distasteful at the time, urges that Bestia at least was doing all he could to justify the severity of those who tried him, and to show how utterly mis-

placed was Caesar's clemency. It is probable that the recall was accomplished at the time by a decree of the senate, acting under Caesar's orders; but at any rate by ratifying all his measures after his death they had accepted the responsibility of what he did. Hence 'fecimus.'

13. Castrorum antea metator. In 14. 4, 10 he is called 'peritus metator et callidus, decempeda Antonii.' He was probably at first one of the workmen employed to trace out the camp under the direction of the centurions, on whom that duty devolved. See also on 8. 3, 9.

A qua, &c. Saxa had been hoping for a confiscation of the state lands, but as he, a foreigner, knew but little of Rome and its affairs, Cicero expresses a hope that his wish may prove ominous to himself,—that there may be a confiscation indeed, but of the lands so wrongfully bestowed on him. 'Yet since he is a stranger there, may the omen recoil on his own head without inflicting injury on us.' Some of the later MSS. have 'dominetur,' which is meaningless.

15. Cafo. See on 8. 3, 9.

17. Nutriculas, 'to nurse their other farms;' the certain profits from the rich lands of Capua covering all the risk and possible loss of their other estates; as he says of them de Leg. Agrar. 2. 28, 78 'neque istorum pecuniis quidquam aliud

praediorum. Quibus utinam contenti essent! ferremus, etsi tolerabile non erat, sed quidvis patiendum fuit, ut hoc taeterrimum bellum non haberemus.

- 6 Quid? illa castrorum M. Antonii lumina, nonne ante oculos
13 proponitis? Primum duos collegas Antoniorum et Dolabellae, 5
Nuculam et Lentonem, Italiae divisores lege ea, quam senatus
per vim latam iudicavit: quorum alter commentatus est mimos,
alter egit tragoediam. Quid dicam de Apulo Domitio? cuius
modo bona proscripta vidi: tanta procuratorum est negligentia.
At hic nuper sororis filio infudit venenum, non dedit. Sed non 10
possunt non prodige vivere, qui nostra bona sperant, cum ef-
fundant sua. Vidi etiam P. Decii auctionem, clari viri, qui
maiorum exempla persequens pro alieno se aere devovit. Emptor
tamen in ea auctione inventus est nemo. Hominem ridiculum,
14 qui se exserere aere alieno putet posse, cum vendat aliena. Nam 15
quid ego de Trebellio dicam? quem ultae videntur Furiae debi-
torum; vindicem enim novarum tabularum novam tabulam
videmus. Quid de T. Planco? quem praestantissimus civis,
Aquila, Pollentia expulit, et quidem crure fracto: quod utinam illi

desse video nisi eius modi fundos, quorum subsidio familiarum magnitudines et Cumanorum ac Puteolanorum praediorum sumptus sustentare possint.

5. Collegas, as 'septemviri agris divi-
dunia.' See 2. 38, 99 note.

6. Nuculam. See on 6. 5, 14.

Lentonem. Cp. 12. 9, 23. The
other two 'divisores' were Tiro and Mus-
tela. See 8. 9, 26.

7. Commentatus est, 'composed
mimes;' the word expressing rather the
inventive than the mechanical part of com-
position.

8. Cuius modo, &c., 'whose goods I
saw but yesterday exposed for sale, so great
has been the carelessness of the assignees.'
The emphasis is on 'modo,' the affairs of
Domitius the Apulian (of whom nothing is
known from other sources) having long been
desperate, though steps were only just now
taken to realize his property.

10. Infudit venenum, non dedit.
Some have taken this to mean, 'he drenched,
rather than dosed with poison,' as though
'infudit' expressed excessive quantity. It
is rather 'he mixed the poison for his
nephew, but did not administer it;' meaning
either that his resolution failed him, or that
he employed another's hand to carry out his

wickedness. Cp. Hor. Epod. 5, 77

'Maius parabo, maius infundam tibi
Fastidienti poculum.'

13. Pro alieno se aere devovit,
'made himself a martyr to his—debts.'

15. Qui se exserere, 'to think he
could escape the debts he owed to others,
by selling what was not his own.' 'Exse-
rere' is Halm's emendation for the Vatican
reading 'exercere,' for which the other MSS.
have 'exire.'

16. De Trebellio. See on 10. 10, 22.
Trebellius had made himself obnoxious
to the general body of insolvent debtors,
when he opposed the general abolition of
debts, 'novae tabulae.' Hence now that
his affairs have been reduced to such a state,
that his property appears scheduled in an
auction list, 'tabula auctionaria,' Cicero says
that 'the furies of the debtors now have
wreaked their vengeance on Trebellius; for
here a clearance catalogue asserts the rights
of clearance from our debts.' He has a
similar play on the words Cat. 2. 8, 18
'Meo beneficio tabulae novae proferentur,
verum auctionariae.'

18. T. Planco. See on 6. 4, 10.

19. Aquila. L. Pontius Aquila, one of
Caesar's murderers, was 'legatus' of D.
Brutus in this campaign, and perished before

ante accidisset, ne huc redire potuisset! Lumen et decus illius exercitus paene praeterii, T. Annium Cimbrum, Lysidici filium Lysidicum ipsum [Graeco verbo], quoniam omnia iura dissolvit, nisi forte iure Germanum Cimber occidit. Cum hanc et huius
 5 generis copiam tantam habeat Antonius, quod scelus omittet, cum Dolabella tantis se obstrinxerit parricidiis nequaquam pari latronum manu et copia? Quapropter, ut invitus saepe dissensi a
 Q. Fufio, ita sum eius sententiae libenter assensus. Ex quo iudicare debetis me non cum homine solere, sed cum causa dissidere.
 10 Itaque non assentior solum, sed etiam gratias ago Fufio: dixit enim severam, gravem, re publica dignam sententiam, iudicavit hostem Dolabellam, bona censuit publice possidenda. Quo cum addi nihil potuisset—quid enim atrocius potuit, quid severius decernere?—dixit tamen, si quis eorum, qui post se rogati essent,
 15 graviolem sententiam dixisset, in eam se iturum. Quam severitatem quis potest non laudare?

Nunc, quoniam hostis est iudicatus Dolabella, bello est per-
 sequendus. Neque enim quiescit: habet legionem, habet fugi-
 tivos, habet sceleratam impiorum manum; et ipse confidens,
 20 impotens, gladiatorio generi mortis addictus. Quam ob rem,

Mutina in the battle in which the Consuls Hirtius and Pansa fell.

Pollentia. A city of Liguria, (now *Polenza*, a place of no importance,) a few miles south of Turin, at the junction of the Stura and Tanaro. After his defeat at Mutina, Antony attempted to secure Pollentia, but found himself forestalled by D. Brutus. See *Fam.* 11. 13.

2. T. Annium Cimbrum. Cp. 13. 12, 26 'Philadelphus Annius.'

3. Graeco verbo. These words are probably a gloss, as the play upon the name Lysidicus, 'a breaker of the peace,' would be obvious enough to such an audience as the Roman senate.

4. Nisi forte iure, &c., 'unless a Cimber had a right to kill one germanely related to him.' Cimber being the name of a German people, Cicero plays upon the double meaning of 'germanus.' Halm compares Quint. 8. 3, 29 'Cimber hic fuit, a quo fratrem necatum hoc Ciceronis dicto notatum est: Germanum Cimber occidit.'

7. Saepe dissensi. See 5. 1, 1; 10. 1, 3. 12. Publice possidenda, 'should be confiscated to the state.' The expression would properly apply to any portion of the

state lands, which was either retained as a 'possessio populi Romani,' or reclaimed from the occupant to whom it had been assigned. Here its application is more general, to all the goods of Dolabella.

15. In eam se iturum, 'he would support the measure.' See on 3. 9, 24.

cc. 7, 8. *War with Dolabella was inevitable, and the only question that remained was who should be the general. It was proposed to give the post to P. Servilius, but the people had always looked with the utmost jealousy on entrusting private individuals with such commands, and thus virtually transferring the 'comitia' to the senate-house. The exceptions which might be quoted only proved the rule. The senate entrusted to Pompey the war against Sertorius only because the Consuls both declined it, and the extraordinary commission lately given to Octavianus did but legalise a military command which circumstances had already thrust upon him.*

20. Impotens, 'unable to control his passions.' Cp. *Hor. Od.* 1. 37, 10

'Quidlibet impotens

Sperare.'

Gladiatorio generi, &c., 'bent upon dying by a violent death.'

quoniam Dolabella hesterno die hoste decreto bellum gerundum est, imperator est diligendus. Duæ dictæ sunt sententiæ, quarum neutram probo: alteram, quia semper, nisi cum est necesse, periculosam arbitror: alteram, quia alienam his tem-
 17 poribus existimo. Nam extraordinarium imperium popolare atque ventosum est, minime nostræ gravitatis, minime huius ordinis. Bello Antiochino magno et gravi, cum L. Scipioni provincia Asia obvenisset, parumque in eo putaretur esse animi, parum roboris, senatusque ad collegam eius, C. Laelium, huius Sapientis patrem, negotium deferret, surrexit P. Africanus, frater
 10 maior L. Scipionis, et illam ignominiam a familia deprecatus est, dixitque et in fratre suo summam virtutem esse summumque consilium, neque se ei legatum, id ætatis iisque rebus gestis, defuturum. Quod cum ab eo esset dictum, nihil est de Scipionis provincia commutatum; nec plus extraordinarium imperium ad
 15 id bellum quaesitum, quam duobus antea maximis Punicis bellis, quæ a consulibus aut a dictatoribus gesta et confecta sunt, quam Pyrrhi, quam Philippi, quam post Achaico bello, quam Punico

1. Hesterno die. Hence it is clear that this oration was not spoken, as is often stated, (see Merivale, 3. 136; Forsyth, *Life of Cicero* 2. 233,) in support of the motion of Calenus, that Dolabella should be declared a public enemy; but it was delivered on the following day, when the senate met to consider what action should be taken in the matter, and especially who should be appointed to succeed Dolabella in the government of his province. Cp. c. 13, 29.

3. Cum est. The indicative marks the concession, that occasions not only may, but do occasionally arise, when such a step is necessary. Cicero had himself taken a leading part in such a measure when advocating the 'Lex Manilia,' giving Pompey the special command of the war against Mithridates; and more recently, when defending the measures of Octavianus.

5. Extraordinarium, 'out of due course.'

6. Ventosum, 'unsubstantial;' cp. Livy 42. 30 'Quosdam (ad novanda omnia agebat) ventosum ingenium, quia Perseus magis auræ popularis erat.'

7. Bello Antiochino, the war with Antiochus the Great, in 190 B.C.

9. Huius Sapientis, 'of Laelius the wise, so well known, so constantly spoken of, among ourselves.' From the peculiarity of this use of 'huius,' some editors would

read 'illius,' and some even substitute 'Laelii Sapientis patrem.' Kayser places 'huius' within brackets.

11. A familia, 'prayed that such disgrace might not befall his family;' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 1. 60, 157 'Is ullam ab sese calamitatem poterit deprecari?' Most of the later MSS. unnecessarily read 'familiae.' Livy (37. 1) represents the story somewhat differently, saying that the command in Asia was given to L. Scipio by a special decree of the senate, and so was 'extraordinarium,' in order that Africanus might once more be opposed to Hannibal, who was fighting in the army of Antiochus.

13. Id ætatis, 'though of such an age;' 'id ætatis,' 'id temporis' being sometimes used for the simple genitive or ablative, to signify the point of time; cp. Cat. 1. 4, 10 'Quos ad me id temporis venturos esse prædixeram,' and Madv. § 238.

17. A dictatoribus. The very office of dictator supplied a constitutional means of appointing a man to such a command as Cicero is now attempting to prevent; so that the mention of dictators virtually concedes the point at issue.

18. Philippi, Philip V of Macedonia, finally defeated by T. Quintius Flamininus in 197 B.C., after seventeen years of intermittent war.

Achaico bello, in 147 and 146 B.C.,

tertio: ad quod populus Romanus ita sibi ipse dilegit idoneum ducem, P. Scipionem, ut eum tamen bellum gerere consulem vellet. Cum Aristonico bellum gerendum fuit P. Licinio L. Valerio consulibus. Rogatus est populus, quem id bellum gerere 18
5 placeret: Crassus consul, pontifex maximus, Flacco collegae, flamini Martiali, multam dixit, si a sacris discessisset: quam multam populus Romanus remisit, pontifici tamen flaminem parere iussit. Sed ne tum quidem populus Romanus ad privatum detulit bellum: quamquam erat Africanus, qui anno ante de
10 Numantinis triumpharat: qui cum longe omnes belli gloria et virtute superaret, duas tamen tribus solas tulit. Ita populus Romanus consuli potius Crasso quam privato Africano bellum gerendum dedit. De Cn. Pompei imperiis, summi viri atque
15 omnium principis, tribuni pl. turbulenti tulerunt. Nam Sertorianum bellum a senatu privato datum est, quia consules recusabant, cum L. Philippus pro consulibus eum se mittere dixit, non pro consule. Quae igitur haec comitia? aut quam 19

terminating with the capture of Corinth by L. Mummius.

1. Ita . . . ut, 'though it selected for itself a suitable general, yet ~~because~~ that he should carry on the war as Consul.' See on 2. 34, 85.

3. Aristonicus was a natural son of Eumenes II, who claimed the kingdom of Pergamus on the death of Attalus III. As Attalus had made the Romans his heirs, Aristonicus was thus brought into conflict with Rome. He defeated the Consul P. Licinius Crassus in 131 B.C., but was taken prisoner by M. Perperna in the following year.

7. Remisit. As the fine was only threatened, it is hardly clear how it could have been remitted; but probably the explanation of Garatonius is correct, that L. Valerius appealed against his colleague's decision, which was only possible under the supposition that the fine had been inflicted, and that therefore the people, in confirming the claim of Crassus, necessarily confirmed the fine, and made it requisite to remit it, in order to exempt Valerius from payment. He compares the parallel case of an older P. Licinius Crassus, who similarly prevented the Consul Q. Fabius Pictor, as being Flamen Quirinalis, from taking the command in Sicily, in 189 B.C. In that case also the fine was threatened, an appeal was made, and the result, as given by Livy (37. 51),

was 'religio ad postremum vicit, ut dicto audiens esset flamen pontifici; et multae ex iussu populi remissae.' What made the conduct of the younger Crassus more oppressive was that he himself, as Pontifex Maximus, was no less bound to stay in Rome. See Livy, Epit. 59.

9. Anno ante. Numantia was taken 133 B.C., but the triumph of Africanus did not take place till the following year.

11. Tulit, 'only gained the votes of two tribes.'

14. Tribuni . . . tulerunt. But Cicero himself supported the proposal, in his speech de Cn. Pompeii imperio.

Nam Sertorianum bellum. And this, Cicero would imply, concludes the list of precedents, 'for the Sertorian war, which some might urge against me, was only given to a private citizen, because the Consuls would not undertake its conduct.' The private citizen was Pompey, then (in 77 B.C.) only an 'eques;' cp. de Imp. Cn. Pomp. 21 'Cum esset nonnemo in senatu qui diceret, "non oportere mitti hominem privatum pro consule:" L. Philippus dixisse fertur, "non se illum sua sententia pro consule sed pro consulibus mittere." The Consuls thus contemptuously set aside were M. Iunius Brutus and Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus.

17. Quae igitur, &c., 'what then is this election? or what this candidature for

ambitionem constantissimus et gravissimus civis, L. Caesar, in senatum introduxit? Clarissimo viro atque innocentissimo decrevit imperium, privato tamen: in quo maximum nobis onus imposuit. Assensus ero, ambitionem induxero in curiam: negaro, videbor suffragio meo tamquam comitiis honorem homini amicissimo denegavisse. Quod si comitia placet in senatu haberi, petamus, ambiamus: tabella modo detur nobis, sicut populo data est. Cur committis, Caesar, ut aut praestantissimus vir, si tibi non sit assensus, repulsam tulisse videatur, aut unus quisque nostrum praeteritus, si, cum pari dignitate simus, eodem honore 10
20 digni non putemur? At enim—nam id exaudio—C. Caesari adolescentulo imperium extraordinarium mea sententia dedi. Ille enim mihi praesidium extraordinarium dederat: cum dico mihi, senatui dico populoque Romano. A quo praesidium res publica, ne cogitatum quidem, tantum haberet, ut sine eo salva esse non 15
posset, huic extraordinarium imperium non darem? Aut exercitus adimendus aut imperium dandum fuit. Quae est enim ratio aut qui potest fieri ut sine imperio teneatur exercitus? Non igitur, quod creptum non est, id existimandum est datum. Eripuissetis C. Caesari, patres conscripti, imperium, nisi dedissetis. Milites 20
veterani, qui illius auctoritatem, imperium, nomen secuti pro re publica arma ceperant, volebant sibi ab illo imperari: legio Martia et legio quarta ita se contulerant ad auctoritatem senatus et rei

office which L. Caesar has introduced into the senate?' The 'comitia,' Cicero would say, not the senate, was the place for the election of officers of the state, and the only constitutional function of the senate in the matter was to apportion among existing officers their several spheres of duty. L. Caesar had proposed that P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, a man of consular rank, but at present holding no office, should be appointed proconsul, with the command of the war against Dolabella. Cicero himself was anxious to commit the conduct of the war to C. Cassius, who was already proprætor in Syria.

4. *Assensus ero.* For the omission of 'si,' in the hypothetical statement of alternatives, see *Madv.* § 442 a. Obs. 2; and cp. 13. 11, 25 '*Recesseris, undique omnes insequentur: manseris, haerebis.*'

7. *Tabella*, 'the voting tablet;' so that all the forms of a popular election might be duly observed.

10. *Pari dignitate*, 'of equal rank as

consulars.'

11. *Exaudio*, 'I hear it whispered.' '*Exaudire*' is 'to hear in spite of some obstacle,' and especially to hear what is not directly meant to be heard. Cp. *Cat.* 4. 7, 14 '*Sed ea quae exaudio dissimulare non possum.*' Here the implication is that the objection made is one which the objectors would hardly have ventured to utter in Cicero's own hearing, so as to allow him to expose its full absurdity.

15. *Haberet.* The subjunctive puts the case generally, so as to show that the case of Octavianus was one which fell under an acknowledged law. Cicero's first argument is that the merits of Octavianus were extraordinary; and besides, he urges that in his case the senate were not conferring, but continuing a command, so that the case was not parallel to that of Servilius, to whom no slight would be offered by letting him remain at home in the position which he at present held.

pulicae dignitatem, ut deposcerent imperatorem et ducem C. Caesarem. Imperium C. Caesari belli necessitas, fasces senatus dedit. Otioso vero et nihil agenti privato, obsecro te, L. Caesar,—cum peritissimo homine mihi res est—quando imperium senatus dedit?

Sed de hoc quidem hactenus, ne refragari homini amicissimo 9 ac de me optime merito videar: etsi quis potest refragari non modo non petenti, verum etiam recusanti? Illa vero, patres 21 conscripti, aliena consulum dignitate, aliena temporum gravitate 10 sententia est, ut consules Dolabellae persequendi causa Asiam et Syriam sortiantur. Dicam, cur inutile rei publicae, sed prius, quam turpe consulibus sit, videte. Cum consul designatus ob- sideatur, cum in eo liberando salus sit posita rei publicae, cum a populo Romano pestiferi cives parricidaeque desciverint, cum- 15 que id bellum geramus, quo bello de dignitate, de libertate, de vita decernamus, si in potestatem quis Antonii venerit, proposita sint tormenta atque cruciatus, cumque harum rerum omnium decertatio consulibus optimis et fortissimis commissa et com- mendata sit: Asiae et Syriae mentio fiet, ut aut suspicioni 20 crimen aut invidiae materiam dedisse videamur? At vero ita 22 decernunt, ut liberato Bruto: id enim restabat, ut relicto, deserto, prodito. Ego vero mentionem omnino provinciarum

4. Peritissimo, 'well-versed in law,' and therefore knowing all the precedents which possibly could bear upon the point.

cc. 9, 10. *To appoint the Consuls to the vacant provinces was inexpedient both for them and for the state. It would make the people imagine that they were looking after their own interests rather than the safety of D. Brutus, while it could hardly fail to divert some portion of their care from the measures to be taken for his deliverance. The state would suffer, because proceedings against Dolabella must necessarily be delayed; unless indeed they appointed a deputy, thus taking on themselves a responsibility which Cicero had shown to be too heavy even for the senate.*

8. Illa vero, 'the other of the two proposals mentioned above.' See § 16.

13. Sit posita, 'has been allowed to rest.'

16. Si in potestatem. One MS. has 'etsi,' but the asyndeton may very well be carried on throughout the clause.

19. Suspicioni crimen, &c., 'that we

may seem to have provided suspicion with a ground for accusation, or to have laid a foundation for unpopularity.' His meaning is more fully explained in the following chapter, that if the notion were entertained that Pansa was cognizant of the proposal, suspicion would immediately conclude that he wished to have the conduct of the war in Asia, in order to avoid the difficult and dangerous task of contending with Antony. It is true that the liberation of D. Brutus was still the first task assigned to the Consuls, but the fact that they had further duties laid upon them was likely to make them negligent in performing the first, and anxious to find excuses for abandoning it.

21. Id enim restabat, &c. Cicero disposes of the apology made for the authors of this proposal, that they would only send Hirtius and Pansa to Asia 'after Brutus was released,' by showing that the only alternative to his release was his desertion, abandonment, betrayal. If they had not used the word 'liberato,' one of the other three must necessarily have been appropriate.

factam dico alienissimo tempore. Quamvis enim intentus animus tuus sit, C. Pansa, sicut est, ad virum fortissimum et omnium clarissimum liberandum, tamen rerum natura coget te necessario referre animum aliquando ad Dolabellam persequendum et partem aliquam in Asiam et Syriam derivare curae et cogitationis tuae. 5 Si autem fieri posset, vel plures te animos habere vellem, quos omnes ad Mutinam intenderes. Quod quoniam fieri non potest, isto te animo, quem habes praestantissimum atque optimum, 23 nihil volumus nisi de Bruto cogitare. Facis tu id quidem et eo maxime incumbis, ut intelligo: duas tamen res, magnas prae- 10 sertim, non modo agere uno tempore, sed ne cogitando quidem explicare quisquam potest. Incitare et inflammare tuum istuc praestantissimum studium, non ad aliam ulla ex parte curam 10 transferre debemus. Adde istuc sermones hominum, adde suspiciones, adde invidiam. Imitare me, quem tu semper laudasti: 15 qui instructam ornatamque a senatu provinciam deposui, ut incendium patriae omnia omni cogitatione restingerem. Nemo erit praeter unum me, quicum profecto, si quid interesse tua putasses, pro summa familiaritate nostra communicasses, qui credat te invito provinciam tibi esse decretam. Hanc, quaeso, 20 pro tua singulari sapientia reprime famam atque effice, ne id, 24 quod non curas, cupere videare. Quod quidem eo vehementius tibi laborandum est, quia in eandem cadere suspicionem collega, vir clarissimus, non potest. Nihil horum scit, nihil suspicatur; bellum gerit, in acie stat, de sanguine et de spiritu decernat: ante 25 provinciam sibi decretam audiet quam potuerit tempus ei rei datum suspicari. Vereor ne exercitus quoque nostri, qui non dilectus necessitate, sed voluntariis studiis se ad rem publicam

5. Derivare, 'to divert into another channel,' 'to turn some portion of your thoughts and care on Asia and Syria.'

10. Ut intelligo. So Halm, from the reading of two MSS., 'intellego.' The others omit it. It must be borne in mind that in this portion of the orations the legitimate sphere of conjecture is somewhat enlarged, from the failure of the Vatican MS. See introduction to this oration.

16. Deposui. On the expiration of his consulship, Cicero first gave his colleague C. Antonius his province of Macedonia in exchange for that of Gallia Cisalpina, and then resigned this latter in favour of Q. Metellus Celer. See Fam. 5. 2, 3; and cp.

in Pis. 2, 5 'Ego provinciam Galliam senatus auctoritate exercitu et pecunia instructam et ornatam, quam cum Antonio commutavi, quod ita existimabam tempora rei publicae ferre, in contione deposui reclamante populo Romano.'

18. Quicum profecto, &c. This clause contains the proof, to Cicero's mind, that Pansa was innocent of all complicity in the proposal; for in any matter concerning his interests he would have been sure to consult so dear a friend as Cicero.

26. Tempus, &c., 'that time could have been spared for the consideration of such a matter.'

contulerunt, tardentur animis, si quidquam aliud a nobis nisi de instanti bello cogitatum putabunt. Quod si provinciae consulibus expetendae videntur, sicut saepe multis clarissimis viris expetitae sunt, reddite prius nobis Brutum, lumen et decus civitatis: 5 qui ita conservandus est, ut illud signum, quod de caelo delapsum Vestae custodiis continetur: quo salvo salvi sumus futuri. Tunc vel in caelum vos, si fieri potuerit, umeris nostris tollemus, provincias certe dignissimas vobis deligemus: nunc quod agitur agamus. Agitur autem, liberine vivamus an mortem obeamus: 10 quae certe servituti anteponenda est. Quid? si etiam tarditatem 25 affert ista sententia ad Dolabellam persequendum? quando enim veniet consul? an id exspectamus, quoad ne vestigium quidem Asiae civitatum atque urbium relinquatur? At mittent aliquem de suo numero. Valde mihi probari potest, qui paulo ante claris- 15 simo viro privato imperium extra ordinem non dedi. At hominem dignum mittent. Num P. Servilio digniorem? at eum quidem civitas non habet. Quod ergo ipse nemini putavi dandum, ne a senatu quidem, id ego unius iudicio delatum comprobem? Expedito nobis homine et parato, patres conscripti, 20 30 opus est et eo, qui imperium legitimum habeat, qui praeterea

3. Multis . . . expetitae sunt, 'have been objects of ambition to many men of the highest renown.' Halm reads 'a multis,' but 'multis' is the dative; see on 6. 1, 1.

5. Illud signum. So Halm, following Ernesti, and the parallel of the similar passage pro Scaur. fr. 48 'Palladium illud, quod quasi pignus nostrae salutis atque imperii custodiis Vestae continetur.' The MSS. have 'id signum.' For an account of the Palladium see Ov. Fast. 6. 419 foll.

12. An id exspectamus quoad ne, &c. Of the confused readings of the MSS., 'quo ante, quo, quo nec, quo ne,' the best two emendations seem to be that in the text, adopted by Halm, from W. Christ; and that of Lambinus, 'an id tempus exspectamus quo ne,' &c. Without 'tempus,' 'id' must either mean the coming of the Consul, implied in 'quando veniet,' or the circumstances defined in the following clause, the utter destruction of the cities of Asia. In either case 'quoad' would give a satisfactory construction, while 'quo' would be unintelligible. The conjecture of Lambinus gives the simplest sentence, but is a more violent interference with the MSS. In any case the sense is clear: 'is it that we are waiting till no vestige of the states and cities of Asia be left?'

14. De suo numero, 'of their own

rank,' 'some consular.' But Cicero points out that this is more objectionable than the former proposal; if it was undesirable that the senate should appoint a private citizen to such a post, how much worse was it that he should be appointed by the sole authority of the Consuls. The worthiness of the man appointed was beside the question.

16. Eum, sc., one more worthy than Servilius.

17. Putavi is the conjecture of Madvig, adopted by Halm, for the MS. reading 'putat.' With the common reading, 'ipse' is generally understood of Servilius, who, Cicero says (c. 9, 20), was unwilling to accept the office. The opposition however of Servilius and Cicero would be unmeaning, whereas the full force of each pronoun, as referring to Cicero, is clearly seen by placing the clauses in their natural order; 'am I a man to approve of a command being given by the decision of an individual, which I have myself held should not be given even by the senate?'

20. Qui praeterea, &c. Cicero acknowledges the importance of the crisis, that it requires a man of weight, reputation, and approved loyalty, with an army at his back; and therefore virtually admits that an extraordinary appointment might conceivably have been necessary; but he would maintain

auctoritatem, nomen, exercitum, perspectum animum in re publica liberanda.

- 11 Quis igitur is est? Aut M. Brutus aut C. Cassius aut uterque. Decernerem plane, sicut multa in consulibus, alterum ambosve, ni Brutum colligasset in Graecia et eius auxilium ad Italiam vergere quam ad Asiam maluissemus: non ut ex ea acie respectum haberemus, sed ut ipsa acies subsidium haberet etiam transmarinum. Praeterea, patres conscripti, M. Brutum retinet etiam nunc C. Antonius, qui tenet Apolloniam, magnam urbem et gravem, tenet, opinor, Byllidem, tenet Amantiam, instat Epiro, 10 urget Oricum, habet aliquot cohortes, habet equitatum. Hinc

that such a man would commonly be found among the Roman officers, and asserts that as a matter of fact there were at present two, most fully qualified, to choose between.

cc. 11, 12. *There were only two men really eligible for the post, both already holding office, and possessed of adequate abilities. These were M. Brutus and C. Cassius. And as Brutus had already work enough on hand in defending Macedonia against C. Antonius, a task which he had taken on himself, in his zeal for the welfare of the state, it remained to give authority to Cassius to act against Dolabella. For this authority indeed he had not waited, having gone to Syria in obedience to that insight into his country's true interests which justified a man in disregarding written laws. Cicero accordingly proposes that Cassius should have the government of Syria, with full authority to levy all the troops and money needed for the war with Dolabella.*

4. Sicut multa in consulibus, sc. 'decernuntur,' 'after the fashion of many decrees in the case of the Consuls, my proposal would be that Brutus and Cassius should take the command, one or both of them, as might be most convenient.' This is Halm's conjecture, from the reading of one MS., 'multa consulib.' To the same effect is the conjecture of Klotz, 'sicut multi consules,' 'as many do of the Consuls.' The common reading, 'sicut multa, consules alterum ambosve,' 'I should propose, following many previous decrees, that the Consuls, separately or together, take the command,' exactly contradicts his previous argument.

5. Ni . . . colligasset, &c., 'had we not bound Brutus to remain in Greece;' the word being apparently chosen for its opposition to 'expedito homine.'

6. Non ut ex ea acie, &c., 'not that we might have a place to fly to from that scene of action, but that the army there

might itself have something to support it from beyond the sea.' The meaning seems to be that Cicero does not wish the forces under Hirtius to entertain the idea of flight to Greece in case of failure, but only to feel that there were forces there which might support them if they were hard beset. Madvig (Jahn's Jahrbücher for 1856, p. 124), to bring this out more clearly, would adopt the conjecture of Ferrarius, 'non ut eo ex acie,' &c., 'Ex acie, quae in Italia contra Antonium instruat et pugnet, ad M. Brutum et in Graeciam respici non vult, ne in eo respectu fugae cogitatio lateat, sed ipsam illam Italicam aciem subsidio Bruti et Graeciae firmari.' For the use of 'respectus' cp. 10. 4, 9 'Respectum pulcherrimum et praesidium firmissimum.' Halm would strike out 'acie' and 'acies,' so that 'ea' and 'ipsa' should both refer to Italy.

9. Apolloniam, &c. Apollonia, Byllis, and Amantia were all in Illyris Graeca (see 10. 5, 11 note), and apparently, as well as Epirus and its port of Oricum, out of the jurisdiction of C. Antonius, even granting his right to the province of Macedonia. Ferrarius reads 'Illyricum' instead of 'Oricum,' urging, in addition to some MS. authority, that Cicero would not have so mixed up the names of towns and countries as to mention Epirus between Amantia and Oricum. But it seems more natural to introduce a chief town in Epirus after mentioning the province, than to return to Illyricum after passing to Epirus; while it is hardly consistent to say, 'he is pressing on Illyricum,' after stating that three of its cities were actually in his hands. Halm quotes the extant MSS. as unanimous in favour of 'Oricum.'

11. Aliquot cohortes. Seven, according to 10. 6, 13; but Cicero here suppresses the number, probably to make his forces seem of more importance.

si Brutus erit traductus ad aliud bellum, Graeciam certe amiserimus. Est autem etiam de Brundisio atque illa ora Italiae providendum. Quamquam miror tam diu morari Antonium; solet enim ipse accipere manicas nec diutius obsidionis metum ⁵ sustinere. Quod si confecerit Brutus et intellexerit plus se rei publicae profuturum, si Dolabellam persequatur, quam si in Graecia maneat, aget ipse per sese, ut adhuc quoque fecit, neque in tot incendiis, quibus confestim succurrendum est, exspectabit senatum. Nam et Brutus et Cassius multis iam in rebus ipse ²⁷ ¹⁰ sibi senatus fuit. Necesse est enim in tanta conversione et perturbatione omnium rerum temporibus potius parere quam moribus. Nec enim nunc primum aut Brutus aut Cassius salutem libertatemque patriae legem sanctissimam et morem optimum iudicavit. Itaque si ad nos nihil referretur de Dolabella per- ¹⁵ sequendo, tamen ego pro decreto putarem, cum essent tales virtute, auctoritate, nobilitate † summi viri, quorum alterius iam nobis notus esset exercitus, alterius auditus. Num igitur Brutus ¹² exspectavit decreta nostra, cum studia nosset? Neque enim est in provinciam suam Cretam profectus: in Macedoniam alienam advo- ²⁰ lavit; omnia sua putavit, quae vos vestra esse velitis; legiones

4. Accipere manicas, 'to put on his gloves,' and start on such journeys of his own accord, without waiting to be driven out by stress of war. These gloves are probably mentioned with contempt, to show the effeminacy of the man; cp. Pliny Ep. 3. 5, 15 'Ad latus notarius, cuius manus hieme manicis muniebantur, ut ne caeli quidem asperitas ullum studiis tempus eriperet.'

5. Quod si confecerit. Halm suggests 'quem si confecerit'; but the word may well be used without an expressed object, 'if he has finished his task,' as it is employed with reference to bargains; cp. Att. 12. 19, 1 'Confice de columnis.'

7. Adhuc quoque: in assuming the command of the legions of Vatinius. See on 10. 5, 12.

11. Quam moribus, 'than to the customary rules of conduct.' Cp. Off. 1. 10, 31 'Incidunt saepe tempora, cum ea, quae maxime videntur digna esse iusto homine eoque quem virum bonum dicimus commutantur fiuntque contraria.'

12. Nec nunc primum, &c. An allusion probably to their share in Caesar's death.

15. Tales virtute, &c. 'Aut summi

abundat, quod non credo, aut legendum summa; aut pro *tales*, tali, aut aliud mendum subest' (Faernus). That the passage is corrupt to some extent is admitted by all commentators, but it seems as though the fault lay deeper than in any single word, since the clause 'cum essent,' &c. hardly gives a grammatical explanation of 'pro decreto putarem.' 'Yet I should consider that we had as good as a decree, when there were found men of such surpassing merit in respect of birth, and influence, and valour, of whose armies one is already close at hand, within our cognizance, and the other is known to us by fame.'

19. Alienam. The province of Macedonia had originally been given to Brutus, but was transferred by the senate to M. Antonius after Caesar's death. This arrangement Cicero apparently acknowledges as valid, since it also constituted the title of Brutus to Crete. The subsequent transference of Macedonia to C. Antonius we have seen him repudiate (10. 5, 10 foll.). If by the term 'alienam' Cicero meant to signify the province of Hortensius, as Manutius supposes, he could not have talked of Crete as belonging to Brutus.

conscriptis novas, exceptis veteres; equitatum ad se abduxit Dolabellae atque eum nondum tanto parricidio oblitum hostem sua sententia iudicavit: nam ni ita esset, quo iure equitatum a
 28 consule abduceret? Quid? C. Cassius, pari magnitudine animi et consilii praeditus, nonne eo ex Italia consilio profectus est,⁵ ut prohiberet Syria Dolabellam? Qua lege? quo iure? Eo, quod Iuppiter ipse sanxit, ut omnia, quae rei publicae salutaria essent, legitima et iusta haberentur. Est enim lex nihil aliud nisi recta et a numine deorum tracta ratio, imperans honesta, prohibens contraria. Huic igitur legi paruit Cassius, cum est in Syriam¹⁰ profectus, alienam provinciam, si homines legibus scriptis ute-
 29 rentur, iis vero oppressis, suam lege naturae. Sed ut ea vestra quoque auctoritate firmetur, censeo: Cum P. Dolabella quique eius crudelissimi et taeterrimi facinoris ministri, socii, adiutores fuerunt, hostes populi Romani a senatu iudicati sint, cumque¹⁵ senatus P. Dolabellam bello persequendum censuerit, ut is, qui omnia deorum hominumque iura novo, inaudito, inexplabili scelere polluerit nefarioque se patriae parricidio obstrinxerit,
 30 poenas dis hominibusque meritas debitasque persolvat: senatui placere C. Cassium pro consule provinciam Syriam obtinere, ut²⁰ qui optimo iure eam provinciam obtinuerit; eum a Q. Marcio Crispo pro consule, L. Statio Murco pro consule, A. Allieno legato

1. Equitatum . . . abduxit. Cp. 10. 6, 13.

2. Tanto parricidio oblitum, stained with the murder of Trebonius.

7. Ut . . . haberentur 'on the principle that everything beneficial to the state should be considered lawful and just.' The dependent clause expresses that in which the justice of the matter shows itself; cp. Pers. 5. 98.

'Publica lex hominum naturaque continet hoc fas,

Ut teneat vetitos inscitia debilis actus;'
 and see Madv. § 374.

8. Est enim lex. Cp. de Legg. 1. 6, 18 'Lex est ratio summa, insita natura, quae iubet ea quae facienda sunt prohibetque contraria.' In both definitions Cicero is rather setting forth the principle on which law ought to be grounded, than the nature of law itself; and he was too good a lawyer and too practical a man not to know the utter confusion which would ensue, if every one were allowed to regulate his conduct by his own interpretation of the principles of the law of nature, instead of obeying his

country's laws. The real justification for the conduct of Cassius is not to be found in special pleading such as Cicero's, but in the generally admitted truth that in a great crisis the executive authority must set itself above the laws, and leave it to its fellow-citizens to judge whether the emergency required such unlawful conduct.

12. Ea . . . firmetur, 'that this law may be confirmed.' Halm, following Bake, reads 'firmetur,' as though 'ea' were 'the whole conduct of Cassius.'

15. Iudicati sint. 'Hesterno die,' c. 7, 16.

18. Patriae parricidio. See on 2. 7, 17.

22. Crispo. Crispus was properly proconsul in Bithynia, but had come to Syria to assist L. Murcus against Caecilius Bassus. They had both been adherents of Caesar, and had been sent out to the East as proconsuls without having previously held the consulate. Cassius gratefully acknowledges their support in a letter to Cicero, Fam. 12. 11, 1, written on the 7th of March, and therefore not received when this oration was delivered. In the same letter he says that the legions which

- exercitum accipere eosque ei tradere, cumque iis copiis et si
 quas praeterea paraverit bello P. Dolabellam terra marique per-
 sequi; eius belli gerendi causa, quibus ei videatur, naves, nautas,
 pecuniam ceteraque, quae ad id bellum gerendum pertineant, ut
 5 imperandi in Syria, Asia, Bithynia, Ponto ius potestatemque
 habeat, utique, quamcumque in provinciam eius belli gerendi
 causa advenerit, ibi maius imperium C. Cassii pro consule sit,
 quam eius erit, qui eam provinciam tum obtinebit, cum C. Cassius
 pro consule in eam provinciam venerit: regem Deiotarum patrem 11
 10 et regem Deiotarum filium, si, ut multis bellis saepe numero
 imperium populi Romani iuverint, item C. Cassium pro consule
 copiis suis opibusque iuvisent, senatui populoque Romano gratum
 esse facturos: itemque si ceteri reges, tetrarchae dynastaeque
 fecissent, senatum populumque Romanum eorum officii non
 15 immemorem futurum: utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter
 ambove, si eis videretur, re publica recuperata de provinciis
 consularibus, praetoriis, ad hunc ordinem primo quoque tempore
 referant: interea provinciae ab iis, a quibus obtinentur, obtine-
 antur, quoad cuique ex senatus consulto successum sit.
- 20 Hoc senatus consulto ardentem inflammabitis et armatum 18
 armabitis Cassium: nec enim animum eius potestis ignorare nec 22
 copias. Animus is est, quem videtis: copiae, quas audistis, fortes

Allienus brought from Egypt, at the request of Dolabella, had been given over to him, but we learn from Appian (4. 59) that this was not without resistance, so that Cicero's conviction that Allienus was anxious to abandon Dolabella (c. 13, 32) proved to be ill grounded.

3. Eius belli gerendi, &c. In this clause Cicero passes from the construction of the accusative with the infinitive to that of 'ut' with the subjunctive; cp. 3. 15, 37. The general construction of the clause is, 'and I move that for the purpose of carrying on this war he should have the right and power of demanding in Syria, Asia, &c., the ships, sailors, and so forth, with which it may seem good to him to carry on the war.'

9. Deiotarum - patrem. See on 2. 37, 93 foll. Deiotarus was a very old man in 54 B.C., but lived to join the side of Brutus and Cassius in 42 B.C. Both father and son received the title of king from Caesar. Cp. pro Deiot. 13, 36.

16. Re publica recuperata, 'when the state is re-established,' by the overthrow of Antony.

19. Quoad cuique, &c. Cp. 3. 15, 38. c. 13. *Such a decree would encourage C. Cassius and his troops, which even now were numerous. Besides the Roman forces at his disposal, he could command the assistance of the two Deiotari, those constant allies of the Roman people; and of the Phoenician fleet, which would willingly aid him in consequence of his exploits against the Parthians.*

22. Videtis. Ferrarius suggested 'vidistis,' with reference to Caesar's murder; a reading supported by Ernesti, from its agreement with 'audistis.' But the difference of tense naturally follows from hearing being a momentary, seeing a continuous operation of the senses; and they may fairly be said to 'see' the state of Cassius' mind, which Cicero had so clearly laid before them.

Fortes et constantes viri . . . sivistis. This is the reading of the existing MSS., except that one at Oxford has 'passi fuissent.' Madvig (Jahn's Jahrbücher for 1856, p. 124) thinks that something has fallen out, since even if we adopt with Halm the common emendation, 'fortis et constantis . . . sivistis,' there is an awkwardness first in recurring to the virtues of

et constantes viri, qui ne vivo quidem Trebonio Dolabellae latrocinium in Syriam penetrare sivissent. Allienus, familiaris et necessarius meus, post interitum Trebonii profecto ne dici quidem se legatum Dolabellae volet. Est Q. Caecilii Bassi, privati illius quidem, sed fortis et praeclari viri, robustus et victor exercitus. ³³ Deiotari regis, et patris et filii, et magnus et nostro more institutus exercitus: summa in filio spes, summa ingenii indoles summaque virtus. Quid de patre dicam? cuius benevolentia in populum Romanum est ipsius aequalis aetati: qui non solum socius imperatorum nostrorum fuit in bellis, verum etiam dux ¹⁰ copiarum suarum. Quae de illo viro Sulla, quae Murena, quae Servilius, quae Lucullus, quam ornate, quam honorifice, quam ³⁴ graviter saepe in senatu praedicaverunt! Quid de Cn. Pompeio loquar? qui unum Deiotarum in toto orbe terrarum ex animo amicum vereque benevolum, unum fidelem populo Romano iudi- ¹⁵ cavit. Fuimus imperatores ego et M. Bibulus in propinquis finitimisque provinciis: ab eodem rege adiuti sumus et equitatu et pedestribus copiis. Secutum est hoc acerbissimum et calamitosissimum civile bellum: in quo quid faciendum Deiotaro, quid

Cassius, instead of proceeding to enumerate his forces, and secondly in the omission of the names of Q. Marcius Crispus and L. Statius Murcus. His most plausible conjecture is, 'copiae quas audistis [primum eae legiones, quas Q. Marcius, L. Statius habent], fortes,' &c.

2. Familiaris, &c. It seems very doubtful whether this is the same man that was legatus of Q. Cicero in Asia 60 B.C.; and Cicero is so fond of claiming every man of any note as his very good friend that not much weight can be attached to such expressions of intimacy.

3. Profecto. So Halm, following the suggestion of W. Christ. The common reading is 'profectus,' but Trebonius was only killed in February, and Allienus, before the 7th of March (Fam. 12. 11, 1), had joined Cassius, while returning from a mission which Dolabella had given him to Egypt.

4. Q. Caecilii Bassi. Bassus was at this time entrenched in Apameia, having assumed the title of praetor in 46 B.C., and successfully resisted hitherto all the forces sent against him. On the arrival of Cassius in Syria, the troops of Bassus joined him, but Bassus himself was allowed to leave the country.

6. Nostro more institutus, 'organised according to our principles.' Cp. Att.

6. 1, 14 'Deiotarus habet cohortes quadringenarias, nostra armatura, XXX.' Orelli, following one early edition, reads 'instructus,' but all the MSS. have 'institutus,' and this is more appropriate, being the word that would signify the furnishing with principles, while 'instruere' would rather express the application of those principles to particular cases. 'Instituere est ad recte agendum dirigere, et quasi in honesta re monstrata statuere et collocare: *instruere* est ornare, et quasi apparare.' (Forcell. s.v.) Hence '*instituere exercitum*' is 'to organise the constitution of an army,' '*instruere*,' 'to prepare it for a particular campaign or battle.'

9. Ipsius aequalis aetati. Deiotarus had been the firm ally of Rome during all the wars with Mithridates, who first came in conflict with the Romans in 89 B.C.

11. Sulla, Murena, Lucullus, the conquerors of Mithridates in the three wars with him respectively. P. Servilius Vatia also found in Deiotarus a useful ally against the Cilician and Isaurian pirates, 78-75 B.C.

17. Finitimis provinciis. Cicero in Cilicia, M. Bibulus in Syria, 51 B.C. In both provinces operations were carried on with success against the Parthians, in Cilicia mainly by Cicero's brother Quintus, in Syria by C. Cassius as pro-quaestor; cp. c. 14. 35.

omnino rectius fuerit, dicere non est necesse, praesertim cum contra ac Deiotarus sensit victoria belli diiudicari. Quo in bello si fuit error, communis ei fuit cum senatu: sin recta sententia, ne victa quidem causa vituperanda est. Ad has copias accedent
 5 alii reges, etiam dilectus accedent. Neque vero classes deerunt: 25
 tanti Tyrii Cassium faciunt, tantum eius in Syria nomen atque Phoenice est. Paratum habet imperatorem C. Cassium, patres 14
 conscripti, res publica contra Dolabellam, nec paratum solum, sed peritum atque fortem. Magnas ille res gessit ante Bibuli, summi
 10 viri, adventum, cum Pacori nobilissimi ducis maximas copias fudit Syriamque immani Parthorum impetu liberavit. Maximam
 eius et singularem laudem praetermitto; cuius enim praedicatio nondum omnibus grata est, hanc memoriae potius quam vocis testimonio conservemus. Animadverti, patres conscripti, ex- 20
 15 audiavi etiam nimium a me Brutum nimium Cassium ornari: Cassio vero sententia mea dominatum et principatum dari. Quos ego orno? nempe eos, qui ipsi sunt ornamenta rei publicae. Quid? D. Brutum nonne omnibus sententiis semper ornavi? num

2. Contra ac Deiotarus sensit: Deiotarus having throughout taken the part of Pompey.

5. Classes. Cassius himself, in a letter to Cicero (Fam. 12. 13, 3) says he obtained what ships he could from the coasts of the province of Asia and the islands; and he speaks of the fleet of a namesake of his, probably his nephew L. Cassius, as being 'classis bene magna: 'ib. § 4. The prestige of Cassius among the Phoenicians was due to his prowess in the Parthian war, as quaestor to M. Crassus.

cc. 14, 15. To the charge of overpraising Cassius, Cicero answers that nothing would induce him to praise any who were traitors to the state; and he ends by a protest against a slavish subservience to the veterans, as if they were the only powerful body in the state, while he shows that even of the veterans it was only those that had espoused the cause of Antony whom the honours given to C. Cassius could possibly offend.

10. Pacorus was the son of Orodes I, king of Parthia, and entrusted by him with the command of the campaign against Cassius, after the death of Crassus. The reading of all the extant MSS. is 'Parthorum nobilissimos duces,' the reading in the text being from a MS. quoted by Ursinus. It is adopted by Halm in consequence of 'Parthorum' occurring again so soon, though he thinks that perhaps the right reading is

'Pacori, Parthorum nobilissimi ducis.'

11. Maximam laudem: his share in Caesar's death.

14. Exaudiavi. Halm reads 'exaudiri,' from a MS. reading 'exaudirui,' but with what sense it is not easy to see. The common reading is 'dici iam a quibusdam exornari,' the last word being found in three MSS., the remainder supplied by Naugerius. I have preferred, following Kayser, to strike out the 'r' in 'exaudirui,' believing that thus good sense is obtained with little recourse to conjecture, and that the words 'nimium Cassium,' which are found in all the MSS., though suspected by Garatonius and Halm (who places them in brackets), are justified. In c. 8, 20 he says he hears whispers ('exaudio') that he is guilty of inconsistency in having voted for conferring an extraordinary command upon Octavianus. So now, referring back to that, he says: 'I have again heard whispers, senators, that it is remarked that Brutus and Cassius are too much praised by me, nay that to Cassius my proposal gives absolute and irresponsible authority.' And the words in § 37, 'hoc enim vel maxime exaudio,' seem to refer to some more recent whispers than those about Octavianus. The suggestion of Naugerius seems to be confuted by the singular verb 'inquit,' in § 37, the subject of which must be the whisperer of this passage.

igitur reprehenditis? An Antonios potius ornarem, non modo suarum familiarum, sed Romani nominis probra atque dedecora? an Censorinum ornem, in bello hostem, in pace sectorem? an cetera ex eodem latrocinio naufragia colligam? Ego vero istos otii, concordiae, legum, iudiciorum, libertatis inimicos, tantum abest ut ornem, ut effici non possit quin eos tam oderim, 37 quam rem publicam diligo. Vide, inquit, ne veteranos offendas: hoc enim vel maxime exaudio. Ego autem veteranos tueri debeo, sed eos, quibus sanitas est: certe timere non debeo. Eos vero veteranos, qui pro re publica arma ceperunt secutique sunt 10 C. Caesarem, auctorem beneficiorum paternorum, hodieque rem publicam defendunt cum magno periculo, non tueri solum, sed etiam augere commodis debeo. Qui autem quiescunt, ut septima, ut octava legio, in magna gloria et laude ponendos puto. Comites vero Antonii, qui postquam beneficia Caesaris comederunt, con- 15 sulem designatum obsident, huic urbi ferro ignique minitantur,

3. Censorinum. See on c. 5, 11.

Sectorem, 'a broker,' 'a purchaser of confiscated property.' See on 2. 15, 39.

4. Naufragia, 'the other wrecks,' cp. 13. 2, 3 'Addite illa naufragia Caesaris amicorum.'

8. Ego autem, &c., 'now I grant that I am bound to respect the interests of the veterans, that is, the loyal ones; to fear them I assuredly am nowise bound.' Halm places only a comma after 'sanitas est,' as though 'eos' depended on 'timere,' but Cicero would not acknowledge any obligation to fear any of the veterans, while his following argument is all intended to show that even in the duty of respecting their interests there was a limit, since those interests might be forfeited by treason. Of the two adversative particles, 'autem' is opposed to the view of Cicero's conduct suggested by his opponent, 'sed' to the universal implied in 'veteranos.' 'He warns me not to give the veterans offence, but I am only anxious for their interests, yet not the interests of all, for it is only for the loyal that I need to care.'

11. Auctorem, 'who guaranteed the benefactions of his father,' undertaking out of his own resources to pay the legacies of Caesar, which Antony, though in possession of his money, had repudiated. Some MSS. have 'auctoritate,' which, if it mean anything, would mean 'encouraged by remembering his father's benefactions.' This however not only requires a very forced interpretation

of the ablative, but requires an awkward reference in 'paternorum,' which in that case would more grammatically refer to the fathers of the veterans than to Caesar.

12. Cum magno periculo. So most of the MSS., though some omit 'cum.' Halm reads 'vitae suae periculo,' from the reading of one MS., 'video epericulo.'

13. Septima. So the extant MSS. Orelli, following MS. authority quoted by Ferrarius, reads 'sexta,' on the ground that the seventh legion as a matter of fact was in the army of Hirtius. See 14. 10, 27. The discrepancy may however be owing to the difference of date, the fourteenth oration being delivered more than a month later.

15. Postquam . . . comederunt, &c. Cp. 13. 2, 3 'Alaudae ceterique veterani, seminarium iudicum decuriae tertiae, qui suis rebus exhaustis, beneficiis Caesaris devoratis, fortunas nostras concupiverunt.'

16. Ferro ignique. So all the MSS. here, and in 13. 21, 47. So too Halm, Cat. 2. 1, 1 'Huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem.' Cp. Sall. Cat. 49, 4 'Egredi-enti ex senatu Caesari gladio minitantur.' In the passage against Catiline some MSS., and in both those from the Philippics some editions have the accusative, but the ablative seems more natural of the instrument with which the threatened evil is to be inflicted. When the evil itself is expressed, it is put in the accusative, as in 6. 4, 10 'Dicitur mortem patri esse minitatus.' We find the two combined in Ov. M. 2. 199 'Volnera curvata minitantem cuspidē vidit.'

Saxae se et Cafoni tradiderunt, ad facinus praedamque natis, num quis est qui tuendos putet? Ergo aut boni sunt, quos etiam ornare, aut quieti, quos conservare debemus, aut impii, quorum contra furorem bellum et iusta arma cepimus. Quorum igitur ¹⁵ ³⁸ veteranorum animos ne offendamus veremur? Eorumne, qui D. Brutum obsidione cupiunt liberare? quibus cum Bruti salus cara sit, qui possunt Cassii nomen odisse? An eorum, qui utrisque armis vacant? non vereor ne acerbus civis quisquam istorum sit, qui otio delectantur. Tertio vero generi non militum veteranorum, sed importunissimorum hostium, cupio quam acerbissimum dolorem inurere. Quamquam, patres conscripti, quousque sententias dicemus veteranorum arbitrato? quod eorum tantum fastidium est, quae tanta arrogantia, ut ad arbitrium illorum imperatores etiam diligamus? Ego autem—dicendum est enim, ³⁹ ¹⁵ patres conscripti, quod sentio—non tam veteranos intuendos nobis arbitror, quam quid tirones milites, flos Italiae, quid novae legiones ad liberandam patriam paratissimae, quid cuncta Italia de vestra gravitate sentiat. Nihil enim semper floret; aetas succedit aetati. Diu legiones Caesaris vigerunt: nunc vident ²⁰ Pansae, vident Hirtii, vident Caesaris filii, vident Planci; vincunt numero, vincunt aetatibus: nimirum etiam auctoritate vincunt; id enim bellum gerunt, quod ab omnibus gentibus comprobatur. Itaque his praemia promissa sunt, illis persoluta. Fruantur illi suis, persolvantur his quae spopondimus: id enim ²⁵ deos immortales spero acquissimum iudicare. Quae cum ita ⁴⁰ sint, eam quam dixi sententiam vobis, patres conscripti, censeo comprobendam.

7. Qui utrisque armis vacant, 'who assume the arms of neither side.'

8. Civis quisquam. Madvig (Jahn's Jahrb. for 1856, p. 124) thinks there is an error here, as Cicero is not speaking of the veterans being 'acerbi,' but of Cassius offending them, for which purpose he divides them into three classes. He would substitute 'quoiquam' or 'cuiquam' for 'quisquam,' and some such word as 'nuntius' for 'civis,' and these alterations are adopted by Kayser. But in fact no alteration is needed, unless it be Halm's suggestion 'civibus,' for

in saying that there is no fear of any one of these veterans being virulent, he is merely expressing in other words that there was no fear that they should take offence.

11. Quousque sententias dicemus, &c. Cp. 10. 9, 18 and 19 and the note.

24. Fruantur illi suis, 'let us leave the veterans in possession of what they have already.' So Halm from a MS. reading 'illisues.' The common reading is 'fruantur his illi,' which is improbable, in consequence of the following 'his.'

INTRODUCTION

TO THE TWELFTH ORATION.

AFTER the debate in the senate which gave occasion to the eleventh Philippic oration, Cicero proceeded to the forum, and being introduced to the people there assembled by M. Servilius, a tribune of the commons, he told them what had taken place. According to his own account his eulogies on C. Cassius were received with immense enthusiasm, '*tanto clamore consensuque populi, ut nihil unquam simile viderim*' (Fam. 12. 7, 1), but the speech is unfortunately lost; so that the twelfth in our series of Philippic orations is really the thirteenth which he delivered.

The partisans of Antony were unceasing in their endeavours to remove the sentence of outlawry which had been decreed against him, and their efforts at this time were aided by the fears entertained by many of the friends of D. Brutus, that if he should fall into Antony's hands he would be treated like Trebonius. Accordingly the Consul, C. Pansa, was prevailed upon to propose that another embassy should be sent to Antony, including amongst its members P. Servilius and Cicero himself. The proposal was agreed to by the senate, apparently without much opposition, but on the following day a second meeting was held to consider some of the details, and then Cicero urged the senate to reconsider its decision, and give up all idea of such an embassy. He shows that a renewal of negotiations could not possibly do any good; that the ardour of generals, soldiers, and citizens alike would be discouraged by such vacillation; that Antony's treatment of the former embassy showed the hopelessness of endeavouring to make terms with him; and that if he were restored, his presence in Rome would make the place too hot for any honest citizens.

As regarded himself, he urges that he was the last man who should have been selected for the purpose, as the enmity between himself and Antony had gone too far to allow of any peaceful intercourse between

268 *INTRODUCTION TO THE TWELFTH ORATION.*

them. His presence would not only destroy the little chance that there was of the embassy proving successful, but would be attended with the greatest danger to himself, and he could much better serve his country by watching over its interests at home, than by throwing away his life in fruitless attempts at negotiation with his enemy.

The senate were prevailed upon by Cicero's arguments to abandon the project of an embassy, and Pansa shortly afterwards, about the end of March, left Rome with his army to join his colleague and Octavianus before Mutina.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER DUODECIMUS.

1 ETSI minime decere videtur, patres conscripti, falli, decipi,
1 errare eum, cui vos maximis saepe de rebus assentiebamini,
consolor me tamen, quoniam vobiscum pariter et una cum
sapientissimo consule erravi. Nam cum duo consulares spem
honestae pacis nobis attulissent, quod erant familiares M. Antonii, 5
quod domestici, nosse aliquod eius vulnus, quod nobis ignotum
esset, videbantur. Apud alterum uxor, liberi: alter quotidie
2 litteras mittere, accipere, aperte favere Antonio. Hi subito
hortari ad pacem, quod iam diu non fecissent, non sine causa
videbantur. Accessit consul hortator. At qui consul! Si pru- 10
dentiam quaerimus, qui minime falli posset: si virtutem, qui

cc. 1, 2. *Cicero had consented to the proposal of sending a second embassy to Antony, partly in deference to the opinion of Pansa, and of the two men who were most likely to know how Antony would receive it; partly from seeing that Antony's family and friends showed less confidence than usual. Reflection had proved to him that he was wrong. They had been deceived by ambiguous expressions, and there was really no reason to suppose that Antony was inclined to yield. P. Servilius had also acknowledged that he was wrong in consenting to go upon the embassy, and was even afraid that his consent should be interpreted as treason; and therefore Cicero urges the senate to reconsider their decree.*

1. Falli, decipi. From this beginning, as well as from the fact of his having been proposed as one of the envoys, we may gather that Cicero had been at first favourable to the idea of sending this second embassy to Antony. The general question had probably been already voted on, and he took

the opportunity of the names of the envoys being submitted to the senate to express his change of views. From cc. 2, 6; 7, 18 we learn that the other envoys proposed were L. Piso, Q. Fufius Calenus, L. Caesar, P. Servilius, and the Consul, C. Pansa.

2. Assentiebamini. So Halm from one MS. for the common reading 'assentiamini,' the mood being more suitable to the definite reference to Cicero himself, and the tense to 'saepe.'

4. Consule, C. Pansa. The two consulars are L. Piso and Q. Fufius Calenus.

6. Aliquod eius vulnus, &c., 'something which had befallen him, without our knowing it.'

8. Litteras mittere, &c. So in 7. 2, 5 Calenus is represented as Antony's active agent in Rome, receiving and circulating his despatches.

10. Qui consul! 'a Consul of what sort?' So better than 'Quis consul?' 'who was the Consul in question?' See on 1. 6, 13.

nullam pacem probaret nisi concedente atque victo: si magnitudinem animi, qui praeferret mortem servituti. Vos autem, patres conscripti, non tam immemores vestrorum gravissimorum decretorum videbamini, quam spe allata deditio, quam amici
 5 pacem appellare mallent, de imponendis, non accipiendis legibus cogitare. Auxerat autem meam quidem spem, credo item vestram, quod domum Antonii afflictam maestitia audiebam, lamentari uxorem **. Hic etiam fautores Antonii, quorum in vultu habitant oculi mei, tristiores videbam. Quod si non
 10 ita est, cur a Pisone et Caleno potissimum, cur hoc tempore, cur tam improvise, cur tam repente pacis est facta mentio? Negat Piso scire se, negat audisse quidquam, negat Calenus rem ullam novam allatam esse. Atque id nunc negant, postea quam nos pacificatoria legatione implicatos putant. Quid ergo
 15 opus est novo consilio, si in re nihil omnino novi est? Decepti, 2 decepti, inquam sumus, patres conscripti: Antonii est acta causa ab amicis eius, non publica. Quod videbam equidem, sed quasi per caliginem: praestrinxerat aciem animi D. Bruti salus. Quod si in bello dari vicarii solerent, libenter me, ut D. Brutus
 20 emitteretur, pro illo includi paterer. Atque hac voce Q. Fufii 4 capti sumus: 'ne si a Mutina quidem recesserit, audiemus Antonium? ne si in senatus quidem potestate futurum se dixerit?' Durum videbatur: itaque fracti sumus, cessimus. Recedit igitur a Mutina? 'Nescio.' Paret senatui? 'Credo,'
 25 inquit Calenus, 'sed ita, ut teneat dignitatem.' Valde hercules vobis laborandum est, patres conscripti, ut vestram dignitatem

5. Appellare mallent. So Halm, from an old conjecture formed out of the reading 'appellarem alieni.' Other MSS. have 'appellarent alieni,' which, if genuine, would imply that some word, opposed to 'pacem,' had dropped out before 'appellarent.' This seems not improbable, though the obnoxious word 'deditio' sufficiently accounts for the introduction of the parenthetic clause.

8. Uxorem **. 'Suspicio hic aliquid excidisse, quod sit ex eodem genere. Nimis abruptum est hoc: infra quidem (c. 2, 5) liberi commemorantur.' ERNESTI. Halm agrees with this view, and Kayser marks the lacuna.

In vultu habitant, &c., 'on whose countenance my eyes continually dwell.' Cp. Or. 15, 49 'Quonam modo ille

in bonis haerebit et habitabit suis.'

14. Pacificatoria, &c., 'committed to an embassy for making peace.' The word does not appear elsewhere.

18. Praestrinxerat, &c., 'had destroyed the keenness of my insight.' Cp. Div. in Caec. 14, 46 'Periculum fore ne . . . praestringat aciem ingenii tui.'

19. Vicarii, 'substitutes.' The word is more generally used of those who succeed to privileges, than of those who undertake burdens for others; but cp. Verr. Act. 2. 4. 37, 81 'Succedam ego vicarius tuo muneri;' and Livy 29. 1 'Se quisque excusare, et vicarium accipere.'

22. In potestate. So Halm from one MS. The others have 'in potestatem,' which he believes to be impossible. See 3. 4, 8 note.

amittatis, quae maxima est, Antonii, quae neque est ulla neque esse potest, retineatis, ut eam per vos reciperet, quam per se perdidit. Si iacens vobiscum aliquid ageret, audirem fortasse : quamquam—sed hoc malo dicere : audirem. Stanti resistendum
 5 est, aut concedenda una cum dignitate libertas. At non est integrum : constituta legatio est. Quid autem non integrum est sapienti, quod restitui potest ? Cuiusvis hominis est errare, nullius nisi insipientis in errore perseverare : posteriores enim cogitationes, ut aiunt, sapientiores solent esse. Discussa est illa caligo, quam paulo ante dixi : diluxit, patet, videmus omnia,
 10 neque per nos solum, sed admonemur a nostris. Attendistis paulo ante praestantissimi viri quae esset oratio. Maestam, inquit, domum offendi, coniugem, liberos. Admirabantur boni viri, accusabant amici, quod spe pacis legationem suscepissem. Nec mirum, P. Servili. Tuis enim severissimis gravissimisque
 15 sentiis omni est non dico dignitate, sed etiam spe salutis spoliatus Antonius. Ad eum ire te legatum, quis non miraretur ? De me experior : cuius idem consilium, quod tuum, sentio quam reprehendatur. Nos reprehendimur soli ? Quid ? vir fortissimus Pansa sine causa paulo ante tam accurate locutus
 20 est tam diu ? Quid egit nisi uti falsam prodictionis a se suspicionem depelleret ? Unde autem ista suspicio est ? Ex pacis patrociniio repentino, quod subito suscepit, eodem captus errore quo nos.

3 Quod si est erratum, patres conscripti, spe falsa atque fallaci,
 7

1. Amittatis . . . perdidit, 'you, by a mistaken policy, may lose your honour, that you may restore his, which he has wilfully cast away.'

4. Quamquam—. Cicero seems to imply that even if Antony were prostrate at their feet, it might be safer not to listen too eagerly to him, but he prefers to advocate the more generous policy in so improbable a contingency.

5. At non est integrum, 'but, I shall be told, the question is no longer open.' Cp. 7. 9, 26.

7. Cuiusvis hominis, &c. Cp. de Invent. 2. 3, 9 'Non parum cognosse, sed in parum cognito stulte et diu perseverasse turpe est ; propterea quod alterum communi hominum infirmitati, alterum singulari unius cuiusque vitio est attributum.'

9. Ut aiunt. The proverb is found in

Eur. Hipp. 436, and Cress. fr. 410

al δεινὸν πῶς φροντίζεις σφάτεραι.

12. Maestam . . . suscepissem. A quotation from the speech of P. Servilius, which seems to be referred to above, c. 1, 2.

15. P. Servili. See on 7. 9, 27. Severissimis. So Halm, from an older conjecture, confirmed by 5. 1, 3 ; 11. 6, 15 ; for the MS. reading 'verissimis.'

18. Cuius idem, &c., 'knowing how much I am blamed for a course of conduct like your own.'

cc. 3, 4. A second embassy could not possibly do good, and might do endless harm : offending and discouraging all the loyal citizens, both of Rome and of the borough towns, and especially the legions now engaged against Antony, and the inhabitants of Capua, who had forcibly excluded him as a rebel

redeamus in viam. Optimus est portus paenitenti mutatio consilii. Quid enim potest, per deos immortales! rei publicae prodesse nostra legatio? prodesse dico? quid, si etiam obfutura est? obfutura? quid, si iam nocuit atque obfuit? An vos acerrimam illam et fortissimam populi Romani libertatis recuperandae cupiditatem non imminutam ac debilitatam putatis legatione pacis audita? Quid municipia censetis? quid colonias? quid cunctam Italiam? futuram eodem studio, quo contra commune incendium exarserat? An non putamus fore ut eos paeniteat
 10 professos esse et prae se tulisse odium in Antonium, qui pecunias polliciti sunt, qui arma, qui se totos et animis et corporibus in salutem rei publicae contulerunt? Quem ad modum nostrum hoc consilium Capua probabit, quae temporibus his Roma altera est? Illa impios cives iudicavit, eiecit, exclusit. Illi, illi,
 15 inquam, urbi fortissime conanti e manibus est ereptus Antonius. Quid? legionumstrarum nervos nonne his consiliis incidimus? quis est enim qui ad bellum inflammato animo futurus sit spe pacis oblata? Ipsa illa Martia caelestis et divina legio hoc nuntio languescet et mollietur atque illud pulcherrimum Martium
 20 nomen amittet: excident gladii, fluent arma de manibus. Senatum enim secuta non arbitrabitur se graviore odio debere esse in Antonium quam senatum. Pudet huius legionis, pudet quartae, quae pari virtute nostram auctoritatem probans non ut consulem et imperatorem suum, sed ut hostem et oppugna-
 25 torem patriae reliquit Antonium: pudet optimi exercitus, qui coniunctus est ex duobus; qui iam lustratus, qui profectus ad Mutinam est: qui si pacis, id est timoris nostri, nomen audierit,

from their city. It was moreover most unfair to open a negotiation for peace without the concurrence of the generals who were carrying on the war, and of their allies in Gaul, who were joining in it heart and soul.

3. Obfutura? 'do I speak of the future?' As in the former clause he rejected the idea of the embassy doing good, so here he corrects himself for telling of its evil consequences in the future tense.

14. Impios cives, &c. These were the new colonists whom Antony tried to settle in the territory of Capua, and whom the Capuans succeeded in rejecting both by force of law and, apparently, by force of

arms. Cp. 2. 39, 100 foll.

Illi, illi, &c., 'from the strenuous efforts of that city, aye, of Capua, it required force to rescue Antony;' cp. 2. l. c.: 'Quem admodum illinc abieris, vel potius paene non abieris, scimus.'

18. Martia. Cp. 3. 3, 6.

22. Huius legionis, &c., 'we feel shame in the presence of this legion, and the fourth.' See on 2. 25, 61.

26. Ex duobus: the army of Hirtius, who had been joined by the forces under Octavianus.

Lustratus, 'has been solemnly purified,' as was always done before an army took the field.

ut non referat pedem, insistet certe. Quid enim revocante
 4 et receptui canente senatu properet dimicare? Quid autem
 9 hoc iniustius, quam nos inscientibus iis, qui bellum gerunt,
 de pace decernere? nec solum inscientibus, sed etiam invitis?
 An vos A. Hirtium, praeclarissimum consulem, C. Caesarem, 5
 deorum beneficio natum ad haec tempora, quorum epistolas
 spem victoriae declarantes in manu teneo, pacem velle cen-
 setis? Vincere illi expetunt pacisque dulcissimum et pulcher-
 rimum nomen non pactione, sed victoria concupiverunt. Quid?
 Galliam quo tandem animo hanc rem audituram putatis? illa 10
 enim huius belli propulsandi, administrandi, sustinendi princi-
 patum tenet. Gallia D. Bruti nutum ipsum, ne dicam im-
 perium, secuta armis, viris, pecunia belli principia firmavit:
 eadem crudelitati M. Antonii suum totum corpus obiecit: ex-
 hauritur, vastatur, uritur: omnes aequo animo belli patitur 15
 10 iniurias, dum modo repellat periculum servitutis. Et ut omittam
 reliquas partes Galliae—nam sunt omnes pares—, Patavini
 alios excluserunt, alios eiecerunt missos ab Antonio: pecunia,
 militibus et, quod maxime deerat, armis nostros duces adiu-
 verunt. Fecerunt idem reliqui, qui quondam in eadem causa 20
 erant et propter multorum annorum iniurias alienati a senatu
 putabantur: quos minime mirum est, communicata cum iis
 re publica, fideles esse, qui etiam expertes eius fidem suam
 semper praestiterunt. His igitur omnibus victoriam sperantibus
 pacis nomen afferemus, id est desperationem victoriae? 25
 5 Quid? si ne potest quidem ulla esse pax? Quae enim est

11

1. Ut non referat pedem, 'even supposing it does not retreat.' See Madv. § 440 a. Obs. 4.

20. Qui quondam, &c., 'who in former days were in the same position as Padua.' From the time of the first subjugation of the Boii in 191 B.C., the district of Gaul had been oppressed by the cruelty of one Roman governor after another, till the time of the Social War. As a reward for their fidelity in this war the 'ius Latii' was given to the Transpadani in 89 B.C., and most probably the 'civitas' to the Cispadani at the same time; as afterwards we hear of their playing an important part in Roman elections (see Att. I. 1, 2, B.C. 65, 'Videtur in suffragiis multum posse Gallia'); and we know of no occasion between these dates for giving them new privileges.

22. Communicata cum iis repub-

lica, 'when they received a share in the franchise.'

cc. 5, 6. Antony had treated with contempt all overtures of peace even while it still was possible; before he had passed beyond all bounds in his demands, and before the senate had branded him as a forger and a thief. His laws indeed had been annulled, but the remembrances of them and of his violence remained; and so far from giving him the province of Further Gaul, the senate, if they consulted the welfare and the dignity of the people, would not let either him or his supporters even enter the city with any semblance of a triumph. If they returned, the only choice for honest men would lie between slavery and death; and it was most inconsistent and undignified in them to place themselves in such a strait.

conditio pacis, in qua ei, cum quo pacem facias, nihil concedi potest? Multis rebus a nobis est invitatus ad pacem Antonius: bellum tamen maluit. Missi legati repugnante me, sed tamen missi; delata mandata: non paruit. Denuntiaturum est ne Brutum obsideret, a Mutina discederet: oppugnavit etiam vehementius. Et ad eum legatos de pace mittemus, qui pacis nuntios repudiavit? Verecundioresne coram putamus in postulando fore, quam fuerit tum, cum misit mandata ad senatum? Atqui tum ea petebat, quae videbantur improba omnino, sed tamen aliquo modo posse concedi; nondum erat vestris tam gravibus tamque multis iudiciis ignominiisque concisus: nunc ea petit, quae dare nullo modo possumus, nisi prius volumus bello nos victos confiteri. Senatus consulta falsa delata ab eo iudicavimus: num ea vera possumus iudicare? Leges statuimus per vim et contra auspicia latas iisque nec populum nec plebem teneri: num eas restitui posse censetis? Sestertium septiens miliens avertisse Antonium pecuniae publicae iudicavistis: num fraude poterit carere peculatus? Immunitates ab eo civitatibus, sacerdotia, regna venierunt: num figentur rursus eae tabulae, quas vos decretis vestris refixistis? Quod si ea, quae decrevimus, obruere, num etiam memoriam rerum delere possumus? quando enim obliviscetur ulla posteritas, cuius scelere in hac vestitus foeditate fuerimus? Ut centurionum legionis Martiae Brundisii

6. Pacis nuntios. He uses the term 'nuntios,' as though in correction of his former expression, 'missi legati,' to carry out consistently the view he had before maintained, (see 7. 9, 26,) that the previous commissioners were not sent to treat with Antony, but merely to convey to him the ultimatum of the senate, and if he rejected that, to declare him a public enemy.

7. Coram, 'in a personal interview.'

9. Improba omnino, 'quite unconscionable.'

10. Tam gravibus. So Halm, from one MS., for 'tam gravissimis,' on the ground that 'tam' is not so used with superlatives. In two passages quoted by Graevius, de Am. 23, 86, and Fin. 2. 28, 93, there appears to be no MS. authority for the reading; and in Tac. Ann. 1. 53 'Nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa,' 'intima' is virtually equivalent to a positive.

13. Senatus consulta falsa, &c. See 5. 4, 10—12 notes.

18. Peculatus, 'embezzlement of public money.'

Ab eo venierunt. For the ablative of the agent after 'veneo,' cp. Quint. 12. 1, 43 'Respondit, a cive se spoliari malle, quam ab hoste venire.'

19. Figentur rursus. Cp. 5. 4, 12 'Earum rerum falsae tabulae gemente populo Romano toto Capitolio figebantur.' These measures were all cancelled by the senate on the 1st of January, *ib.* 6, 16.

21. Obruere. Some MSS. have 'obruere volumus,' but this gives a false antithesis, laying the emphasis on the contrast between the wish and the power of the senate, instead of on the difference between stultifying their former measures, and making the world forget what had taken place. The one was possible, though inexpedient, the other quite beyond their power.

22. Vestitus foeditate. They were still wearing the 'sagum,' the melancholy witness of a civil war. Cp. 8. 11, 32.

profusus sanguis eluatur, num elui praedicatio crudelitatis potest? Ut media praeteream, quae vetustas tollet operum circum Mutinam taetra monimenta, sceleris indicia latrociniique vestigia? Huic igitur importuno atque impuro parricidae quid habemus, per deos immortales! quod remittamus? An Galliam ultimam et exercitum? quid est aliud non pacem facere, sed differre bellum? nec solum propagare bellum, sed concedere etiam victoriam? An ille non vicerit, si quacumque conditione in hanc urbem cum suis venerit? Armis nunc omnia tenemus; auctoritate valemus plurimum; absunt tot perditii cives, nefarium secuti ducem: tamen eorum ora sermonesque, qui in urbe ex eo numero relictii sunt, ferre non possumus. Quid censetis? cum tot uno tempore irruerint, nos arma posuerimus, illi non deposuerint, nonne nos nostris consiliis victos in perpetuum fore? Ponite ante oculos M. Antonium consularem; sperantem consulationum Lucium adiungite; supplete ceteros, neque nostri ordinis solum, honores et imperia meditantes; nolite ne Tirones quidem, Numisios, Mustelas, Seios contemnere. Cum iis facta pax non erit pax, sed pactio servitutis. L. Pisonis, amplissimi viri, praeclara vox a te non solum in hoc ordine, Pansa, sed etiam in contione iure laudata est. Excessurum se ex Italia dixit, deos penates et sedes patrias relicturum, si—quod di omen averterint!—rem publicam oppressisset Antonius. Quaero

15

1. Profusus sanguis. See 3. 2, 4 note.

3. Taetra monimenta, 'the foul records of his works about Mutina;' to be found in the remains of his siege operations.

5. Galliam ultimam. See 5. 2, 5 note.

6. Quid est aliud. See on 1. 9, 22.

7. Propagare bellum, 'to prolong the war.' Cp. Fam. 5. 15, 3 'Propagatio miserrimi temporis.'

8. Si quacumque. The later MSS. omit 'si,' and Madvig (§ 87, Obs. 1) limits this use of 'quicumque,' as practically equivalent to 'quavis,' from the suppression of the verb of possibility, to the expression 'quacumque ratione.' Cp. however Att. 3. 21 'Te oro ut quacumque in partem quam planissime ad me scribas.'

16. Supplete ceteros, &c. Those already named had some pretensions to distinction, being senators, though unworthy ones; but there were many others aiming at high civil and military offices, who had not even reached the senate.

18. Numisios. The name of Numisius

does not occur elsewhere; nor does that of Seius, though Halm thinks he is probably the same man whose name occurs with many varieties of reading in 13. 12, 26, and whom he there calls Instemus. For Tiro and Mustela cp. 2. 4, 8.

19. Non pax, sed pactio servitutis, 'a compact, not of peace, but of slavery.' Cp. Flor. 4. 12 'Totius generis humani aut pax fuit aut pactio.'

23. Averterint, 'may the gods already have diverted from us.' Some of the later MSS. have 'avertent,' as though the words were part of the quotation from Piso's speech; but the fact that the words of ill omen were merely quoted by Cicero, accounts for his throwing back his wish to the time when they were originally uttered.

cc. 7, 8. Even if the embassy were sent, Cicero was the last person who should have been appointed to negotiate for peace. He had shown himself the bitter and unsparing enemy of Antony, and was therefore most unlikely to prevail with him, while the expe-

igitur a te, L. Piso, nonne oppressam rem publicam putes, si tot tam impii, tam audaces, tam facinerosi recepti sint? Quos nondum tantis parricidiis contaminatos vix ferebamus, hos nunc omni scelere coopertos tolerabiles censes civitati fore? Aut
 5 isto tuo, mihi crede, consilio erit utendum, ut cedamus, abeamus, vitam inopem et vagam persequamur, aut cervices latronibus dandae atque in patria cadendum est. Ubi sunt, C. Pansa, illae cohortationes pulcherrimae tuae, quibus a te excitatus senatus, inflammatus populus Romanus non solum audivit, sed
 10 etiam didicit nihil esse homini Romano foedius servitute? Id-
 circone saga sumpsimus, arma cepimus, iuventutem omnem ex tota Italia excussimus, ut exercitu florentissimo et maximo legati ad pacem mitterentur? si accipiendam, cur non rogamur? si postulandam, quid timemus? In hac ego legatione sim aut
 15 ad id consilium admiscear, in quo ne si dissenserō quidem a ceteris sciturus populus Romanus sit? Ita fiet ut, si quid remissum aut concessum sit, meo semper periculo peccet Antonius, cum ei peccandi potestas a me concessa videatur.

Quod si habenda cum M. Antonii latrocinio pacis ratio fuit, 17
 20 mea tamen persona ad istam pacem conciliandam minime fuit deligenda. Ego numquam legatos mittendos censui; ego ante reditum legatorum ausus sum dicere, Pacem ipsam si afferrent, quoniam sub nomine pacis bellum lateret, repudiandam; ego princeps sagorum; ego semper illum appellavi hostem, cum alii
 25 adversarium, semper hoc bellum, cum alii tumultum. Nec haec in senatu solum; eadem ad populum semper egi: neque solum in ipsum, sed in eius socios facinorum et ministros, et praesentes

dition could not but involve the greatest danger and annoyance to himself. His loyalty made him shrink from intercourse with men so stained with every kind of guilt; and even if he had little regard for his own life, still it was of too great importance to the state to be endangered needlessly.

9. Non solum audivit, &c., 'not only heard, but learned by heart the lesson.'

12. Excussimus, 'we have sifted out the flower of our youth from the whole of Italy.' Cp. pro Mur. 12, 26 'In manibus iactata et excussa.' The later MSS. have 'excivimus,' but 'excussimus' is quoted and explained by Nonius (p. 299) as being equivalent to 'elegimus.'

13. Si accipiendam, &c., 'if the object

of the embassy is to sue for peace on Antony's terms, why does not that appear on the face of the motion? and if it is to dictate terms, what have we to fear?'

15. Ad id consilium, 'shall I mix myself up in such a policy?'

22. Pacem ipsam, 'the goddess Peace herself.'

24. Princeps sagorum. Cicero had urged that the military dress should be assumed as early as the 1st of January, (see 5. 12, 32.) though it was not till the return of the ambassadors that his advice was followed (8. 11, 32).

25. Adversarium, 'a political opponent.'

Tumultum. Cp. 8. 1, 2 foll.

et eos qui una sunt, in totam denique M. Antonii domum sum
 18 semper invectus. Itaque ut alacres et laeti spe pacis oblata
 inter se impii cives, quasi vicissent, gratulabantur, sic me ini-
 quum eierabant, de me querebantur: diffidebant etiam Servilio;
 meminerant eius sententiis confixum Antonium: L. Caesarem, 5
 fortem quidem illum et constantem senatorem, avunculum tamen,
 Calenum procuratorem, Pisonem familiarem: te ipsum, Pansa,
 vehementissimum et fortissimum consulem, factum iam putant
 leniorem: non quo ita sit aut esse possit, sed mentio a te
 facta pacis suspensionem multis attulit immutatae voluntatis. 10
 Inter has personas me interiectum amici Antonii moleste
 ferunt: quibus gerendus mos est, quoniam semel liberales esse
 8 coepimus. Proficiscantur legati optimis ominibus, sed ii pro-
 19 ficiscantur, in quibus non offendatur Antonius. Quod si de
 Antonio non laboratis, mihi certe, patres conscripti, consulere 15
 debetis. Parcite oculis saltem meis et aliquam veniam iusto dolori
 date. Quo enim adspectu videre potero—omitto hostem patriae,
 ex quo mihi odium in illum commune vobiscum est—: sed
 quo modo adspiciam mihi uni crudelissimum hostem, ut de-
 clarant eius de me acerbissimae contiones? Adeone me ferreum 20
 putatis, ut cum eo congredi aut illum adspicere possim? qui
 nuper, cum in contione donaret eos, qui ei de patricidis auda-

1. Qui una sunt, 'who are away with him.'

4. Eierabant, 'they solemnly challenged my appointment as being prejudiced.' Cp. de Orat. 2. 70, 285 'Cum Scipioni M. Flaccus multis probis obiectis P. Mucium iudicem tulisset, "Elero," inquit: "iniquus est." Cum esset admurmuratum, "Ah," inquit, "P.C., non ego mihi illum iniquum eiero, verum omnibus."'

Servilio, &c. He here enumerates the other commissioners, giving the reasons why they should severally be favourable to Antony, or the reverse.

6. Fortem quidem illum. Halm here approves of the suggestion of Muretus, 'fortem illum quidem,' as there is nothing in this clause to justify an exception to the general rule that in such concessive sentences 'quidem' should only be attached to personal pronouns. See *Madv.* § 489 b., and exceptions in 2. 3, 6 and 15, 39. He admits however that 6. 1, 1 'Minus quidem illa severe quam decuit, non tamen omnino dissolute,' is an exact parallel to the ordinary reading here.

12. Quibus gerendus mos est, &c., 'whom we must humour, since complaisance is the order of the day.' His meaning is that since the senate were bent on complying with the wishes of the friends of Antony, by sending envoys to him, it was a pity not to carry out this policy to its full extent, by letting them also choose their own ambassadors.

19. Mihi uni, 'to me especially,' in a degree in which he is cruel to no one else.

21. Cum eo . . . illum. The change of pronoun is noticeable, but is probably merely for euphonic reasons, as there seems to be no variation of meaning to account for it.

22. Donaret eos . . . bona donaret. The close conjunction of these two constructions with 'dono' shows the difference between them; the accusative in each case being used of the object whose interests are most prominent in the writer's mind. Antony was considering how he should reward his band of murderers,—so far the recipients of his bounty were uppermost in his thoughts,—and then in considering ways and means, the property of Cicero occurred to him, and

cissimi videbantur, mea bona donare se dixit Petissio Urbinati, qui ex naufragio luculenti patrimonii ad haec Antoniana saxa proiectus est. An L. Antonium adspicere potero? cuius ego 20 crudelitatem effugere non potuissem, nisi me moenibus et portis et studio municipii mei defendissem. Atque idem hic myrmillo Asiaticus, latro Italiae, collega Lentonis et Nuculae, cum Aquilae primi pili nummos aureos daret, de meis bonis se dare dixit: si enim de suis dixisset, ne Aquilam quidem ipsum crediturum putavit. Non ferent, inquam, oculi Saxam, Cafonem, non duo 10 praetores, non tribunum pl., non duo designatos tribunos, non Bestiam, non Trebellium, non T. Plancum. Non possum animo aequo videre tot tam importunos, tam sceleratos hostes; nec id fit fastidio meo, sed caritate rei publicae. Sed vincam animum 21 mihiq̄ue imperabo: dolorem iustissimum, si non potuero frangere, occultabo. Quid? vitae censetisne, patres conscripti, habendam mihi aliquam esse rationem? quae mihi quidem minime cara est, praesertim cum Dolabella fecerit ut optanda mors esset, modo sine cruciatu atque tormentis: vobis tamen et populo Romano vilis meus spiritus esse non debet. Is enim sum, nisi 20 me forte fallo, qui vigiliis, curis, sententiis, periculis etiam, quae plurima adii propter acerbissimum omnium in me odium

for the moment its destination was the chief point to be considered. The first question was whence to find rewards for his followers, the second in what direction to bestow the goods of Cicero. Petissius of Urbinum is mentioned again among the crew of Antony, 13. 2, 3.

5. Municipii mei, Arpinum. Of this attack of L. Antonius we do not elsewhere hear; but we know that Cicero was at Arpinum in the interval between the first and second Philippic orations. Att. 16. 13 C, 2.

Myrmillo Asiaticus. See 5. 7, 20 note.

6. Collega Lentonis, in the septemvirate for dividing the public lands.

Aquilae primi pili. As 'primi pili' is nowhere else found without 'centurio,' expressed or easily understood, it is probable either that 'centurioni' has dropped out, (cp. pro Balb. 15, 34.) or that Cicero wrote 'primipilo,' as Garatonius and Halm suppose. In Livy 7. 41 'Primus centurio erat, quem nunc primi pili vocant,' 'centurio' may be so readily supplied from the preceding words, that it furnishes no authority for the use of the expression in a passage

like the present. Some have thought that Aquila is not a proper name, but expresses the soldiers of the first manipule gathered under their standard. Putting aside, however, the un-Ciceronian nature of such an expression, 'aquila' is only used of the standard of the whole legion, as opposed to the 'signa' of the several cohorts, and could therefore never be applied in reference to the soldiers of a single manipule. This view seems to have been held by the writers of some of the MSS., which have below 'ne Aquilam quidem ipsam credituram.'

9. Duo praetores: probably Censorinus, cp. 11. 5, 11, and P. Ventidius Bassus, who was also praetor for this year, and whom we know from the next chapter and from 13. 2, 2 to have been with Antony.

10. Non tribunum plebis. Garatonius thought that this should be struck out, because in 13. 12, when Antony's senate is being described, there are enumerated in it both future and past tribunes, but none for the current year.

Duo designatos tribunos, Tullus Hostilius and one Iustus. See 13. 12, 26.

21. Omnium impiorum. Cp. 2. 1, 1.

22 impiorum, perfecere ut non obstarem rei publicae, ne quid
 9 arrogantius videar dicere. Quod cum ita sit, nihilne mihi de
 periculo meo cogitandum putatis? Hic cum essem in urbe ac
 domi, tamen multa saepe tentata sunt, ubi me non solum
 amicorum fidelitas, sed etiam universae civitatis oculi custo- 5
 diunt: quid censetis, cum iter ingressus ero, longum praesertim,
 nullasne insidiās extimescendas? Tres viae sunt ad Mutinam,
 quo festinat animus, ut quam primum illud pignus libertatis
 populi Romani, D. Brutum, adspicere possim: cuius in com-
 plexu libenter extremum vitae spiritum ediderim, cum omnes 10
 actiones horum mensum, omnes sententiae meae pervenerint
 ad eum, qui mihi fuit propositus, exitum. Tres ergo, ut dixi,
 viae: a supero mari Flaminia, ab infero Aurelia, media Cassia.
 23 Nunc, quaeso, attendite, num aberret a coniectura suspicio
 periculi mei. Etruriam discriminat Cassia. Scimusne igitur, 15
 Pansa, quibus in locis nunc sit Lentonis Caesennii septemviralis
 auctoritas? Nobiscum nec animo certe est nec corpore. Si
 autem aut domi est aut non longe a domo, certe in Etruria
 est, id est in via. Quis igitur mihi praestat Lentonem uno

1. Ut non obstarem, &c., 'that I should not hurt the interests of the state, since modesty prevents my telling all that I have done for it.'

cc. 9, 10. On each of the three roads that led to Mutina Cicero would find a deadly enemy; and therefore, though the city itself was not without its dangers to him, he would stay at home, on the scene of his continued struggles in his country's cause. Men of his position were bound to use all due precautions, and not to risk their lives without security.

2. Nihilne de periculo meo, &c. Mr. Forsyth (2. 235) comments on the difference between ancient and modern manners shown in this part of the speech. 'With us a man who should be selected for a public service of danger would hardly like to confess that the danger alarmed him, or to urge that his life was of too much value to the state to be sacrificed. Yet Cicero did this without scruple.'

7. Ad Mutinam, 'to the army before Mutina.' See Madv. § 232.

11. Mensum. So Halm, for 'mensunum,' the reading of the Vatican MS., in which alone the word occurs. This form is common in poetry, cp. Ov. M. 8. 500; Fast. 5. 187 and 424; and Halm quotes it as the probable reading in Fam. 3. 6, 5;

though Orelli and Baiter there read 'mensium.' He also quotes Zumpt on Or. Verr. p. 414, in favour of the reading.

12. Exitum: the release of D. Brutus.

13. Flaminia. The most direct road to Mutina was the Via Cassia, which 'passes through the middle of Etruria' ('discriminat Etruriam'), passing near Veii, and through Volsinii, Clusium, Florence, and Pistoria. The Via Flaminia, however, leading from Rome in a nearly direct line to Ariminum, and thence bending westward through Bononia, Mutina, and Placentia, to Mediolanum, was the most frequented north road. The Via Aurelia followed the coast of the Mediterranean, which it struck at Alsium, to Pisae, where travellers to Mutina would probably leave it, and pass through Luca to join the Via Cassia at Pistoria.

16. Lentonis, &c., 'Lento Caesennius with his authority as septemvir?' See on 11. 7, 13. 'Caesennii auctoritas' may be compared with the common Greek periphrasis βίη 'Ἡρακλεΐης, &c.

17. Nec animo, &c., 'he is opposed to us in feeling, as he is personally absent.'

19. Quis igitur, &c., 'who then guarantees to me that Lento will be satisfied with his one murder?' Lento Caesennius was the murderer of Cn. Pompeius the younger. See Flor. 4. 2, 86.

capite esse contentum? Dic mihi praeterea, Pansa, Ventidius ubi sit, cui fui semper amicus, ante quam ille rei publicae bonisque omnibus tam aperte est factus inimicus. Possum Cassiam vitare, *tenere* Flaminiam. Quid? si Anconam, ut dicitur, 5 Ventidius venerit? poterone Ariminum tuto accedere? Restat Aurelia: hic quidem etiam praesidia habeo; possessiones enim sunt P. Clodii. Tota familia occurret, hospitio invitabit propter familiaritatem notissimam. Hisce ego me viis committam, qui 10 Terminalibus nuper in suburbium, ut eodem die reverterer, ire 24 non sum ausus? Domesticis me parietibus vix tueor sine amicorum custodiis. Itaque in urbe [maneo], si licebit, manebo. Haec mea sedes est, haec vigilia, haec custodia, hoc praesidium stativum. Teneant alii castra, gerant res bellicas, oderint hostem —nam hoc caput est—: nos, ut dicimus semperque fecimus, 15 urbem et res urbanas vobiscum pariter tuebimur. Neque vero recuso munus hoc: quamquam populum Romanum video pro me recusare. Nemo me minus timidus, nemo tamen cautior. Res declarat. Vicesimus annus est, cum omnes scelerati me unum petunt. Itaque ipsi, ne dicam mihi, rei publicae poenas 20 dederunt: me salvum adhuc res publica conservavit sibi. Timide hoc dicam; scio enim quidvis homini accidere posse: verum tamen semel circumsessus lectis valentissimorum hominum

4. *Tenere*, though only found in one MS., seems requisite for the sense, as he goes on to state what would be the probable consequence of taking the Flaminian road.

Anconam. The form of this word varies even in the best writers. Cicero elsewhere has 'Anconam' Fam. 16. 12, 2; but 'Anconem' Att. 7. 11, 1.

Ut dicitur, 'as he is said to have done,' not 'as it is said.' We must supply 'venisse.'

6. *Habeo*. Two MSS. have 'habebo,' but the present tense suits the irony better: 'Here indeed I actually have a guard awaiting me.'

9. *Terminalibus*, on the 23rd of February, the last day of the old Roman year.

11. *Maneo*, which is enclosed by Halm in brackets, is omitted by Kayser. It seems to be superfluous, and probably is a copyist's error, as it is only found in the four cognate MSS.

18. *Praesidium stativum*, 'my permanent station.'

13. *Gerant res bellicas*. 'Gerant' is Halm's emendation for 'regna,' which seems unmeaning, as no command given to a Roman officer would be called by that obnoxious name.

Oderint hostem. Orelli explains this, 'let them really hate Antony as a public enemy, not feign hatred towards him, while secretly favouring his cause.' Cp. 13. 7, 15 'Odimus, irati pugnamus.' The peculiarity of the expression has led to various conjectures, such as 'adeant,' 'custodiant,' 'fuderint,' but the words 'nam hoc caput est,' omitted in some MSS., seem to refer the audience to something preceding any overt act.

18. *Vicesimus est annus*. Cp. 2. 1, 1 note.

22. *Semel circumsessus*, &c., 'once when I was beset by a picked band of the most powerful men, I felt like a skilful combatant, that I might rise again with glory.' The allusion is probably to the time of his exile in 58 B.C., when finding that Crassus and Pompey, and even Caesar, were

- 25 viribus cecidi sciens, ut honestissime possem exsurgere. Possumne igitur satis videri cautus, satis providus, si me huic itineri tam infesto tamque periculoso commiserō? Gloriam in morte debent ii, qui in re publica versantur, non culpae reprehensionem et stultitiae vituperationem relinquere. Quis bonus non luget mortem Trebonii? quis non dolet interitum talis et civis et viri? At sunt qui dicant, dure illi quidem, sed tamen dicunt: minus dolendum, quod ab homine impuro nefarioque non caverit. Etenim qui multorum custodem se profiteatur, eum sapientes sui primum capitis aiunt custodem esse oportere. Cum saeptus sis legibus et iudiciorum metu, non sunt omnia timenda neque ad omnes insidias praesidia quaerenda. Quis enim audeat luci, quis in militari via, quis bene comitatum, quis illustrem aggre-
26 aggre- di? Haec neque hoc tempore neque in me valent: non modo enim poenam non extimescet, qui mihi vim attulerit, 15 sed etiam gloriam sperabit a latronum gregibus et praemia.
- 11 Haec ego in urbe provideo: facilis est circumspectus, unde exeam, quo progrediar, quid ad dexteram, quid ad sinistram sit. Num idem in Appennini tramitibus facere potero? in quibus etiam si non erunt insidiae, quae facillime esse poterunt, animus 20 tamen erit sollicitus, ut nihil possit de officiis legationis attendere. Sed effugi insidias, perrupi Appenninum: nempe in Antonii

abandoning him to the attacks of P. Clodius, he left Rome to return to it within eighteen months amid acclamations and congratulatory addresses. The words 'circumsessus' and 'lectis' have both been questioned, and at first they seem incongruous, the former being always used of hostile attacks, the latter more generally applied to friends; but it was just the fact that the real leaders of the state were combined against him, which made Cicero yield for the time before the league.

8. Quod . . . non caverit. This charge of want of precaution Cicero has before refuted in 11. 2, 5, by showing that Trebonius had no grounds for suspecting evil designs in Dolabella.

13. Luci. This locative form is common in Plautus, but does not appear elsewhere in prose. Lucretius even has it as an ablative, 4. 235 'In luci quae poterit res accidere.'

14. Neque . . . valent, 'do not hold good either at this time or in my case.'

cc. 11, 12. In the city he could guard against the dangers that beset him; but this

was out of the question either on his journey through the Apennines, or in a conference with Antony. In him he would find no courteous enemy, but a passionate ruffian, who would certainly kill him if they met on neutral ground, while it was quite impossible for either party to consent to meet in the camp of the other. Hence conference was only possible by letter, and the result of this must be referred to the senate, so that it could as well be carried on from Rome. He felt sure that his conduct would meet with the approbation of the loyal legions, and, if they took time for reflection, of the veterans as well. He concludes by expressing his willingness to go if called upon, but again urges the duty of preserving his life for more important services.

19. In tramitibus, 'in the narrow paths'; cp. 13. 9, 19 'Egressus est non viis sed tramitibus.'

21. De officiis . . . attendere. Cp. de Part. Or. 24, 84 'Cum de necessitate attendemus.'

22. Effugi, 'suppose me to have escaped

congressum colloquiumque veniendum est. Quinam locus capietur? si extra castra, ceteri viderint: ego mortem actutum futuram puto. Novi hominis furorem, novi effrenatam violentiam. Cuius acerbitas morum immanitasque naturae ne vino, quidem permixta temperari solet, hic ira dementiaque inflammatus adhibito fratre Lucio, taeterrima belua, numquam profecto a me sacrilegas manus atque impias abstinebit. Memini colloquia et cum acerrimis hostibus et cum gravissime dissidentibus civibus. Cn. Pompeius, Sexti filius, consul me praesente, cum essem tiro in eius exercitu, cum P. Vettio Scatone, duce Marsorum, inter bina castra collocutus est. Quo quidem memini Sex. Pompeium, fratrem consulis, ad colloquium ipsum Roma venire, doctum virum atque sapientem. Quem cum Scato salutasset, 'quem te appellem?' inquit. At ille: 'voluntate hospitem, necessitate hostem.' Erat in illo colloquio aequitas: nullus timor, nulla suberat suspicio; mediocre etiam odium. Non enim, ut eriperent nobis socii civitatem, sed ut in eam reciperentur petebant. Sulla cum Scipione inter Cales et Teanum, cum alter nobilitatis florem, alter belli socios adhibuisset, de auctoritate

all ambuscades.' See *Madv.* § 442. Obs. 2; and cp. the use of καὶ ὅ in Greek, as Eur. *Med.* 388 καὶ ὅ τ' ἐθελῶσι.

2. Ceteri viderint, 'let the others look to themselves.'

Mortem actutum futuram. So most of the MSS. Halm has a conjecture, 'me vix tutum futurum,' and Kayser suggests 'me vim ac tortorem laturum,' apparently from the reading of one MS. 'me vi ac toto futurum.' The reading in the text seems weak, but the conjectures involve a violent change without much improvement.

9. Cn. Pompeius, the father of the triumvir, was Consul in 89 B.C., in which year he put an end to the Social War. There is a discrepancy in the cognomen of Vettius, who is called Cato by Appian, i. 40, and Vell. Pat. 2. 16: but Scato occurs as a Marsic name in Cicero's speech de Domo, 44, 116; and the substitution of the well-known name Cato for the rare one of Scato was natural enough in the later writers.

11. Quo quidem. Halm has 'quo quidem tempore,' from a conjecture of Ernesti, which seems to weaken the sentence. 'And to this meeting I remember that Sextus Pompeius himself, the brother of the Consul, came to take part in the conference.' 'Ad

colloquium' is added to 'quo,' to define more clearly the purpose for which Sextus came. He was noted for his skill in jurisprudence, cp. *Brut.* 47, 175 'Sex. frater eius (Cn. Pompeii) praestantissimum ingenium contulerat ad summam iuris civilis et ad perfectam geometriae et rerum Stoicarum scientiam.'

18. Sulla cum Scipione. This was in 83 B.C., shortly after Sulla's return from Asia, after conquering Mithridates. Having defeated the other Consul, C. Norbanus, he offered a truce to L. Scipio, and availed himself of the intercourse which ensued to induce the troops of Scipio to desert him. Scipio was taken prisoner in his tent, and obliged to resign his consulship as the price of his liberty.

19. De auctoritate senatus, &c. The nature of these negotiations may be inferred from the measures passed by Sulla when he obtained absolute authority. He greatly increased the power of the senate, especially by transferring the chief military power from the Consuls and praetors, who were elected by the people, to the proconsuls and praetors, who were both appointed and liable to be dismissed by the senate; he maintained the rights of all the new citizens, doing away with the distinction

senatus, de suffragiis populi, de iure civitatis leges inter se et conditiones contulerunt. Non tenuit omnino colloquium illud
 12 fidem: a vi tamen periculoque auit. Possumusne igitur in Antonii latrocinio aequae esse tuti? Non possumus: aut, si
 28 ceteri possunt, me posse diffido. Quod si non extra castra s congregiemur, quae ad colloquium castra sumentur? In nostra ille numquam veniet: multo minus nos in illius. Reliquum est ut et accipiantur et remittantur postulata per litteras: ergo erimus in castris. Mea quidem ad omnia postulata una sententia: quam cum hic vobis audientibus dixero, isse et redisse 10 me putatote: legationem confecero. Omnia ad senatum mea sententia reiiciam, quaecumque postulabit Antonius. Neque enim licet aliter, neque permissum est nobis ab hoc ordine, ut bellis confectis decem legatis permitti solet more maiorum, neque ulla omnino a senatu mandata accepimus. Quae cum 15 agam in consilio, nullis, ut arbitror, repugnantibus, nonne metuendum est ne imperita militum multitudo per me pacem
 29 distineri putet? Facite hoc meum consilium legiones novas non improbare: nam Martiam et quartam nihil *cogitantes* praeter dignitatem et decus comprobaturas esse certe scio. Quid? 20 veteranos non veremur—nam timeri se ne ipsi quidem volunt—

between citizens of Rome and of the borough towns, and only disfranchising those whose opposition to him had been most marked: but he abolished so much of Cinna's law as had given the freedmen equal rights of suffrage with the older citizens. See Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, vol. 3. c. 10.

9. *Erimus in castris*, 'each in his own camp.'

11. *Confecero*, 'I shall have accomplished the purpose of my mission, without stirring from the spot.' Most of the MSS. have '*confero*,' which is unmeaning.

12. *Neque enim licet, &c.*, 'for in fact no other course is lawful, nor has any such power been given us by the senate, as is commonly given on the completion of a war, according to the custom of our ancestors, to ten plenipotentiaries, nor have we received from the senate any commission enabling us to act.' Cicero's argument is that they were not like the ten commissioners usually sent with full powers to arrange the settlement of a conquered country, that they had no authority to conclude any arrangement with Antony, and that any proposals of his must still come before the senate; so

that to expose the lives of eminent men, merely for the purpose of carrying despatches, was altogether needless.

16. *In consilio*, 'in carrying out our mission.'

17. *Pacem distineri*, 'that the prospect of peace is being deferred.' Cp. Livy 2. 15 '*Ne quid meam vobiscum pacem distineat*.'

19. *Cogitantes*. The reading of the MSS. is '*cogitatis*,' or '*cogitatis*.' With that reading '*certe scio*' has no meaning, and to say that the Martian and Fourth legions will approve of nothing but their honour and glory is very weak. The reading in the text (which was first suggested by Madvig in Jahn's *Jahrbücher* for 1856, p. 126), making '*consilium meum*' the object of '*comprobaturas esse*,' gives a simple construction and sensible meaning to the sentence. In support of it he compares a similar error in 14. 3. 6, where the minor Vatican MS has '*dubitatis*' for '*dubitantes*,' and in Livy 42. 26, where all the MSS. have '*fluctuatis*' for what must be '*fluctuantes*.'

21. *Veremur . . . timeri*. See on 5. 18, 48; and cp. below, § 30.

quonam modo accipiant severitatem meam? multa enim falsa de me audierunt, multa ad eos improbi detulerunt. Quorum commoda, ut vos optimi testes estis, semper ego sententia, auctoritate, oratione firmavi: sed credunt improbis, credunt
 5 turbulentis, credunt suis. Sunt autem fortes illi quidem, sed propter memoriam rerum, quas gesserunt pro populi Romani libertate et salute rei publicae, nimis feroces et ad suam vim omnia nostra consilia revocantes. Horum ego cogitationem non
 vereor: impetum pertimesco. Haec quoque tanta pericula si
 10 effugero, satisne tutum reditum putatis fore? Cum enim et vestram auctoritatem meo more defendero et meam fidem rei publicae constantiamque praestitero, tum erunt mihi non ii solum, qui me oderunt, sed illi etiam, qui invident, extimescendi. Custodiatur igitur vita mea r. p., eaque quoad vel dignitas vel
 15 natura patietur, patriae reservetur: mors aut necessitatem habeat fati, aut, si ante oppetenda est, oppetatur cum gloria. Haec cum ita sint, etsi hanc legationem res publica, ut levissime dicam, non desiderat, tamen, si tuto licebit ire, proficiscar. Omnino, patres conscripti, totum huiusce rei consilium non meo periculo,
 20 sed utilitate rei publicae metiar. De qua mihi, quoniam liberum est spatium, multum etiam atque etiam considerandum puto idque potissimum faciendum, quod maxime interesse rei publicae iudicaro.

1. Quonam modo accipiant. So Halm from one MS., for the ordinary reading, 'sed quonam modo accipient.' Halm's reading gives more special force to 'veremur,' and of the four MSS. which have 'sed,' two have 'accipiant.'

8. Horum ego, &c., 'of the result of their thoughts, if they would but think, I have no apprehension, but I dread the fury

of their impulse.'

14. Eaque. The reading of the MSS. here is very confused, but all except one have 'eaque.' Halm reads 'Custodiatur igitur vita † r. p. mea, quoad,' &c., and suggests 'custodiatur igitur vita p. c. (patres conscripti) mea, atque quoad,' &c.

16. Si ante oppetenda est. See 1. 4, 10 note.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE THIRTEENTH ORATION.

SHORTLY after Pansa had left Rome, in the middle of March, to join his colleague before Mutina, letters arrived from L. Plancus, the governor of Transalpine Gaul, and Consul elect, and from M. Lepidus, now in command of the province of Hither Spain. They both strongly advocated peace with Antony, and both at the same time wrote to Cicero, declaring their unswerving loyalty to the senate, Lepidus in vague and general terms, Plancus with apologies for past hesitation, and assurances of energetic action for the future. (Cic. Fam. 10. 34 and 35; ib. 7 and 8.)

The despatch of Plancus was first laid before the senate, and after a two days' debate, in the course of which Cicero delivered two speeches which are not preserved, a vote of thanks to him was passed on Cicero's proposal. On the following day P. Servilius proposed a vote of thanks to Lepidus, coupling with it a recommendation to him to leave the question of peace to the senate, who could not entertain it until Antony laid down his arms. On this occasion Cicero delivered his thirteenth oration, in which he supports the motion of Servilius, especially deprecating peace with Antony. In addition to the reasons previously urged, he laid before the senate a letter recently addressed by Antony to Hirtius and Pansa, which he criticises, clause by clause, with a bitterness and animosity not surpassed in any of the other orations.

He concludes by adding to the motion of Servilius a vote of thanks to Sextus Pompeius, for his promises of aid to the senate and the Roman people.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER TERTIUS DECIMUS.

¹ A PRINCIPIO huius belli, patres conscripti, quod cum impiis civibus consceleratisque suscepimus, timui ne conditio insidiosa pacis libertatis recuperandae studia restingueret. Dulce enim etiam nomen est pacis, res vero ipsa cum iucunda, tum salutaris. Nam nec privatos focos nec publicas leges videtur ⁵ nec libertatis iura cara habere, quem discordiae, quem caedes civium, quem bellum civile delectat, eumque ex numero hominum eiiciendum, ex finibus humanae naturae exterminandum puto. Itaque sive Sulla sive Marius sive uterque sive Octavius sive Cinna sive iterum Sulla sive alter Marius et Carbo sive qui ¹⁰ alius civile bellum optavit, eum detestabilem civem rei publicae ² natum iudico. Nam quid ego de proximo dicam, cuius acta defendimus, auctorem ipsum iure caesum fatemur? Nihil igitur hoc cive, nihil hoc homine taetrius, si aut civis aut homo

cc. 1, 2. *Deeming peace the greatest of blessings, and civil war, under any circumstances, such a curse as to merit extermination for its authors, Cicero yet warns the senate that they may be deceived by the name of peace. In most cases mutual concessions on the part of the leaders in civil war might have produced a genuine peace; but Antony and his associates were such profligate and abandoned characters, that not only could no reliance be placed on their engagements, but their very presence would make the city intolerable for honest men.*

5. *Publicas leges.* The epithet is added here to show the different capacities in which a man loves his home and the laws of his country. The former is dear to him as a member of a family, the latter as a citizen. 'He holds in esteem neither the home of his family, nor the laws of his

country, nor the rights which liberty conveys.' For this last expression cp. Sall. Cat. 37, 9 'Ius libertatis imminutum;' where Kritz explains 'Ius libertatis' to mean all the privileges of a freeborn citizen. Cp. Hom. Il. 9. 63

ἀφρήτωρ, ἀδέμωτος, ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος.

ὅς πολλέμου θραταί ἐπιδημίου ἐκρυβέντες: of which this passage is perhaps intended to be a paraphrase.

9. Octavius. Cn. Octavius, the colleague of Cinna in his consulship 87 B.C. See on 8. 2, 7.

10. Alter Marius, C. Marius, the adopted son of the great Marius. See on 8. 2, 7.

12. Cuius acta, &c. Cp. 2. 37, 96 'Ille (C. Caesar) vir fuit: nos contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus.'

habendus est, qui civile bellum concupiscit. Sed hoc primum videndum est, patres conscripti, cum omnibusne pax esse possit an sit aliquod bellum inexpiabile, in quo pactio pacis lex sit servitutis. Pacem cum Scipione Sulla sive faciebat sive simulabat, non erat desperandum, si convenisset, fore aliquem tolerabilem statum civitatis. Cinna si concordiam cum Octavio confirmare voluisset, *hominum in re publica sanitas remanere potuisset*. Proximo bello si aliquid de summa gravitate Pompeius, multum de cupiditate Caesar remisisset, et pacem stabilem et aliquam rem publicam nobis habere licuisset. Hoc vero quid est? cum Antoniiis pax potest esse? cum Censorino, Ventidio, Trebellio, Bestia, Nucula, Munatio, Lentone, Saxa? Exempli causa paucos nominavi: genus infinitum immanitatemque ipsi cernitis reliquorum. Addite illa naufragia Caesaris amicorum, Barbas Cas- sios, Barbatios, Polliones; addite Antonii collusores et sodales, Eutrapelum, Melam, Coelium, Crassicium, Tironem, Mustelam, Petissium: comitatum relinquo, duces nomino. Huc accedunt Alaudae ceterique veterani, seminarium iudicum decuriae tertiae, qui suis rebus exhaustis, beneficiis Caesaris devoratis, fortunas nostras concupiverunt. O fidam dexteram Antonii, qua ille plurimos cives trucidavit! o ratum religiosumque foedus, quod cum Antoniiis fecerimus! Hoc si Marcus violare conabitur, Lucii eum sanctitas a scelere revocabit. Illis locus si in hac urbe fuerit, ipsi urbi locus non erit. Ora vobis eorum ponite ante oculos et maxime Antoniorum; incessum, adspectum, vultum, spiritum; latera tegentes alios, alios praegredientes amicos.

3. Pactio pacis, &c., 'to come to terms of peace is but to pass a law ordaining our slavery.'

4. Cum Scipione Sulla. See 12. 11, 27 note.

7. Sanitas, &c., 'men might have continued in a healthy state within the commonwealth.' Halm thinks that these words, which are only found in the margin of the Vatican MS., are an awkward conjecture of a later copyist to supply a missing clause. As it was the state itself, rather than the citizens, which had sunk into a morbid condition, Faernus proposed to read 'omnino' for 'hominum.'

8. De summa gravitate, 'if Pompey would have abated somewhat of his inflexible consistency.' See on 2. 10, 24.

11. Cum Censorino, &c. Of all these

heroes we have heard before. See Index.

13. Genus infinitum, &c., 'the countless tribe and savage cruelty of the rest.'

14. Naufragia does not appear to be used elsewhere in this concrete metaphorical sense, of the men who had made shipwreck of their fortunes, though frequently employed for the wreck itself. Cp. 12. 8, 19.

16. Eutrapelum. P. Volumnius, the former lover of Cytheris, (see on 2. 24, 58.) received this name on account of his liveliness and wit.

18. Seminarium, &c., 'a nursery for jurymen of the third decuria.' See I. 8, 20 note.

19. Beneficiis . . . devoratis, &c. Cp. 11. 14, 37.

26. Latera tegentes, 'walking by

Quem vini anhelitum, quas contumelias fore censetis minasque verborum! Nisi forte eos pax ipsa leniet, maximeque, cum in hunc ordinem venerint, salutabunt benigne, comiter appellabunt unum quemque nostrum. - Non recordamini, per deos ³ immortales, quas in eos sententias dixeritis? Acta M. Antonii ⁵ rescidistis, leges refixistis, per vim et contra auspicia latas decrevistis, totius Italiae dilectus excitavistis, collegam et scelerum socium omnium hostem iudicavistis. Cum hoc quae pax potest esse? Hostis si esset externus, id ipsum vix talibus factis, sed posset aliquo modo. Maria, montes, regionum magnitudines interessent: odisses eum, quem non videres. Hi in oculis haerebunt et, cum licebit, in faucibus: quibus enim saeptis tam immanes beluas continebimus?—At incertus exitus belli.—Est omnino fortium virorum, quales vos esse debetis, virtutem praestare—tantum enim possunt—, fortunae culpam ¹⁵ non extimescere. Sed quoniam ab hoc ordine non fortitudo solum, verum etiam sapientia postulatur—quamquam vix videntur haec posse seiungi, seiungamus tamen—: fortitudo dimicare iubet, iustum odium incendit, ad configendum impellit, vocat ad periculum. Quid sapientia? cautioribus utitur consiliis, in ²⁰ posterum providet, est omni ratione tectior. Quid igitur censet?

their side.' Cp. Hor. S. 2. 5, 18

'Utne tegam spurco Damae latus?'

'Latus tegere,' or 'claudere' (Juv. 3. 131), was more especially to walk on a man's left, or unprotected side, so as to act as a shield to him.

c. 3. *The measures which the senate had taken against Antony must have rendered him implacable; and since any pretended wisdom which urged the senate to make peace would purchase security at the price of honour, the only course that remained was to carry on the war, and so save honour even at the risk of defeat.*

7. Collegam, &c., 'his colleague and partner in all his wickedness you have pronounced a public enemy.'

9. Hostis si esset, &c., 'were he a foreign foe, peace would be too much to grant him after such conduct, but yet some means might be found to make it possible.' The unnecessary emphasis of 'id ipsum,' and the want of an infinitive after 'posset,' make the genuineness of this clause doubtful. The later MSS. insert 'tamen' before 'id ipsum,' which makes the awkwardness

still greater. Halm compares in Pis. 12, 27 'Collegit ipse se vix, sed collegit tamen.'

11. Odisses eum, &c., 'you might hate one who was out of sight, without that hatred proving an insupportable annoyance.' Cicero's meaning is that the feelings of any loyal citizen towards one who had acted like Antony could only be those of deadly hatred, such as would render contact with him insupportable; and that therefore peace with such a man was only possible so long as he could remain at a distance out of sight. This would naturally occur in the case of a foreign foe, it would be impossible in that of Antony.

12. Haerebunt, &c., 'these men will haunt your eyes, and when occasion offers, will fasten on your throat.' The play on the word 'haerebunt' is untranslatable.

16. Extimescere, 'to be too much afraid of:' 'ex' being emphatic.

21. Tectior, 'more reserved.' Cp. Fin. 2. 17, 54 'Is, qui occultus et tectus dicitur.' A reading of later MSS., not borne out by parallels, is 'protectior.'

parendum est enim atque id optimum iudicandum, quod sit sapientissime constitutum. Si hoc praecipit, ne quid vita existimem antiquius, ne decernam capitis periculo, fugiam omne discrimen, quaeram ex ea: etiamne, si erit, cum id fecero, ⁵serviendum? Si annuerit, ne ego sapientiam istam, quamvis sit erudita, non audiam. Sin responderit, 'tu vero *tuere* ita vitam corpusque, ita fortunas, ita rem familiarem, ut haec libertate posteriora ducas itaque his uti velis, si libera re publica possis, ne pro his libertatem, sed pro libertate haec proicias ¹⁰tamquam pignora iniuriae:' tum sapientiae vocem audire videar eique uti deo paream. Itaque si receptis illis esse possumus ⁷liberi, vincamus odium pacemque patiamur: sin otium incolumibus iis esse nullum potest, laetemur decertandi oblatam esse fortunam. Aut enim interfectis illis fruemur victrix re publica, ¹⁵aut oppressi—quod omen avertat Iuppiter!—si non spiritu, at virtutis laude vivemus.

At enim nos *M. Lepidus*, imperator iterum, pontifex maximus, ⁴

4. Si erit. So Halm from the reading of the Vatican MS., 'sierit,' comparing c. 6, 14 'si perniciose erunt.' The later and more general reading is 'etiamne fuerit,' which very much weakens the force of the query.

5. Ne ego. See on 2, 2, 3.

6. Tu vero, &c. The reading of the Vatican MS. is 'Tu vero vitam,' &c., the other MSS. adding 'servato' after 'corpusque.' Halm suggests that 'tuere' had dropped out after 'tu vero,' and Kayser, following Madvig, (see Jahn's Jahrb. for 1856, p. 126,) strikes out 'tu vero' altogether, as a mere corruption from 'tuere,' and as being in itself 'quasi dubitantis affirmatio, vix apta, saltem non necessaria.' The retention of the words, however, serves to maintain the vividness of a dialogue: 'Nay, I would have you preserve,' &c.

10. Tamquam pignora iniuriae, 'feeling that if retained they will but guarantee your wrong.' The possession of property under the government of a tyrant is so far from being an unmixed blessing, that it is certain sooner or later to excite his covetousness, and then he will be deterred by no respect for law or honesty from appropriating it. Hence what in a free state would be the strongest security for a man's welfare, under a tyrant is only a guarantee that he will be one of the tyrant's victims. Manutius takes it somewhat differently, that the wealth can

only be retained by unconstitutional submission to a tyrant, and that therefore its retention involves a pledge that its possessor will act unrighteously, but this is less in accordance with the line of Cicero's argument. The guarantor is not the owner of the goods, but Fortune, who has entrusted him with them, and who, in bestowing them under such circumstances, does but guarantee spoliation.

12. Pacem patiamur, 'let us reconcile ourselves to peace:' which, under such circumstances, can at best be only the more endurable of two evils.

cc. 4, 5. *The advice of Lepidus, who advocated peace, deserved careful attention, from the high character of the man, and the services which both his ancestors and himself had rendered to the state. But he was wrong in supposing that because he had made an honourable peace with the younger Pompey, he could therefore do the like with Antony, whose character was in all respects so opposite. Moreover the outlawry of Antony and his friends really came most opportunely for the senate, enabling them to carry out the restitution of Pompey's property.*

17. *M. Lepidus.* The name, though wanting in all the MSS., is found in the earliest printed editions, and has been generally retained as necessary. Cicero could hardly have styled a person whom he did not name as 'imperator iterum.' The title

optime proximo civili bello de re publica meritis, ad pacem adhortatur. Nullius apud me, patres conscripti, auctoritas maior est quam M. Lepidi, vel propter ipsius virtutem vel propter familiae dignitatem. Accedunt eodem multa privata magna eius in me merita, mea quaedam officia in illum. Maximum vero eius beneficium numero, quod hoc animo in rem publicam est, quae mihi vita mea semper fuit carior. Nam cum Magnum Pompeium, clarissimum adolescentem, praestantissimi viri filium, auctoritate adduxit ad pacem remque publicam sine armis maximo civilis belli periculo liberavit, tum me eius beneficio plus quam pro virili parte obligatum puto. Itaque et honores ei decrevi quos potui amplissimos, in quibus mihi vos estis assensi, nec umquam de illo et sperare optime et loqui destiti. Magnis et multis pignoribus M. Lepidum res publica illigatum tenet. Summa nobilitas est, omnes honores, amplissimum sacerdotium, plurima urbis ornamenta ipsius, fratris maiorumque monimenta,

has been objected to by Ursinus, but it is assumed by Lepidus himself in two of his extant letters (Cic. Fam. 10. 34 and 35), and it is found on the coins of more than one of his contemporaries. In his own case it was hardly deserved, as on the first occasion he assumed it on his own authority, when in 48 B.C. he compelled the proconsul Q. Cassius Longinus and his quaestor M. Marcellus to abstain from warring on each other in Further Spain. His second exploit, the reconciliation of Sex. Pompeius in 44 B.C., was equally bloodless, but on that occasion the appellation of 'Imperator' was granted him by the senate. See 5. 14 and 15. His letter urging peace is preserved among those of Cicero, Fam. 10, 35.

5. Merita . . . officia. The courtesy shown in the difference of the terms employed deserves notice. 'To this should be added many occasions on which he has in private earned my gratitude, some few where I have been able to serve him.'

7. Magnum Pompeium. Sex. Pompeius, the younger son of the triumvir.

10. Plus quam pro virili parte. Forcellini interprets this 'in more than my private capacity,' 'to a greater extent than I, as an individual, had a right to look for;' 'cum non solum privato mihi, sed etiam reipublicae profuerit.' It may however be better referred to Lepidus, the logical subject of the sentence, 'he has laid me, I think, under a greater obligation than any

single man could be expected to confer.' Or it might be, as Prof. Conington has suggested, 'I consider that my obligations to him are greater than those that bind an individual;' the general sense, in this case, being nearly the same as according to the first interpretation. 'Pro parte virili' always means, 'to the extent of a man's right or duty,' not 'to the extent of his powers.' Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 3. 3, 7 'Plus etiam, quam pars virilis postulat, . . . suscipere debeam.'

11. Decrevi, 'I proposed.' See 5. 15.

15. Amplissimum sacerdotium: that of 'pontifex maximus,' secured to him by Antony in consideration of his support at the time of Caesar's death. See introduction to the first oration.

16. Ornamenta ipsius, &c. Orelli places a semicolon after 'ornamenta,' as though 'monimenta' were in apposition to it: but the balance of the sentence seems better preserved by Halm's punctuation, which is adopted in the text. We do not know what works Lepidus himself contributed towards the beautifying of the city, but his ancestor M. Aemilius Lepidus (Consul in 187 and 175 B.C.) was noted as the founder of several important buildings. In his aedileship, 192 B.C., he built the Porticus Aemilia, between the Aventine and the river, and in his first censorship, in 179 B.C., he founded the Pons Aemilius, and the Basilica Aemilia, in the Forum. This was further

probatissima uxor, optatissimi liberi, res familiaris cum ampla, tum casta a cruore civili. Nemo ab eo civis violatus, multi eius beneficio et misericordia liberati. Talis igitur vir et civis opinione labi potest, voluntate a re publica dissidere nullo pacto potest. Pacem vult M. Lepidus. Praeclare, si talem potest efficere, qualem nuper effecit: qua pace Cn. Pompei filium res publica adspiciet suoque sinu complexuque recipiet, neque solum illum, sed cum illo se ipsam sibi restitutam putabit. Haec causa fuit cur decerneretis statuum in rostris cum inscriptione praeclara, cur absenti triumphum. Quamquam enim magnas res bellicas gesserat et triumpho dignas, non erat tamen eitribuendum, quod nec L. Aemilio nec Aemiliano Scipioni nec superiori Africano nec Mario nec Pompeio, qui maiora bella gesserunt: sed quod silentio bellum civile confecerat, cum primum licuit, honores in eum maximos contulistis. Existimasne igitur, M. Lepide, qualem Pompeium res publica habitura sit civem, tales futuros in re publica Antonios? In altero pudor, gravitas, moderatio, integritas: in illis—et cum hos compello, praetereo animo ex grege latrocinii neminem—libidines, scelera, ad omne facinus immanis audacia. Deinde vos obsecro, patres conscripti, quis hoc vestrum non videt, quod Fortuna ipsa, quae dicitur caeca, vidit? Salvis enim actis Caesaris, quae concordiae causa defendimus, Pompeio sua domus patebit, eamque non minoris, quam emit Antonius, redimet: redimet, inquam, Cn. Pompei domum filius. O rem acerbam! sed haec satis diu multumque

beautified by M. Aemilius Lepidus, the father of the triumvir, in his consulship 78 B.C. His brother, L. Aemilius Paulus, appears, from a passage in Cicero (Att. 4. 16, 14), to have restored this basilica and built a new one in his aedileship, 53 B.C., but of this second basilica nothing else is known.

1. Probatissima uxor. Iunia, the daughter of D. Iunius Silanus, and half-sister of M. Iunius Brutus. In a letter to Atticus (6. 2, 25) Cicero throws serious doubts upon her faithfulness to her husband, most inconsistent with the epithet 'probatissima.'

9. Statuam. See 5. 15. Of the triumph we do not elsewhere hear.

12. L. Aemilio: 'to L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus,' the conqueror of Perseus, and father of Scipio Aemilianus, better known as Scipio Africanus the younger.

14. Silentio, 'without disturbance.'

18. Cum hos compello, 'in formally arraigning these.'

21. Fortuna ipsa vidit. The course of Cicero's argument is not very clear, but it seems to be this. Pompey's property having been confiscated by Caesar, and bought by Antony, would have been lost beyond recall, had Antony continued loyal; but as his property in turn had reverted to the state, it was possible, without overthrowing Caesar's ordinance, to enable Sex. Pompeius to recover his father's property. He would still be required to buy it, which was sad enough, but the state could now, by the aid of Fortune, both furnish him with the money, and empower him to effect the purchase. Cp. the concluding clause of this chapter.

25. Satis diu. See 2. cc. 26—28.

defleta sunt. Decrevistis tantam pecuniam Pompeio, quantam ex bonis patriis in praedae dissipatione inimicus victor rede-
 11 Sed hanc mihi dispensationem pro paterna necessitudine et coniunctione depono. Redimet hortos, aedes, urbana quaedam, quae possidet Antonius. Nam argentum, vestem, supellectilem, 5 vinum amittet aequo animo, quae ille helluo dissipavit. Albanum, Formianum a Dolabella recuperabit, etiam ab Antonio Tusculanum: iique, qui nunc Mutinam oppugnant, D. Brutum obsident, de Falerno Anseres depellantur. Sunt alii plures fortasse, sed de mea memoria dilabuntur. Ego etiam eos dico, qui hostium 10 numero non sunt, Pompeianas possessiones quanti emerint filio reddituros. Satis inconsiderati fuit, ne dicam audacis, rem ullam ex illis attingere: retinere vero quis poterit, clarissimo domino restituto? An is non reddet, qui domini patrimonium circum-
 12 plexus quasi [thesaurum] draco, Pompei servus, libertus Caesaris, 15 agri Lucani possessiones occupavit? Atque illud septiens miliens, quod adolescenti, patres conscripti, spopondistis, ita describetur, ut videatur a vobis Cn. Pompei filius in patrimonio suo collocatus. Haec senatus: reliqua populus Romanus in ea familia, quam vidit amplissimam, persequetur, in primis paternum auguratus 20

1. Tantam pecuniam. The amount of the indemnity voted to Sex. Pompeius is stated by Appian (3. 4) to have been fifty million Attic drachmae, or about 2,000,000*l.* of our money.

4. Urbana quaedam, &c., 'certain villas in the city, now in Antony's occupation.'

9. Anseres. The allusion is to a poet in the train of Antony, surnamed Anser, who is alluded to in uncomplimentary terms by Ovid, *Trist.* 2. 435

'Cinna quoque his comes est, Cinnaque procacior Anser,

Et leve Cornifici, parque Catonis opus;' and according to Servius by Virgil, in the line 'inter strepere anser olores' *Ecl.* 9. 35. The villa at Falernum had probably been given to him by Antony as the reward of his verses.

Depellantur. Orelli reads 'depellentur,' from one MS., but all the others have 'depellantur,' which is also quoted by Servius on Virg. *l.c.*

14. Is: perhaps Demetrius of Gadara, a favourite freedman of Pompey, whom we know to have acquired great wealth.

15. [Thesaurum.] This is placed within

brackets by Halm and Kayser. Rau thinks the whole three words 'quasi thesaurum draco' a gloss.

16. Septiens miliens. From the context it would seem that this must refer to the indemnity which the senate had voted to Sextus, and this we have seen to be stated by Appian at 2,000,000*l.*, more nearly 'bis miliens.' Many editors have supposed that allusion is here made to the often-quoted money in the temple of Ops, but this had not only been appropriated but spent by Antony, and therefore could not have been assigned to Sextus. It is probable either that Appian was mistaken in the amount of the sum, or that the copyists have been misled by the recollection of the famous 'septiens miliens,' and that the reading here is 'bis.'

17. Describetur, 'shall be apportioned.' Halm reads 'describetur,' but in his notes declares his preference for the form 'discrībēre.'

19. In ea familia, 'in dealing with that family.'

20. Paternum, 'to which his father nominated me.' See 2. 2, 4 note.

locum, in quem ego eum, ut, quod a patre accepi, filio reddam, mea nominatione cooptabo. Utrum igitur augurem Iovis optimi maximi, cuius interpretes internuntiique constituti sumus, ~~nos~~, utrum populus Romanus libentius sanciet, Pompeiumne an Antonium? Mihi quidem numine deorum immortalium videtur hoc Fortuna voluisse, ut actis Caesaris firmis ac ratis Cn. Pompei filius posset et dignitatem et fortunas patrias recuperare.

Ac ne illud quidem silentio, patres conscripti, praetereundum ⁶ puto, quod clarissimi viri legati, L. Paulus, Q. Thermus, C. ¹² Fannius, quorum habetis cognitam voluntatem in rem publicam eamque perpetuam atque constantem, nuntiant, se Pompei conveniendi causa devertisse Massiliam eumque cognovisse paratissimo animo, ut cum suis copiis iret ad Mutinam, ni vereretur ne veteranorum animos offenderet. Est vero eius patris filius, ¹⁵ qui sapienter faciebat non minus multa quam fortiter. Itaque intelligitis et animum ei praesto fuisse nec consilium defuisse. Atque etiam hoc M. Lepido providendum est, ne quid arrogantius, quam eius mores ferunt, facere videatur. Si enim nos exercitu ¹⁴ terret, non meminit illum exercitum senatus populiue Romani ²⁰ atque universae rei publicae esse, non suum. At uti potest pro suo. Quid tum? omniane bonis viris, quae facere possunt, facienda sunt? etiamne, si turpia, si perniciose erunt? si facere omnino non licebit? Quid autem turpius aut foedius aut quod minus deceat quam contra senatum, contra cives, contra patriam ²⁵ exercitum ducere? quid vero magis vituperandum quam id facere, quod non liceat? Licet autem nemini contra patriam ducere

3. Nos. Halm saw that some alteration was required in this sentence, and suggested 'augures,' in order to account for the double 'utrum,' which seemed to show that the sanction of some other body was required besides the Roman people. The emendation in the text, suggested by Madvig (in Jahn's Jahrb. for 1856, p. 126), seems preferable, as 'nos' might easily have dropped out, being taken for the subject of 'constituti sumus;' and 'augurem Iovis O.M.' seems to be required, to show the importance of the sanction sought.

cc. 6, 7. Pompey himself was only deterred from joining in the contest against Antony by fear of offending the veterans: so that Lepidus would do well to reconsider the matter, and especially to beware of straining his power so far as to use the army which

was given him for the service of the state, in thwarting the general zeal now displayed against Antony by senate, Consuls, and people alike.

9. Legati: probably envoys sent to Sex. Pompeius, not by the senate, but by Lepidus, L. Paulus being his brother.

12. Massiliam. Sextus appears to have come to Marseilles as a convenient place from which to watch the course of events, with a view to determining his own policy accordingly.

14. Veteranorum: the veterans of Caesar, to whom his very name would be obnoxious.

18. Quam eius mores ferunt, 'than is compatible with his loyal character.'

22. Si erunt. See on c. 3, 6.

exercitum: si quidem licere id dicimus, quod legibus, quod more maiorum institutisque conceditur. Neque enim, quod quisque potest, id ei licet, nec, si non obstat, propterea etiam permittitur. Tibi enim exercitum, Lepide, tam quam maioribus tuis patria pro se dedit. Hoc tu arcebis hostem, fines imperii ⁵ propagabis: senatui populoque Romano parebis, si quam ad aliam ⁷ rem te forte traduxerit. Haec si cogitas, es M. Lepidus, pontifex ¹⁵ maximus, M. Lepidi, pontificis maximi, pronepos: sin hominibus tantum licere iudicas, quantum possunt, vide ne alienis exemplis iisque recentibus uti quam et antiquis et domesticis malle videre. ¹⁰ Quod si auctoritatem interponis sine armis, magis equidem laudo, sed vide ne hoc ipsum non sit necesse. Quamquam enim est tanta in te auctoritas, quanta debet in homine nobilissimo, tamen senatus se ipse non contemnit, nec vero fuit umquam gravior, constantior, fortior. Incensi omnes rapimur ad libertatem re- ¹⁵ cuperandam: non potest ullius auctoritate tantus senatus populi-
que Romani ardor exstingui: odimus, irati pugnamus, extorqueri manibus arma non possunt: receptui signum aut revocationem a bello audire non possumus: speramus optima, ¹⁶ pati vel difficillima malumus quam servire. Caesar confecit ²⁰

1. Licere, &c. This is the locus classicus for the meaning of the word.

4. Tam quam, 'no less than to your ancestors.' For this rarer use of 'tam quam,' in a simple comparison of degree, cp. Brut. 74, 258 'Aetatis illius ista fuit laus tam quam innocentiae sic Latine loquendi.'

7. Es M. Lepidus, 'you are all that the name of M. Lepidus implies.' Cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 883

'Tu Marcellus eris.'

and Dr. Henry's note. One MS. has 'M. Lepide,' 'losing the whole point and vigour of the clause.

8. Pronepos. Strictly 'the great-grandson,' whereas the M. Lepidus in question, who was pontifex maximus, censor, and twice Consul, was his great-great-grandfather. The word 'abnepos,' however, does not seem to occur before the time of Suetonius, and the exact degree of descent is unimportant.

9. Alienis exemplis, 'a precedent out of your own family,' referring to the usurpation of Caesar.

12. Vide, ne, &c. Cp. Fam. 10. 27, 2 (a letter written by Cicero to Lepidus about this time) 'Sapientius, meo quidem iudicio, facies, si te in istam pacifica-

tionem non interpones, quae neque senatui nec cuiquam bono probatur.'

17. Odimus, irati pugnamus. Halm points out a reference to a passage in Lucilius (fr. 4. 8), which Cicero had before used to illustrate an argument: Tusc. 4. 21, 48

'Odi hominem: iratus pugno; nec longius quidquam

Nobis, quam dextrae gladium dum accommodet alter.'

18. Manibus. So all the MSS. Halm reads 'e manibus,' Orelli 'de manibus;' but as 'extorqueo' is often used with a dative of the person from whom anything is wrested, there is no reason why it should not equally admit a dative of the part. Cp. Lucr. 6. 1224

'Extorquet enim vitam vis morbida membris;'

and Cic. Cat. 1. 6, 16: where there is considerable MS. authority for the reading 'Quotiens tibi iam extorta est ista sica manibus?'

20. Confecit, 'has got together.' Cp. de Imp. Cn. Pomp. 21, 61 'Quid tam novum, quam adolescentulum privatum exercitum difficili rei publicae tempore conficere? confecit.'

invictum exercitum: duo fortissimi consules adsunt cum copiis: L. Planci, consulis designati, varia et magna auxilia non desunt: in D. Bruti salute certatur: unus furiosus gladiator cum tærrimorum latronum manu contra patriam, contra deos penates, 5 contra aras et focos, contra quattuor consules gerit bellum. Huic cedamus? huius conditiones audiamus? cum hoc pacem fieri posse credamus?

At periculum est ne opprimamur. Non metuo ne is, qui suis 8 amplissimis fortune nisi bonis salvus frui non potest, prodat salutem suam. Bonos cives primum natura efficit, adiuvat deinde 10 fortuna; omnibus enim bonis expedit salvam esse rem publicam: sed in iis, qui fortunati sunt, magis id apparet. Quis fortunatior 17 Lepido, ut ante dixi? quis eodem sanior? Vidit eius maestitiam atque lacrimas populus Romanus Lupercalibus: vidit quam ab- 15 iectus, quam confectus esset, cum Caesari diadema imponens Antonius servum se illius quam collegam esse malebat. Qui si reliquis flagitiis et sceleribus se abstinere potuisset, tamen unum ob hoc factum dignum illum omni poena putarem. Nam si ipse servire poterat, nobis dominum cur imponebat? et si 20 eius pueritia pertulerat libidines eorum, qui erant in eum tyranni, etiamne in nostros liberos dominum et tyrannum comparabat? Itaque illo interfecto, qualem in nos eum esse voluit, talis ipse in ceteros exstitit. Qua enim in barbaria quisquam tam tæter, 18 tam crudelis tyrannus quam in hac urbe armis barbarorum stipatus 25 Antonius? Caesare dominante veniebamur in senatum, si non libere, at tamen tuto. Hoc archipirata—quid enim dicam

5. Quattuor consules: Hirtius and Pansa; and L. Plancus and D. Brutus, the Consuls elect.

cc. 8, 9. *Too much weight must not be attached to the danger of defeat. By subservience to Caesar, by his cruel massacres, by his outrageous conduct in Rome, followed by his ignominious retreat, and lastly by plunging the country into civil war, and blockading the Consul elect, who had loyally opposed him, Antony had closed the door to any overtures of peace.*

8. Ne opprimamur: if, that is, Lepidus should prove false to his loyalty, and join with Antony. In what follows Cicero really betrays his fears that Lepidus would be faithless, in the very earnestness with which he brings forward reasons why he should be staunch.

12. Fortunati, 'blessed by fortune,' and so not unfrequently 'wealthy.' Cp. de Orat. 2. 86, 352 'Apud Scopam, fortunatum hominem et nobilem.'

14. Lupercalibus. See 2. 34, 85 note.

20. Qui erant, &c. Cp. 2. 18, 44 and 45.

26. Hoc archipirata, &c., 'under this arch-pirate (for tyrant is too good a name for him)'. A tyrant is only the enemy of his subjects, a pirate the enemy of all mankind, according to Cicero's own definition, Off. 3. 29, 107 'Non est ex perduellium numero definitus, sed communis hostis omnium: cum hoc nec fides debet nec ius iurandum esse commune.' Hence by the very name he is strengthening his argument against negotiations with Antony.

tyranno?—haec subsellia ab Itryaeis occupabantur. Prorupit subito Brundisium, ut inde agmine quadrato ad urbem accederet: lautissimum oppidum nunc municipum honestissimorum, quondam colonorum, Suessam, fortissimorum militum sanguine implevit: Brundisii in sinu non modo avarissimae, sed etiam crudelissimae uxoris delectos Martiae legionis centuriones trucidavit. Inde se quo furore, quo ardore ad urbem, id est, ad caedem optimi cuiusque rapiebat! quo tempore di ipsi immortales
 9 praesidium improvisum nec opinantibus nobis obtulerunt. Caesaris enim incredibilis ac divina virtus latronis impetus crudeles
 19 ac furibundos retardavit: quem tum ille demens laedere se putabat edictis, ignorans, quaecumque falso [in eum] diceret in sanctissimum adolescentem, ea vere recidere in memoriam pueritiae suae. Ingressus urbem est, quo comitatu vel potius agmine! cum dextra sinistra, gemente populo Romano, minaretur dominis, notaret domos, divisurum se urbem palam suis polliceretur. Rediit ad milites; ibi pestifera illa Tiburi contio. Inde ad urbem cursus, senatus in Capitolium, parata de circumscribendo adolescente sententia consularis, cum repente—nam Martiam legionem Albae consedissee sciebat—affertur ei de quarta
 20 nuntius. Quo perculsus abiecit consilium referendi ad senatum de Caesare: egressus est non viis, sed tramitibus paludatus, eoque ipso die innumerabilia senatus consulta fecit: quae quidem omnia

1. Ab Itryaeis. See 2. 8, 19 note.

2. Agmine quadrato, 'in column.' Cp. 2. 42, 108.

3. Municipum. This is the emendation of Manutius for 'municipium.' Cicero is expressing the change in the political status of Suessa, from being a 'colonia Latina' to being a borough town, effected by the 'Lex Iulia' in 90 B.C. See on 3. 5, 13.

4. Suessam. See on 3. 4, 10.

5. Brundisii. See on 3. 2, 4.

12. In sanctissimum-adolescentem. Halm encloses these words in brackets, as a probable gloss, explaining 'falso.' Either these words or 'in eum' are redundant, but the latter are omitted in the Italian and two of the other MSS., and enough has been already said about the boyhood of Antony to make the mere mention of it imply a contrast to the purity of Octavianus.

13. Vere recidere, &c., 'recoil with

truth on the records of his own boyhood.' Cp. 3. 6, 15 'In Caesarem maledicta congestit deprompta ex recordatione impudicitiae et stuprorum suorum.'

14. Vel potius agmine. The correction marks the attempt at intimidation by a display of military power, which was specially obnoxious at Rome, where a general was not allowed to enter the city under ordinary circumstances at the head of his army.

17. Tiburi. Cicero and Livy both commonly use this old locative form, signifying the place where a thing is done, in nouns of the third declension. Cp. 'Karthagini,' de Leg. Agr. 2. 33, 90; Livy 28. 26; 'Anxuri,' Id. 5. 8; and see on 12. 10, 25.

18. De circumscribendo adolescente, 'for impeding the young man's liberty of action.' See on 2. 22, 53.

20. De quarta, &c. Cp. 3. 9, 24 foll.; 5. 9, 24 and the notes.

citius delata quam scripta sunt. Ex eo non iter, sed cursus et 20
fuga in Galliam. Caesar sequi arbitrabatur cum legione Martia,
cum quarta, cum veteranis, quorum ille nomen prae metu ferre
non poterat: eique in Galliam penetranti D. se Brutus obiecit,
8 qui se totius belli fluctibus circumiri quam illum aut regredi
aut progredi maluit, Mutinamque illi exsultanti tamquam frenos
furoris iniecit. Quam cum operibus munitiōibusque saepisset,
nec eum coloniae florentissimae dignitas neque consulis designati
maiestas a parricidio deterreret, tum me—testor et vos et populum
10 Romanum et omnes deos qui huic urbi praesident—invito et
repugnante legati missi tres consulares ad latronum et gladiatorum
ducem. Quis tam barbarus umquam? tam immanis? tam ferus? 21
Non audivit, non respondit: neque eos solum praesentes, sed
multo magis nos, a quibus illi erant missi, sprexit et pro nihilo
15 putavit. Postea quod scelus, quod facinus parricida non edidit?
Circumsedet colonos nostros, exercitum populi Romani, im-
peratorem consulem designatum: agros divexat civium opti-
morum: hostis taeterrimus omnibus bonis cruces ac tormenta
minitatur. Cum hoc, M. Lepide, pax esse quae potest? cuius
20 ne supplicio quidem ullo satiari videtur posse populus Romanus.

Quod si quis dubitare adhuc potuit quin nulla societas huic 10
ordini 'populoque Romano cum illa importunissima belua posset' 22
esse, desinat profecto dubitare his cognitis litteris, quas mihi
missas ab Hirtio consule modo accepi. Eas dum recito dumque
25 de singulis sententiis breviter disputo, velim, patres conscripti,
ut adhuc fecistis, me attente audiat. Antonius Hirtio et
Caesari. Neque se imperatorem neque Hirtium consulem nec
pro praetore Caesarem. Satis hoc quidem scite: deponere

1. Delata: sc. 'in aerarium;' 'were registered.' See 5. 4, 12 note.

5. Totius belli, &c. Cp. 11. 2, 4 'Brutus . . . progressu arcuit, a reditu refrnavit, obsideri se passus ex utraque parte constrinxit Antonium.'

9. Tum me invito, &c. See the introduction to the fifth oration.

c. 10. The former conclusion was confirmed by Antony's recent letter to the Consuls, which Cicero criticises in detail throughout the remainder of the speech. Ignoring their proper designation, he began by declaring his joy at the murder of Trebonius, while he lamented the outlawry of Dolabella, and he even had the impudence, forgetting the ignoble

origin of his own wife Fadia, to reproach Trebonius, most groundlessly, with lonely birth.

23. Desinat. Ernesti suggests 'desinet,' but the imperative suits better with the imperious tone of Cicero's criticism.

26. Antonius Hirtio et Caesari. The absence of the titles in this address may have arisen from a feeling on the part of Antony that while they were fighting to decide which truly represented Rome, it was unfitting to assign to either party Roman titles. Cicero's criticism of this letter should be compared with his criticism of Antony's edict in 3. 9.

alienum nomen ipse maluit quam illis suum reddere. Cognita morte C. Trebonii non plus gavisus sum quam dolui. Videte quid se gavisum, quid doluisse dicat: facilius de pace deliberabitis. Dedit poenas sceleratum cineri atque ossibus clarissimi viri et apparuisse numen deorum intra finem anni vertentis, aut iam soluto supplicio parricidii aut impendente, laetandum est. O Spartace! quem enim te potius appellem? cuius propter nefanda scelera tolerabilis fuisse videtur Catilina: laetandum esse ausus es scribere Trebonium dedit poenas? sceleratum Trebonium? 10 quo scelere, nisi quod te Idibus Martiis a debita tibi peste 23 seduxit? Age, hoc laetaris: videamus quid moleste feras. Iudicatum hoc tempore hostem Dolabellam, eo quod sicarium occiderit, et videri cariorem populo Romano filium scurrae quam C. Caesarem, patriae parentem, 15 ingemiscendum est. Quid ingemiscis hostem Dolabellam? quid? te non intelligis dilectu tota Italia habito, consulibus missis, Caesare ornato, sagis denique sumptis hostem iudicatum? Quid est autem, scelerate, quod gemas hostem Dolabellam iudicatum a senatu? quem tu ordinem omnino esse nullum 20 putas, sed eam tibi causam belli gerendi proponis, ut senatum

1. Alienum, 'a title which he has forfeited.'

6. Intra finem, &c., 'before twelve months had passed away;' not, that is, before the end of 44 B.C., but within twelve months of Caesar's death. Cp. pro Quinct. 12, 40 'Petisses statim; si non statim, paullo quidem post; si non paullo, at aliquanto; sex quidem illis mensibus profecto; anno vertente sine controversia.' Annus vertens signifies the time within which the cycle of the earth's revolution is completed, the solar year, at whatever date the computation is begun. Hence it is applied in a wider sense to a supposed cycle of the universe, at the end of which all the heavenly bodies are found occupying the same positions as at its commencement, in Cic. de Rep. 6. 22, 24 (Somn. Scip. 7) 'Cum ad idem unde semel profecta sunt cuncta astra redierint eandemque totius caeli descriptionem longis intervallis rettulerint, tum ille vere *vertens annus* appellari potest: in quo vix dicere audeo quam multa hominum saecula teneantur.' The murder of Trebonius was about the end of February (Merivale 3. 135; cp. introduction to the eleventh oration), so that this letter was

probably written immediately after Antony had received the news.

7. Spartace. Cp. 4. 6, 15 and 3. 8, 21 note.

9. Laetandum esse, &c. Halm places a note of interrogation after 'scribere,' as though Cicero first marvelled at Antony's finding any cause for rejoicing, and then at the subject of his joy. This however introduces a needless complication, and suggests a climax which does not exist, from 'dedit poenas' to 'sceleratum Trebonium.'

12. Seduxit. Cp. Fam. 10. 28, 1 'Quod vero a te, viro optimo, seductus est tuoque beneficio adhuc vivit haec pestis, interdum, quod mihi vix fas est, tibi subirascor.' On the occasion of Caesar's murder Trebonius took Antony aside, not from any motives of kindness towards him, but to prevent his interference.

15. Scurrae. The father of Trebonius is only known to us from this chapter, and Fam. 1. c., where he is styled 'civis acerrimus.'

16. Hostem Dolabellam. One MS. adds 'iudicatum.'

funditus deleas, reliqui boni et locupletes omnes summum ordinem subsequantur. At scurrae filium appellat: quasi vero ignotus nobis fuerit splendidus eques Romanus, Trebonii pater. Is autem humilitatem despicere audet cuiusquam, qui ex Fadia sustulerit 11 liberos? Acerbissimum vero est te, A. Hirti, ornatum 11 beneficiis Caesaris, et talem ab eo relictum, qualem 24 ipse miraris—Equidem negare non possum a Caesare Hirtium ornatum, sed illa ornamenta in virtute et industria posita lucent. Tu vero, qui te ab eodem Caesare ornatum negare non potes, 10 quid esses, si tibi ille non tam multa tribuisset? ecquo te tua virtus provexisset? ecquo genus? In lustris, popinis, alea, vino tempus aetatis omne consumpsisses, ut faciebas, cum in gremiis mimarum mentum mentemque deponeres. et te, o puer— 15 Puerum appellat, quem non modo virum, sed etiam fortissimum virum sensit et sentiet. Est istuc quidem nomen aetatis, sed ab eo minime usurpandum, qui suam amentiam puero huic praebet ad gloriam. qui omnia nomini debes—Debet vero solvitque 25

4. Ex Fadia. So Ferrarius, followed by most subsequent editors, from the various readings of the MSS., 'ex eadia,' 'ex eadie,' 'ex eadem,' the two latter being apparently attempts to frame Latin words, regardless of meaning, from the first. Fadia, Antony's first wife, was the daughter of Q. Fadius, a freedman. Cp. 2. 2, 3; 3. 6, 17.

Sustulerit. 'Tollere liberos' is properly 'to acknowledge children,' from the custom of laying new-born children at their father's feet, for him to decide whether they should be reared or not. Here it seems to be used as nearly equivalent to 'gignere liberos,' cp. Suet. Ner. 5 'Decessit (Domitius) sublato filio Nerone ex Agrippina.'

c. 11. *He found fault with the conduct of Hirtius, who owed everything to Caesar,—though in his case it was merit which had earned Caesar's favour,—and of Octavianus, a mere boy,—who, boy as he was, had won for himself, thanks to Antony, the title of Father of his country,—because, forsooth, they sought for the condemnation of Dolabella, the deliverance of D. Brutus,—whom Antony dared to call a prisoner,—and the exaltation of M. Brutus and Cassius.*

5. Ornatum. The MSS. add 'esse,' an obvious mistake of the copyists, who did not observe that 'te' is part of the subject of 'id agere' in § 25, the thread of the

sentence being interrupted by the comments of Cicero.

6. Beneficiis. Hirtius belonged to a plebeian and undistinguished family, and owed all his honours and position to the friendship and patronage of Caesar, who had finally nominated him to the consulship for 43 B.C.

8. In virtute, &c., 'conferred on valour and energy.'

11. Ecquo genus? This reading seems to be very pointless, especially considering the ignoble birth of Hirtius. Kayser adopts the plausible emendation of Pluygers, 'ecquo industria?' which might easily have been confused with the following 'in lustris.'

13. Mentum mentemque. So Halm after Ferrarius, as having much more point than the MS. reading 'mentem mentumque.' To place the seat of his brains in his beard might pass for a joke, but without this link it would be absurd to say 'mentem in gremiis deponere,' and nothing would be gained by adding the literal after the metaphorical idea. Cp. the similar play on words in § 26 'diruptus dirutusque.'

15. Nomen aetatis. Cp. 4. 1, 3 note.

17. Nomini: sc. 'Caesaris.' Some MSS. add 'eius,' but the reading in the text is clear enough when the fragments of the letter are extracted from the commentary of Cicero.

praeclare. Si enim ille patriae parens, ut tu appellas—ego quid sentiam videro—, cur non hic parens verior, a quo certe vitam habemus e tuis facinerosissimis manibus ereptam? id agere, ut iure damnatus sit Dolabella—Turpem vero actionem, qua defenditur amplissimi auctoritas ordinis contra crudelissimi gladiatoris amentiam!—et ut venefica haec liberetur obsidione. Veneficam audes appellare eum virum, qui tuis veneficiis remedia invenit? quem ita obsides, nove Hannibal, aut si quis acutior imperator fuit, ut te ipse obsideas, neque te istinc, si cupias, possis explicare. Recesseris, undique omnes insequuntur: manseris, haerebis. Nimirum recte veneficam appellas, 26 a quo tibi praesentem pestem vides comparatam. ut quam potentissimus sit Cassius atque Brutus. Putes Censorinum dicere aut Ventidium aut etiam ipsos Antonios. Cur autem nolint potentes esse non modo optimos et nobilissimos viros, 15 sed secum etiam in rei publicae defensione coniunctos? Nimirum eodem modo haec adspicitis, ut priora—quae 12 tandem?—castra Pompei senatum appellabatis. An vero tua castra potius senatum appellaremus? in quibus tu es videlicet consularis, cuius totus consulatus est ex omni monumentorum memoria evulsus: duo praetores, sine causa diffisi se aliquid habituros; nos enim Caesaris beneficia defendimus: praetorii Philadelphus Annius et innocens Gallius: aedilicii

1. Ut tu appellas, 'to adopt the title which you give him'; cp. Fam. 12. 3, 1 'In statua quam posuit in Rostris inscripsit PARENTI OPTIME MERITO.'

4. Damnatus sit, &c., 'that the condemnation of Dolabella may appear to have been legal.'

Turpem actionem. See on 3. 10, 26.

6. Venefica haec. The feminine form expressing contempt. Cp. Sall. Hist. fr. 1. 48, 21 'Fufidius, ancilla turpis, honorem omnium deonestamentum.'

10. Recesseris. See on 11. 8, 19.

17. Ut priora. Manutius takes this to be, 'as your former conduct, in aiding those who would check me in avenging Caesar's death;' but so the following words come in very awkwardly, and it is more probable that 'priora' agrees with 'castra,' not so as to imply two camps of Pompey, but comparing the expedition of Hirtius and Pansa with Pompey's well-known previous

campaign; 'as formerly ye used to give the name of senate to the camp of Pompey.'

cc. 12—14. *He cavilled at the name of senate as applied to Pompey's camp; as if it were more appropriate to his own, which had indeed representatives of every rank, but each of them a disgrace to the rank he represented. In the camp of Pompey, on the other hand, the consulars alone were ten in number, and men of such repute, that the one survivor had sufficed to crush Antony, while among the other senators present were found a majority of the men in highest esteem at Rome.*

21. Duo praetores, P. Ventidius Bassus and L. Marcius Censorinus. See 12. 8, 20 note.

Sine causa diffisi. Cicero's meaning is that they joined Antony to preserve their interests, which would have been safe at any rate, since the senate had confirmed the gifts of Caesar.

23. Philadelphus Annius, C. Annius

corycus laterum et vocis meae, Bestia, et fidei patronus, fraudator creditorum, Trebellius, et homo diruptus dirutusque, Q. Caelius, columnenque amicorum Antonii, Cotyla Varius, quem Antonius deliciarum causa loris in convivio caedi iubebat a servis publicis: 5 septemvirales Lento, Nucula; tum deliciae atque amores populi Romani L. Antonius: tribuni primum duo designati, Tullus Hostilius, qui suo iure in porta nomen inscripsit, qua, cum prodere imperatorem suum non potuisset, reliquit: alter est designatus Insteius nescio qui, fortis, ut aiunt, latro, quem tamen 10 temperantem fuisse ferunt Pisauri balneatorem. Secuntur alii 27 tribunicii, T. Plancus in primis: qui si senatum dilexisset, numquam curiam incendisset. Quo scelere damnatus in eam urbem rediit armis, ex qua excesserat legibus. Sed hoc ei commune cum pluribus sui simillimis: illud tamen mirum, quod

Cimber, called Philadelphus by Cicero because he had killed his brother (see on II. 6, 14), as Ptolemy Philopator derived his surname from the murder of his parents.

Innocens Gallius. Of Gallius we know scarcely anything, except that he is probably the man who adopted the emperor Tiberius. 'Innocens' is of course ironical, and perhaps refers to some specially notorious crime of which he had been guilty.

1. Corycus, properly a leathern sack filled with sand or flour, and hung up in the gymnasium, for the athletes to exercise their strength by striking it to and fro, somewhat after the fashion of the quintain. Cicero here calls Bestia 'the practising ground for his lungs and voice,' in allusion to his having six times defended him in a court of justice. See II. 5, 11 note.

Fidei patronus. Cp. 6. 4, 11 note.

Fraudator creditorum are bracketed by Kayser, with great probability, as a gloss.

2. Diruptus dirutusque, 'ruptured and ruined.' 'Dirutus' is more strictly applied to a soldier whose pay has been stopped by way of punishment, cp. Verr. Act. 2. 5. 13, 33 'Aleatoris Placentini castra commemorabuntur, in quibus cum frequens fuisset, tamen aere dirutus est.'

3. Cotyla Varius. See 5. 2, 5 note.

4. Deliciarum causa, 'for his amusement.' Cp. 8. 8, 24. The idea of insult to Cotyla is probably also conveyed in the expression, as in 'delicias facere'; see Plaut. Men. 2. 3, 35 'Eia, delicias facis.'

5. Septemvirales, on the commission for the division of the lands. See on 2. 38, 99.

6. Tribuni. So Halm, following Ferrarius, for the reading of the MSS. 'tribunicii.'

7. Suo iure, 'with good right.' Cp. 2. 25, 62. The man and the circumstance to which allusion is here made are alike unknown; but Orelli supposes that Hostilius, having been foiled in an attempt to betray Mutina to Antony, made his escape by a 'Porta Hostilia,' to the name of which he thereby gave a new significance.

Qua. So Halm, adopting Rau's suggestion, for 'qui,' which is awkward after the former 'qui,' from the influence of which the mistake might easily have arisen.

9. Quem tamen, 'who however, they say, confined himself at Pisaurum strictly to water—for the baths.' Cicero, taking advantage of the double meaning of 'temperans' (cp. Hor. Od. 3. 19, 6 'Quis aquam temperet ignibus'), introduces what is really a hit at the low birth of Insteius as though he were going to pay a compliment to his temperance, carefully reserving the word which unveils his real meaning till the end of the sentence.

11. T. Plancus was tribune in 52 B.C., and one of the chief movers in the riot at the funeral of Clodius, in which the Curia Hostilia was burnt down.

13. Rediit armis, by the violent interference of Caesar.

14. Simillimis. The MSS. have 'dissimillimis,' but most modern editors have adopted the emendation, which seems necessary.

Mirum. So Klotz, followed by Halm and Kayser, for the reading of the MSS.,

in hoc Planco proverbii loco dici solet: perire eum non posse, nisi ei crura fracta essent. Fracta sunt, et vivit. Hoc tamen, **13** ut alia multa, Aquilae referatur acceptum. Est etiam ibi Decius, ab illis, ut opinor, Muribus Deciis, itaque Caesaris munera rosit. Deciorum quidem multo intervallo per hunc praeclarum virum memoria renovata est. Saxam vero Decidium praeterire qui possum, hominem deductum ex ultimis gentibus, ut eum **28** tribunum pl. videremus, quem civem numquam videramus? Est quidem alter Saserna, sed omnes tantam habent similitudinem inter se, ut in eorum praenominibus errem. Nec vero **10** Extitius, Philadelphi frater, quaestor, praetermittendus est, ne, si de clarissimo adolescente siluero, invidisse videar Antonio. Est etiam Asinius quidam senator voluntarius, lectus ipse a se. Apertam curiam vidit post Caesaris mortem: mutavit calceos, pater conscriptus repente factus est. Non novi Sex. **15** Albesium, sed tamen neminem tam maledicum offendi, qui illum negaret dignum Antonii senatu. Arbitror me aliquos praeterisse! de iis tamen, qui occurrebant, tacere non potui. Hoc igitur fretus senatu Pompeianum senatum despicit, in quo decem fuimus consulares: qui si omnes viverent, bellum omnino hoc non **20** **29** fuisset; auctoritati cessisset audacia. Sed quantum praesidii

'verum,' which affords no antithesis to 'commune,' whereas what is peculiar to one man may naturally be termed 'mirum.' The peculiarity consisted not in the application of the saying to Plancus, but in its being falsified. He was driven out of Potentia by Aquila with a broken thigh (11. 6, 14).

2. Nisi ei crura fracta essent, 'unless his legs were broken;' the allusion being to the punishment of 'crucifragium.'

3. Decius. Cp. 11. 6, 13 note.

4. Munera rosit, 'he nibbled at the gifts of Caesar;' in punning allusion to his name of 'Mus.'

5. Multo intervallo. There was a P. Decius, who took a prominent part in supporting C. Gracchus, 120 B.C., but Cicero is probably referring to the Decii Mures, the last of whom was defeated by Pyrrhus at Asculum, 279 B.C.

6. Saxam. Cp. 11. 5, 12 note.

8. Est quidem. Madvig (Jahn's Jahrb. for 1856, p. 126) suggests 'ibidem,' comparing 'est ibi etiam' in § 27, and pointing out that 'quidem' is not only weak here, but rarely attached by Cicero to a verb.

9. Alter Saserna, 'one of the two Sasernae;' Cicero cannot remember which. Two brothers of the name served under Caesar in the African war.

11. Frater: probably the cousin german.

14. Mutavit calceos, 'he donned the senator's shoe;' with its black 'corrigiae' and crescent. Cp. Juv. 7. 192

'Appositam nigrae lunam subtexit alutae.'

15. Pater conscriptus. Cp. Hor. A.P. 314

'Quod sit conscripti, quod iudicis officium,' which is apparently the only other passage where 'conscriptus' is found in the singular of a senator. See on 1. 1, 1.

19. Decem consulares. In the following chapter he mentions ten, besides himself; but of these Serv. Sulpicius never joined Pompey, and is apparently only mentioned as being a firm opponent of Antony, and as having sacrificed his life on the embassy to him. See introduction to the ninth oration. Pompey himself is not reckoned, as being the chief to whom the senate belonged.

fuerit in ceteris, hinc intelligi potest, quod ego unus relictus ex multis contudi et fregi adiuvantibus vobis exsultantis praedonis audaciam. Quod si non Fortuna nobis modo eripuisset¹⁴ Ser. Sulpicium eiusque collegam ante, M. Marcellum—quos cives! 5 quos viros!—si duo consules amicissimos patriae, simul ex Italia eictos, si L. Afranium, summum ducem, si P. Lentulum, civem cum in ceteris rebus, tum in salute mea singularem, si M. Bibulum, cuius est in rem publicam semper merito laudata constantia, si L. Domitium, praestantissimum civem, si Appium 10 Claudium, pari nobilitate et voluntate praeditum, si P. Scipionem, clarissimum virum maiorumque suorum simillimum, res publica tenere potuisset: certe iis consularibus non esset Pompeianus despiciendus senatus. Utrum igitur aequius, utrum melius rei 20 publicae fuit, Cn. Pompeium an sectorem Cn. Pompei vivere 15 Antonium? Qui vero praetorii! quorum princeps M. Cato idemque omnium gentium virtute princeps. Quid reliquos clarissimos viros commemorem? nostis omnes. Magis vereor ne longum me in enumerando quam ne ingratum in praetereundo putetis. Qui aedilicii! qui tribunicii! qui quaestorii! Quid 20 multa? talis senatorum et dignitas et multitudo fuit, ut magna

4. M. Marcellus was assassinated in 49 B.C., as he was returning from the exile to which his violence in opposing Caesar, both during and after his consulship (51 B.C.), had condemned him.

5. Duo consules. The two Consuls of the year 49 B.C., C. Marcellus, brother of M. Marcellus, and L. Lentulus Crus. The former probably perished during the civil war; the latter was put to death in prison in Egypt, shortly after Pompey's murder.

6. L. Afranius, Consul 60 B.C., was put to death by Caesar's orders shortly after the battle of Thapsus, where he was taken prisoner. Cicero's present estimate of him seems merely expressed to serve the purpose of the moment, as elsewhere (Att. 1. 18, 5) he speaks of him as 'ignavus ac sine animo miles.' Cp. *ib.* 1. 20, 5.

7. In salute mea. P. Lentulus Spinther owed his consulship, in 57 B.C., to the support of Caesar, but he had no sooner entered on it than he proposed the recall of Cicero from exile, and thenceforth he showed himself an energetic supporter of Pompey, after whose death we hear no more of him.

M. Bibulus was elected Consul with Caesar in 59 B.C., through the interest of the aristocratical party, of which he was a consistent supporter. He died when in command of Pompey's fleet, in 48 B.C.

9. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and App. Claudius Pulcher were colleagues in the consulship in 54 B.C. They were both of them constantly opposed to Cicero, though belonging to the same party in the state, and Claudius was notorious for his venality and rapacity. Domitius fell at Pharsalus; Claudius died previously in Euboea.

10. P. Scipio, better known as Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio, was called Publius before his adoption by Metellus Pius, and accordingly his name appears under both forms. He was selected by Pompey as his colleague in the consulship late in 52 B.C., and was ever afterwards his staunch adherent. He commanded Pompey's fleet off the coast of Africa, but being defeated shortly after the battle of Thapsus he committed suicide.

14. Sactorem. Cp. 2. 15, 39 and 26, 64 notes.

excusatione opus iis sit, qui in illa castra non venerunt. Nunc reliqua attendite.

5 Victum Ciceronem ducem habuistis. Eo libentius ducem audio, quod certe ille dicit invitus: nam de victo nihil laboro; fatum enim meum est sine re publica nec vinci posse ⁵ nec vincere. Macedoniam munitis exercitibus. Et quidem fratri tuo, qui a vobis nihil degenerat, extorsimus. Africam commisistis Varo bis capto. Hic cum Gaio fratre putat se litigare. In Syriam Cassium misistis. Non igitur sentis huic causae orbem terrae patere, te extra munitiones tuas ves- ¹⁰ **31** tigiū ubi imprimas non habere? Cascam tribunatum gerere passi estis. Quid ergo? ut Marullum, ut Caesetium a re publica removeremus eum, per quem, ut neque hoc idem posthac neque multa eius modi accidere possent, consecuti sumus? Vectigalia Iuliana Lupercis ademistis. Luper- ¹⁵ corum mentionem facere audet? neque illius diei memoriam

cc. 15, 16. *After a futile sneer at Cicero, and taunts levelled at other loyal citizens which recoiled upon himself, Antony ventured to recall to mind his own disgraceful conduct at the Luperæalia, his illegal proceedings in connection with the colonization of the veterans, and his disloyal hatred of the people of Marseille; and he found fault with various actions of the senate, which were either wholly insignificant, or meritorious in themselves, or even necessary for the welfare of the state.*

3. Victum Ciceronem, an allusion to his exile, a point on which he was always most sensitive.

6. Exercitibus, with the combined forces under M. Brutus. See the tenth oration. The present tense is noticeable among the perfects; but the fortification of Macedonia, like the promises to the Massiliots in § 32, was still in process of completion, and Antony had probably not yet heard of the capture of his brother Gaius.

8. Varo. Sex. Quintilius Varus was taken prisoner by Caesar at Corfinium in 49 B.C.; and as we know that he was again fighting on Pompey's side in Africa, it is probably to that occasion that we must refer his second capture.

Cum Gaio fratre. He thinks that the senate has no more right to exercise a discretionary power in selecting its officers, than a man would have who was as utterly

devoid of judgment and discretion as C. Antonius.

11. Cascam. P. Servilius Casca, one of Caesar's assassins, was tribune of the commons at the time, and Antony urges that he should have been removed from his office for the crime: which Cicero says would have been following Caesar's own example, who superseded and expelled from the senate the two tribunes, L. Caesetius Flavius and C. Epidius Marullus, for removing the crowns from his statues and imprisoning a person who had saluted him as king. See Suet. Caes. 79.

12. A republica removeremus. Cp. Vell. Pat. 2. 68 'In hoc tamen saepe lassiti principis ira excessit, ut censoria potius contentus nota quam animadversione dictatoria summoeretur eos a republica;' where the mention of the censorial power shows that their removal 'a republica' was not banishment, but merely exclusion from public life.

13. Hoc idem, 'this same act of arbitrary power,' by which the tribunes were deprived of their office.

15. Vectigalia Iuliana, the revenues which Caesar gave to the Luperci: probably an endowment for the third class of Iulii, which he added to the college of the Luperci in his own honour, and of which he made Antony high priest. For Antony's conduct on the occasion referred to, see 2. 34 notes.

perhorrescit, quo ausus est obrutus vino, unguentis oblitus, nudus gementem populum Romanum ad servitutem cohortari? Veteranorum colonias, deductas lege et senatus consulto, sustulistis. Nos sustulimus, an contra legem comitiis centuriatis latam sanximus? Vide ne tu veteranos tamen eos, qui erant perdit, perdidisti in eumque locum deduxeris, ex quo ipsi iam sentiunt se numquam exituros. Massiliensibus iure belli adempta reddituros vos pollicemini. Nihil disputo de iure belli—magis facilis disputatio est quam necessaria—: illud tamen animadvertite, patres conscripti, quam sit huic rei publicae natus hostis Antonius, qui tanto opere eam civitatem oderit, quam scit huic rei publicae semper fuisse amicissimam. Neminem Pompeianum, qui vivat, teneri lege Hirtia dictitatis. Quis, quaeso, iam legis Hirtiae mentionem facit? cuius non minus arbitrator latorem ipsum quam eos, de quibus lata est, paenitere. Omnino mea quidem sententia legem illam appellare fas non est, et, ut sit lex, non debemus illam Hirtii legem putare. Apuleiana pecunia Brutum subornastis.

3. Lege ei senatus consulto. Some MSS. omit 'et,' and Garatonius upholds the omission, making 'senatus consulto' depend on 'sustulistis,' on the ground that the act for establishing the colonies, hastily passed at the 'comitia,' never came before the senate. Halm however shows that this is no objection to the ordinary reading, as Antony made no more difficulty about inventing decrees of the senate, than about irregularly passing laws. See 5. 3. 7.

4. Nos sustulimus, &c., 'did we abolish the colonies, or did we rather ratify a law duly passed at the comitia?' i.e. the senate could not rescind an act which had never really passed, but by annulling the irregular proceedings of Antony they vindicated the authority of the laws which he had violated. Some editors understand the colonies in question to be those of Caesar, and interpret these words to mean, 'so far from disallowing the colonies, we even got a law carried to maintain them,' or (reading 'lege . . . lata') 'we even sanctioned them by a law which regularly passed the comitia:' but Antony could have had no pretence or reason for asserting that any colonies planted by Caesar had been disallowed.

5. Qui erant, &c., 'you have ruined those veterans who had ruined themselves already, and brought them into a dilemma,'

&c. Cp. Fam. 4. 2, 3 'Quantum nos fecerit et quem in locum res deducta sit vides.' Cicero is of course playing on the technical meaning of 'deducere in locum' with respect to colonies.

7. Iure belli. In consequence of their revolt against Caesar, in whose proceedings Cicero could see but little 'ius.' For the treatment of the Massiliots see 8. 6, 18 note.

14. Dictitatis. This is Orelli's emendation, followed by all subsequent editors, for the unintelligible reading of the MSS. 'dignitatis.' Previous editors commonly adopted the suggestion of Nangerius: 'An nescitis neminem . . . tenere lege Hirtia dignitates.' To discover the true reading is the more hopeless from the want of any information as to the purport of the 'Lex Hirtia.'

17. Ut sit lex, 'supposing it to be a law.'

18. Apuleiana pecunia. Cp. 10. 11, 24 'Cui testis est per litteras M. Brutus, eum principem fuisse ad conatum exercitus comparandi.' Appian tells us that from the first arrival of M. Brutus in Greece Apuleius handed over to him all his forces and the money which he had collected as quaestor (B. Civ. 4. 75).

Quid? si omnibus suis copiis excellentem virum res publica armasset, quem tandem bonum paeniteret? nec enim sine pecunia exercitum alere nec sine exercitu fratrem tuum capere potuisset. Securi percussos Petrum et Menedemum, civitate donatos et hospites Caesaris, laudastis. Non laudavimus, quod ne audivimus quidem; valde enim nobis in tanta perturbatione rei publicae de duobus nequissimis Graeculis cogitandum fuit. Theopompum, nudum expulsus a Trebonio, confugere Alexandream neglexistis. Magnum crimen senatus! De Theopompo, summo homine, negleximus, qui ubi terrarum sit, quid agat, vivat denique an mortuus sit, quis aut scit aut curat? Servium Galbam eodem pugione succinctum in castris videtis. Nihil tibi de Galba respondeo, fortissimo et constantissimo civi: coram aderit; praesens tibi et ipse et ille, quem insimulas, pugio respondebit. Milites aut meos aut veteranos contraxistis, tamquam ad exitium eorum, qui Caesarem occiderant: et eosdem nec opinantes ad quaestoris sui aut imperatoris aut commilitonum suorum pericula impulistis. Scilicet verba dedimus, decepimus; ignorabat legio Martia, quarta, nesciebant veterani quid ageretur. Non illi senatus auctoritatem, non libertatem populi sequebantur: Caesaris mortem ulcisci volebant, quam omnes fatalem fuisse arbitrabantur: te videlicet salvum, beatum, florentem esse cupiebant. O miser

34

4. Petrum. Perhaps the same who is mentioned by Caesar (B. Civ. 3. 35) as his zealous supporter. The name is doubtful, and is variously given as 'Petrus,' 'Petraeus,' and 'Pactus.' The last form is the least likely, as he was evidently a Greek.

Menedemum. Of him we know nothing, except that from a comparison of Cic. Att. 15. 2, 2 with *ib.* 4, 4 it seems probable, that the rumour of his execution was a mistake.

8. Non is found after 'nudum,' in three of the MSS., under the contracted form 'fi.' Halm omits it, thinking that it is a corruption of the name of the place from which Theopompus was expelled. He may be the man whom Cicero mentions two years before (Att. 13. 7. 1) as being in correspondence with Caesar.

12. Eodem pugione, with the identical dagger with which he killed Caesar.

16. Meos, the Fourth and Martian

legions, which Antony had summoned from Macedonia to join him. See 3. 2, 3 and 4.

18. Quaestoris, &c. Antony served as quaestor in Gaul under Caesar in 52 and 51 B.C. Cp. 2. 20, 50. At Pharsalus he was in command of the right wing of Caesar's army, whence he probably claimed the title of Imperator.

20. Verba dedimus, &c., 'we cozened and deceived them.' Cp. Att. 15. 16 A: 'Verba mihi dari facile patior.' The irony is best continued to the end of the chapter, though some editors take the latter part as a question, reading 'num illi,' &c.

23. Fatalem, 'the special act of destiny,' and so calling for no revenge in any quarter.

cc. 17-18. He considered he was uttering a very bitter taunt in accusing the senate of imitating Pompey: and having repudiated the idea of relieving D. Brutus, he offered terms to the veterans if they would betray their general. Acknowledging his sympathy

cum re, tum hoc ipso, quod non sentis quam miser sis! Sed maximum crimen audite. Denique quid non aut probastis aut fecistis, quod faciat, si reviviscat—quis? credo enim afferet aliquod scelerati hominis exemplum—Cn. Pompeius ipse? O nos turpes, si quidem Cn. Pompeium imitati sumus! aut filius eius, si modo possit? Poterit, mihi crede: nam paucis diebus et in domum et in hortos paternos immigrabit. Postremo negatis pacem fieri posse, nisi aut emisero Brutum aut frumento iuvero. Alii istuc negant: ego vero, ne si ista quidem feceris, umquam tecum pacem huic civitati futuram puto. Quid? hoc placetne veteranis istis? quibus adhuc omnia integra sunt. Nihil vidi tam integrum quam ut oppugnare imperatorem incipiant, quem tanto studio consensuque offenderint. — Quoniam vos assentationibus et sive venenatis muneribus † venistis. Depravati an corrupti sunt, quibus persuasum sit foedissimum hostem iustissimo bello persequi? At militibus inclusis opem fertis. Nihil moror eos salvos esse et ire quo lubet, si tantum modo patiuntur perire eum, qui meruit. Quam benigne! Denique

with Dolabella, and complaining of the rejection of his own outrageous terms, he urged that Caesar's rather than Trebonius' death should be avenged, thus seeking the destruction of all the noblest and most loyal citizens.

O miser, &c. Cp. 2. 17, 16 note.

3. Quod faciat. So Halm, following the conjecture of Madvig (Opusc. 2. 200), for the ordinary reading, found in two MSS., 'fecistis? Quid faciat,' &c. He approves however rather of the plural 'quae' (two MSS. 'que'), 'what have ye not approved or even done of the things which Pompey, could he come to life again, would do?'

6. Modo. So Halm, from one MS., for the ordinary reading 'domo,' corrected in one MS. to 'domi.'

12. Omnia integra sunt, 'have yet to choose their line of action.' Antony seems to mean that as they had not yet actually attacked him, they had committed no offence for which he might not pardon them; but Cicero points out that deserting their general was ample cause of offence, saying that 'he never saw any line of action set so plainly before a body of men as to attack their general, whom they have so studiously and

ly offended.' Halm

unnecessarily reads 'cum tantum studium consensuque ostenderint,' from the reading 'ostenderint' in one MS.

14. Quoniam vos, &c. The sentence as it stands is unmeaning. Halm suggests 'quoniam vos eos assentationibus . . . venistis depravatam. line corrupti sunt,' &c., after Madvig (Jahn's Jahrb. for 1856, p. 125) would substitute 'quamquam eos vos . . . venistis depravatam. Itane? Corrupti sunt,' &c., which Kayser adopts.

16. Persuasum sit . . . persequi. This construction of 'persuasum sit' with the infinitive is rare, but is found also in Plaut. Bacch. 4. 8, 93 'Persuasum est facere, quoniam me nunc facti pudet;' and is borne out by the analogy of 'conceditur mihi facere,' and 'permitto alicui facere.' See Madvig l.c.

18. Quo lubet, si tantum, &c. So Halm from one MS. The others have 'quo iubetis tantum,' or 'quo iubetis si tantum,' the 'si' being apparently first lost in 'iubetis,' and then re-inserted from the obvious necessity of its presence. Mr. Long gets over the necessity by reading 'patiantur,' apparently without authority.

19. Denique, &c., 'we have come to this then at last, that availing themselves of Antony's generosity, the soldiers have left their general,' &c. Some editors, following

usi liberalitate Antonii milites imperatorem reliquerunt et se ad hostem metu perterriti contulerunt: per quos si non stetisset, non Dolabella prius imperatori suo quam Antonius etiam col-
36 legae parentasset. Concordiae factam esse mentionem scribitis in senatu et legatos esse consulares quinque. **5** Difficile est credere eos, qui me praecipitem egerint, aequissimas condiciones ferentem et tamen ex iis aliquid remittere cogitantem, putare aliquid moderate aut humane esse facturos. Vix etiam veri simile est, qui iudicaverint hostem Dolabellam ob rectissimum **10** facinus, eosdem nobis parcere posse idem sentientibus. Parumne videtur omnium facinorum sibi cum Dolabella societatem initam confiteri? Nonne cernitis ex uno fonte omnia scelera manare? Ipse denique fatetur, hoc quidem satis acute, non posse eos, qui hostem Dolabellam iudicaverint ob rectis- **15** simum facinus—ita enim videtur Antonio—sibi parcere idem **18** sentienti. Quid huic facias, qui hoc litteris memoriaeque **37** mandarit, ita sibi convenisse cum Dolabella, ut ille Trebonium et, si posset, etiam Brutum, Cassium, discruciatos necaret * * * eademque inhiheret supplicia nobis? O conservandus civis cum **20** tam pio iustoque foedere! Is etiam queritur condiciones suas repudiatas, aequas quidem et verecundas: ut haberet Galliam

Ferrarius, read 'itaque;' but Hand (Turnell. 2. 267) shows that 'denique,' like the German 'am Ende,' serves to express ironical indignation, suggesting what is looked upon as in the highest degree improbable. He compares pro Rosc. Am. 29, 81 'Ii denique qui tum armati dies noctesque concursabant, . . . Sex. Roscio temporis illius acerbiter iniquitatemque obiciant.'

2. Per quos si non stetisset, 'but for whose opposition.'

3. Non Dolabella prius, &c. 'Dolabella's offering to the "manes" of his general would not have come before the offering of Antony to his colleague;' i.e. Antony would have sacrificed his victim from among the murderers of Caesar, by killing D. Brutus, as soon as Dolabella succeeded in murdering Trebonius.

5. Consulares quinque. See 12. 7, 18; where Pansa is added to the five 'consulares.' He is probably omitted by Antony, because the embassy was only the secondary reason for his going to Mutina, and if it

failed he was to follow out his primary object, and join his forces to those of Hirtius in opposing Antony.

6. Difficile est credere . . . putare. That either 'credere' or 'putare' is superfluous is clear; but Garatonius defends them both, thinking that 'putare' repeats 'credere' on account of the long intervening clause. He thinks 'credere' comes in so elegantly as to prove its own case, while Priscian (15. 3, 13) quotes the passage with 'putare.' Madvig would strike out 'credere,' 'nam etsi multos novi interpretes nihil reformidantes, non puto tamen me reperturum qui neget haec sic cohaerere: "Difficile est putare (credere) eos qui me . . . egerint . . . facturos esse."' (Jahn's Jahrb. for 1856, p. 127.)

20. Eademque, &c. As this clause obviously refers to something which Antony should do, and there is nothing to mark the change of subject, Klotz, followed by subsequent editors, has marked the passage as deficient.

ultimam, aptissimam ad bellum renovandum instruendumque provinciam: ut Alaudae in tertia decuria iudicarent, id est, ut perfugium scelerum esset † cum turpissimis rei publicae sordibus: ut acta sua rata essent, cuius nullum remanet consulatus vestigium. Cavebat etiam L. Antonio, qui fuerat aequissimus agri privati et publici decempedator, Nucula et Lentone collega. Quam ob rem vos potius animadvertite, utrum sit elegantius et partibus utilius, Trebonii mortem persequi an Caesaris, et utrum sit aequius, concurrere nos, quo facilius reviviscat Pompeianorum causa totiens iugulata, an consentire, ne ludibrio simus inimicis. Si esset iugulata, numquam exurgeret: quod tibi tuisque contingat! Utrum, inquit, elegantius—atqui hoc bello de elegantia quaeritur!—partibusque utilius. Partes, furiose, dicuntur in foro, in curia. Bellum contra patriam nefarium suscepisti: oppugnans Mutinam, circumsedes consulem designatum: bellum contra te duo consules gerunt cumque iis pro praetore Caesar: cuncta contra te Italia armata est. Istas tu partes potius quam a populo Romano defectionem vocas? Trebonii mortem an Caesaris persequi.—Trebonii satis persecuti sumus, hoste iudicato Dolabella: Caesaris mors facillime

2. Alaudae. See 1. 8, 20 note.

3. Cum turpissimis r. p. sordibus can only mean 'to the dire disgrace of the state,' in which sense the use of 'turpissimis' is strange. Halm would read 'tum' or 'iam,' 'that henceforth there might be a refuge for their crimes to the lowest dregs of the state.' Klotz reads 'in . . . sordibus,' 'a refuge for crime among the lowest dregs of the people,' but this is hardly fair to the Alaudae.

6. Decempedator. The word is only used here. Cp. 14. 4, 10 'Peritus metator et callidus.' The reference is again to the septemvirate 'agris dividendis.'

8. Elegantius, &c., 'in better taste, and more advantageous for your party.' Cicero cavils at the word 'elegantius' as introducing too trifling considerations for so weighty a decision as that between peace and war. Two passages are commonly quoted from Livy as justifying Antony's use of the word, from 35. 14 'Neminem (Pyrrho) elegantius loca cepisse, praesidia disposuisse;' and 37. 1 'Elegantius facturos dixit si iudicio patrum quam si sorti eam rem permisissent;' but the former refers

only to the engineering skill of Pyrrhus, the latter not to the actual alternative between peace and war, but to the manner in which the decision should be made. Cicero's objection to 'partes' is that it is used of parties in a state, whereas Antony was an outlaw, and at open war with Rome. Here therefore the matter in dispute lies deeper than a mere question of Latinity.

11. Iugulata. Perhaps 'annihilated' is the word that will best bear Cicero's criticism of a term which cannot be literally translated.

20. Trebonii . . . persequi. So Halm, following a suggestion of Ferrarius. The MSS. have 'potius Trebonii mortem quam Caesaris persequimur,' but the change of 'persequi' into 'persequimur' might easily have been made by some copyist, who did not see that it was a quotation of a portion of what had been already quoted, and wished to make it grammatical in itself; and 'potius' probably comes in from the line above.

21. Facillime. It were easy enough to defend it by eulogies on its perpetrators, but it is easier still, and quite enough, to let it sink unmentioned into oblivion.

defenditur oblivione et silentio. Sed videte quid moliatur. Cum mortem Caesaris ulciscendam putat, mortem proponit non iis solum, qui illam rem gesserunt, sed iis etiam, si qui non moleste **19** tulerunt. Quibus, utri nostrum ceciderint, lucro futurum **40** est. Quod spectaculum adhuc ipsa Fortuna vitavit, ne videret unius corporis duas acies lanista Cicerone dimicantes: qui usque eo felix est, ut eisdem ornamentis deceiverit vos, quibus deceptum Caesarem gloriatus est. Pergit † in me maledicta, quasi vero ei pulcherrime priora processerint: quem ego inustum verissimis maledictorum notis **10** tradam hominum memoriae sempiternae. Ego lanista? et quidem non insipiens: deteriores enim iugulari cupio, meliores vincere. Utri ceciderint, scribit, lucro nobis futurum. **41** O praeclarum lucrum! quo te victore—quod di omen avertant!—beata mors eorum futura sit, qui ex vita excesserint sine **15** tormentis. A me deceptos ait eisdem ornamentis Hirtium et Caesarem. Quod, quaeso, adhuc a me est tributum Hirtio ornamentum? nam Caesari plura et maiora debentur. Deceptum autem Caesarem a me dicere audes? Tu, tu, inquam, illum occidisti Lupercalibus: cuius, homo ingratisime, flaminium cur **20**

c. 19. *He deprecated civil war, as fostered by Cicero for his own ends, as if anything but ruin could accrue to him if Antony were successful; and he upbraided Cicero for treacherous compliments which he had never paid to Hirtius, and for deceiving Caesar, who had really been betrayed by Antony himself. He declared himself resolved to abide by his party, and by his plighted troth to Dolabella,—partnership with whom was infamy,—and to Lepidus and Plancus, neither of whom would ever have made terms with him.*

4. Quibus. Sc. 'inimicis,' see § 38.

6. Lanista Cicerone, 'with Cicero to arrange the terms of combat,' as though both sides belonged to his school of gladiators, and he marshalled the whole war. Cp. Livy 35. 35 'Quanto satius esse Romam mittere legatos, quam populum Romanum cum Antiocho, lanistis Aetolis, dimicare.'

7. Ornamentis: perhaps 'flowers of rhetoric' (cp. ad Quint. Fr. 2. 13, 1 'Iam pridem istum canto Caesarem. Mihi crede, in sinu est: neque ego discingor') as we do not hear of Cicero taking any prominent part in promoting the official exaltation of Caesar.

9. In me maledicta. Halm thinks

'iacere' or 'iactare' has fallen out. Another reading is 'in mea maledicta,' like 'meam contumeliam' in § 42; but this presents a strange construction of 'pergo,' hardly borne out by 'pergamus ad reliqua' in Brut. 43. 153.

11. Et quidem non insipiens, 'and indeed I show my skill therein'; in seeking to get rid of the worst of his band.

13. Nobis, 'to Cicero and his friends,' the 'inimici' referred to above in § 38. It is hard to see what gain Cicero could be supposed to reap by the overthrow of the Consuls, leading as it must have done to the exaltation of Antony.

14. Quo, 'whereby.' An emendation has been suggested, 'cum te victore.'

18. Caesari plura, &c. It would seem from this as though Cicero affected to understand Antony as referring to the younger Caesar, to whom alone this would apply; and then he corrects himself by saying, 'but can it be the elder Caesar whom you dare to say that I deceived?' If this view be right, it gives weight to the reading 'deceptum autem patrem a me,' &c., which is found in three MSS.

20. Occidisti, 'dealt him the fatal blow'; by opening the eyes of the people to

reliquisti? Sed iam videte magni et clari viri admirabilem gravitatem atque constantiam. Mihi quidem constat nec meam ⁴² contumeliam nec meorum ferre, nec deserere partes, quas Pompeius odivit, nec veteranos sedibus suis moveri pati nec singulos ad cruciatum trahi, nec fallere fidem, quam dedi Dolabellae. Omitto alia: fidem Dolabellae, sanctissimi viri, deserere homo pius non potest. Quam fidem? an optimi cuiusque caedis, urbis et Italiae partitionis, vastandarum diripiendarumque provinciarum? Nam quid erat ¹⁰ aliud, quod inter Antonium et Dolabellam, impurissimos paricidas, foedere et fide sanciretur? Nec Lepidi societatem ⁴³ violare, piissimi hominis. Tibi cum Lepido societas aut cum ullo, non dicam bono civi, sicut ille est, sed homine sano? Id agis ut Lepidum aut impium aut insanum existimari velis. ¹⁵ Nihil agis—quamquam affirmare de altero difficile est—de Lepido praesertim, quem ego metuam numquam, bene sperabo, dum licebit. Revocare te a furore Lepidus voluit, non adiutor esse dementiae. Tu porro ne pios quidem, sed piissimos quaeris, et, quod verbum omnino nullum in lingua Latina est, id propter ²⁰ tuam divinam pietatem novum inducis. Nec Plancum ⁴⁴ prodere, participem consiliorum. Plancum participem?

the real nature of his government, in offering him a crown. Cp. 2. 34, 85.

Flaminium cur reliquisti. As 'flamen' of Caesar (see 2. 43, 110), it was unlawful for Antony to be away from the city for a single night. The mention of the 'Lupercalia,' at which Antony held the new office of Lupercus Iulius, naturally leads Cicero to consider the other priesthood in honour of Caesar with which he was invested. The form 'flaminium' is confirmed by Livy 26. 23 'C. Claudius . . . flaminio abiit.'

4. Odivit. So the MSS. Festus acknowledges the obsolete form 'odio' as the basis of conjugation for this verb, and various forms belonging to it are found in patristic Latin, especially in Tertullian.

8. Optimi cuiusque, &c. Cp. 20, 47, and 5. 3, 6. For 'vastandarum' one MS. has 'suas dandarum,' whence many editors, following Ferrarius, have 'suis dandarum;' but the superfluous 's' is merely the repetition of the final letter of 'partitionis.' Another meaningless reading is 'sententias dandarum.'

12. Cum Lepido. Here again, as in c. 4, 7 foll., and c. 8, 16, Cicero betrays his misgivings about Lepidus; but he implies that even if Lepidus forgot his duty to his country, he would at any rate never be guilty of such enormities as Antony.

15. De altero, 'of one's neighbour.' Cp. Off. 1. 2, 4 'Nulla vitae pars, neque si tecum agas quid, neque si cum altero contrahas, vacare officio potest.'

19. Omnino nullum, &c. It was used by Tacitus and later writers, and Flavius Caper is quoted by the grammarian Pompeius (p. 132, ed. Lindemann) as adducing passages from Cicero's own epistles in which the form occurs.

20. Plancum. The Consul elect. He, like Lepidus, eventually deceived the hopes of Cicero, and joined Antony, though after the relief of Mutina he for a time combined with D. Brutus in carrying on the war against him. Cp. Fam. 11. 15, 1 (to D. Brutus) 'Coniunctio tua cum collega concordiae vestra, quae litteris communibus declarata est, S. P. Q. R. gratissima accidit.'

cuius memorabilis ac divina virtus lucem affert rei publicae—
nisi forte eum subsidio tibi venire arbitraris cum fortissimis
legionibus, maximo equitatu peditatuque Gallorum—: quique, nisi
ante eius adventum rei publicae poenas dederis, ille huius belli
feret principatum. Quamquam enim prima praesidia utiliora 5
20 rei publicae sunt, tamen extrema sunt gratiora. Sed iam se
45 colligit et ad extremum incipit philosophari. Si me rectis
sensibus euntem di immortales, ut spero, adiuverint,
vivam libenter. Sin autem me aliud fatum manet,
praecipio gaudia suppliciorum vestrorum. Namque si 10
victi Pompeiani tam insolentes sunt, victores quales
futuri sint, vos potius experiemini. Praecipias licet
gaudia: non enim tibi cum Pompeianis, sed cum universa re
publica bellum est. Omnes te di homines, summi medii infimi,
cives peregrini, viri mulieres, liberi servi oderunt. Sensimus 15
hoc nuper falso nuntio, vero propediem sentiemus. Quae si
tecum ipse recolueris, aequiore animo et maiore consolatione
40 moriere. Denique summa iudicii mei spectat huc, ut
meorum iniurias ferre possim, si aut oblivisci velint
ipsi fecisse, aut ulcisci parati sunt una nobiscum 20
Caesaris mortem. Hac Antonii sententia cognita dubita-

4. Ille. For this use of 'ille,' added to a relative, after an intervening parenthetic clause, for the sake of marking out more clearly the person referred to, Madvig (on Cic. Fin. 5. 24, 171) compares pro Sest. 32, 66 'Qui, cum in senatu privati, ut de me sententias dicerent, flagitabant, legem illi Clodium timere dicebant.' Cp. also de Orat. 2. 30, 130.

c. 20. He represented himself to be at war with the Pompeian party, whereas it was the whole of Rome that was at war with him; and he made a magnanimous offer of reconciliation to all who would aid him in avenging Caesar's death: as if he were the man whom such a task befitted, or as if such an offer could delude any, when not even Caesar's adopted son had been led away by the use which Antony had made of Caesar's name.

6. Se colligit, 'he composes himself.' See 10. 3, 6 note.

10. Vestrorum: of the partisans of Caesar, represented by the Consuls, to whom the letter was addressed; on whom the Pompeian party would wreak a speedy

vengeance, so soon as they had no longer need of their assistance against Antony.

12. Praecipias licet, 'it is well,' that is, 'that you should enjoy by anticipation what you will never live to see fulfilled.' Manutius points out that Cicero does not repeat the subject of Antony's enjoyment, on account of the evil omen.

16. Nuntio, when a false report arrived that you were dead.

17. Aequiore animo. Perhaps from feeling that he had no friends, but that all wished him dead.

19. Meorum iniurias, 'the wrongs committed by my friends;' by the former adherents, that is, of Caesar, as opposed to the Pompeians.

20. Parati sunt. So the extant MSS. The older editors have 'sint;' but Antony would require the readiness for vengeance more immediately than the willingness to forget, and so might well say, 'if they should be willing to forget that they have done the wrongs, or if they are prepared at once to join us in avenging Caesar's death.'

turumne A. Hirtium aut C. Pansam, consules, putatis, quin ad Antonium transeant? Brutum obsideant? Mutinam expugnare cupiant? Quid de Pansa et Hirtio loquor? Caesar, singulari pietate adolescens, poteritne se tenere, quin D. Bruti sanguine poenas patrias persequatur? Itaque fecerunt ut his litteris lectis ad munitiones propius accederent: quo maior adolescens Caesar maioreque deorum immortalium beneficio rei publicae natus est, qui nulla specie paterni nominis nec pietate abductus umquam est, sed intelligit maximam pietatem conservatione patriae
 10 contineri. Quod si partium certamen esset, quarum omnino 47 nomen extinctum est, Antoniusne potius et Ventidius partes Caesaris defenderent quam primum Caesar, adolescens summa pietate et memoria parentis sui, deinde Pansa et Hirtius, qui quasi cornua duo tenuerunt Caesaris tum, cum illae vere partes
 15 vocabantur? Hae vero quae sunt partes, cum alteris senatus auctoritas, populi Romani libertas, rei publicae salus proposita sit, alteris caedes bonorum, urbis Italiaeque partitio? Veniamus 21 aliquando ad clausulam. Legatos venire non credo—bene me novit—† quod venias, proposito praesertim exemplo Dola-
 20 bellae. Sanctiore erunt, credo, iure legati quam duo consules, contra quos arma fert, quam Caesar, cuius patris flamen est, quam consul designatus, quem oppugnat, quam Mutina, quam obsidet, quam patria, cui igni ferroque minuitur. Cum vene-
 48 rint, quae postulant cognoscam. Quin tu abis in malam

5. Poenas patrias, 'to avenge his father's death.'

Fecerunt ut. See 4. 5, 11 note. 'They advanced at once nearer to Antony's entrenchments, to join battle with him.' The double meaning of 'accedo,' which so well expresses the result of Cicero's ironical suggestion, can hardly be rendered in translation.

6. Quo maior, &c., 'whereby Caesar is seen to be a youth of higher powers,' &c.

14. Cornua tenuerunt, 'were Caesar's main support on either side;' lit. 'supported his flanks,' the metaphor being taken from military language. This expression (the boldness of which does not appear to have gained for it imitators) probably attaches too much importance at least to Pansa among Caesar's followers; and even Hirtius mainly owes his prominence to his being Consul at this time.

c. 21. He was right enough in supposing that no ambassadors would trust themselves to him. In short, his letter did but expose his treasonable designs, and make it more impossible to come to terms with him; and it only confirmed Cicero in voting with Servilius that Lepidus should be recommended to leave the matter in the hands of the senate; to which he adds the further proposal that the thanks of the senate and people should be given to the younger Pompey for his conduct.

19. Quod venias. The reading here is hopelessly corrupt; and no satisfactory emendation has been suggested. Perhaps the best is that adopted by Orelli; 'bellum quo veniat,' 'into the neighbourhood of the war.'

23. Igni ferroque. See 11. 14, 37 note.

pestem malumque cruciatum! Ad te quisquam veniat nisi Ventidii similis? Oriens incendium qui restingerent, summos viros misimus; repudiasti: nunc in tantam flammam tamque inveteratam mittamus, cum locum tibi reliquum non modo ad pacem, sed ne ad deditionem quidem feceris? 5

Hanc ego epistolam, patres conscripti, non quo illum dignum putarem recitavi, sed ut confessionibus ipsius omnia patefacta 40 eius parricidia videretis. Cum hoc pacem M. Lepidus, vir ornatissimus omnibus et virtutis et fortunae bonis, si haec videret, denique aut vellet fieri aut posse arbitraretur? 'Prius undis 10 flamma,' ut ait poëta nescio quis, prius denique omnia quam aut cum Antoniis res publica aut cum re publica Antonii redeant in gratiam. Monstra quaedam ista et portenta sunt [prodigia] rei publicae. Moveri sedibus huic urbi melius est atque in alias, si fieri possit, terras demigrare, unde Antoniorum nec facta nec 15 nomen audiat, quam illos, Caesaris virtute eiectos, Bruti retentos, intra haec moenia videre. Optatissimum est vincere; secundum est nullum casum pro dignitate et libertate patriae non ferendum putare. Quod reliquum est, non est tertium, sed postremum omnium, maximam turpitudinem suscipere vitae 20 50 cupiditate. Quae cum ita sint, de mandatis litterisque M.

4. Inveteratam, 'that has gained such force from lapse of time.'

6. Non quo, &c., 'not that I thought the writer worthy of so much consideration.'

8. Pacem M. Lepidus . . . suaderet. Lepidus had written a letter to the senate (Cic. Fam. 10. 35) strongly advocating peace, as the only means of securing the safety of the state.

10. Denique aut vellet. There seems to be something wrong here, from the baldness of 'denique' as it stands. Where it is used in the apodosis of a hypothetical sentence, as equivalent to 'demum,' it is always combined with a demonstrative pronoun or adverb, as in Fin. 1. 19, 64 'Qui si omnes veri erunt, tum denique poterit aliquid cognosci et percipi.' Madvig (Jahn's Jahrb. for 1856, p. 127) suggests the addition of 'audiret' after 'videret,' 'if he could see, or in fact hear all this.' The word may perhaps be itself an interpolation from the following clause.

Prius undis flamma. Cp. Sen. Thyest. 3. 1, 77

'Ante cum flammis aquae,

Cum morte vita, cum mari ventus fidem Foedusque iungent.'

It was probably a common proverb at Rome, though it cannot be traced further back than Cicero.

13. [Prodigia]. So Halm, who looks on 'prodigia' as a gloss.

15. Antoniorum nec facta nec nomen. Cp. Fam. 7. 30, 1 'Hinc ipse evolare cupio et aliquo pervenire, "ubi nec Pelopidarum nomen nec facta audiam;"' and Att. 14. 12, 2 'Exire aveo, "ubi nec Pelopidarum;"' from which passages it appears that Cicero is here alluding to a favourite quotation from some well-known play.

16. Retentos, 'kept before Mutina.'

19. Non est tertium, 'does not come near enough to be placed third:' though next, it can only be looked upon as coming last. So Hor. Od. 1. 12, 18

'Nec viget quidquam simile aut secundum,

Proximos illi tamen occupabit Pallas honores.'

Lepidi, viri clarissimi, Servilio assentior et hoc amplius censeo,
Magnum Pompeium, Gnaei filium, pro patris maiorumque suorum
animo studioque in rem publicam suaeque pristina virtute,
industria, voluntate fecisse, quod suam eorumque, quos secum
5 haberet, operam senatui populoque Romano pollicitus esset,
eamque rem senatui populoque Romano gratam acceptamque
esse eique honori dignitaeque eam rem fore. Hoc vel coniungi
cum hoc senatus consulto licet, vel seiungi potest separatimque
perscribi, ut proprio senatus consulto Pompeius collaudatus esse
10 videatur.

1. Hoc amplius censeo, 'I move as a rider.'

INTRODUCTION

TO THE FOURTEENTH ORATION.

AFTER the departure of Pansa to join his colleague, Cicero was left practically at the head of affairs in Rome, and about the middle of April his opponents took advantage of his prominence to spread a rumour that he was intending to assume the dictatorship. Their design was favoured by a report which reached the city at the same time that Antony had gained a great victory, and was marching upon Rome: and Cicero would have been in considerable danger, had not P. Apuleius, the tribune of the commons, come forward to vindicate the purity of his policy, and expose the absurdity of the rumour which was circulated of his ambition. Very shortly after this speech was delivered, a despatch arrived from Hirtius with the news of a victory over Antony, and the tide immediately turned in Cicero's favour. It appears that Antony had evacuated Bononia, in order to concentrate his forces before Mutina, so that Pansa advanced without opposition to within eight miles of the latter city. There he was opposed by Antony with two legions, two praetorian cohorts, and some veteran volunteers. Hirtius however sent a detachment to his aid, and the result was a decided success on the part of the Consuls, though Pansa was seriously, and, as it turned out, mortally wounded in the engagement. The details of the battle may be best given in the words of Ser. Sulpicius Galba (Cic. Fam. 10. 30), who held a command in Pansa's army. His narrative slightly differs from that of Appian, and also in some small particulars from the account in Cicero's speech; but Appian is not quite impartial in his history of these times, and Cicero spoke the fourteenth oration before the arrival of Galba's letter, and probably with imperfect information as to the details of the battle, so that, considering the clearness and vigour of Galba's account, and the opportunity which he possessed of knowing the particulars, we may fairly trust its accuracy. He says: 'A. d. xvii. Kalend.

Maia (April 15), quo die Pansa in castris Hirtii erat futurus, cum quo ego eram—nam ei obviam processeram milia passuum centum, quo maturius veniret,—Antonius legiones eduxit duas, secundam et quintam tricesimam et cohortes praetorias duas, alteram Silani, et evocatorum partem. Ita obviam venit nobis, quod nos quattuor legiones tironum habere solum arbitrabatur. Sed noctu, quo tutius venire in castra possemus, legionem Martiam, cui ego praeesse solebam, et duas cohortes praetorias miserat Hirtius nobis. 2. Cum equites Antonii apparuissent, contineri neque legio Martia neque cohortes praetoriae potuerunt; quas sequi coepimus coacti, quoniam retinere eas non potueramus. Antonius ad Forum Gallorum suas copias continebat, neque sciri volebat se legiones habere; tantum equitatum et levem armaturam ostendebat. Posteaquam vidit se invito legionem ire Pansa, sequi se duas legiones iussit tironum. Posteaquam angustias paludis et silvarum transimus, acies est instructa a nobis duodecim cohortium. 3. Nondum venerant legiones duae; repente Antonius in aciem suas copias de vico produxit et sine mora concurrat. Primo ita pugnatum est, ut acrius non posset ex utraque parte pugnari; etsi dexterius cornu, in quo ego eram cum Martiae legionis cohortibus octo, impetu primo fugaverat legionem xxxv. Antonii, ut amplius passus * * ultra aciem, quo loco steterat, processerit. Itaque cum equites nostrum cornu circumire vellent, recipere me coepi et levem armaturam opponere Maurorum equitibus, ne aversos nostros aggredirentur. Interim video me esse inter Antonianos, Antoniumque post me esse aliquanto. Repente equum immisi ad eam legionem tironum, quae veniebat ex castris scuto reiecto. Antoniani me insequi; nostri pila coicere velle. Ita nescio quo fato sum servatus, quod sum cito a nostris cognitus. 4. In ipsa Aemilia, ubi cohors Caesaris praetoria erat, diu pugnatum est. Cornu sinisterius, quod erat infirmius, ubi Martiae legionis duae cohortes erant et cohors praetoria, pedem referre coeperunt, quod ab equitatu circumibantur, quo vel plurimum valet Antonius. Cum omnes se recepissent nostri ordines, recipere me novissimus coepi ad castra. Antonius tamquam victor castra putavit se posse capere. Quo cum venit, complures ibi amisit nec egit quidquam. Audita re Hirtius cum cohortibus viginti veteranis redeunti Antonio in sua castra occurrit copiasque eius omnes delevit fugavitque eodem loco, ubi erat pugnatum, ad Forum Gallorum. Antonius cum equitibus hora noctis quarta se in castra sua ad Mutinam recepit. 5. Hirtius in ea castra rediit, unde Pansa exierat, ubi duas legiones reliquerat, quae ab Antonio erant oppugnatae. Sic partem maiorem suarum copiarum Antonius amisit veteranarum. Nec id tamen sine aliqua iactura cohortium praetoriarumstrarum et legionis Martiae fieri potuit. Aquilae

duae, signa sexaginta sunt relata Antonii. Res bene gesta est. A. d. xii. Kalendas Maias, ex castris.'

The despatch of Hirtius excited to the highest pitch the enthusiasm of the people, already roused in Cicero's favour by the speech of Apuleius. They crowded to his house, and conducted him in a triumphal procession to the Capitol, and back again to his home on the Palatine. This was on the 20th of April, the day on which Galba's letter was written, and on the following day, M. Cornutus, the city praetor, called a meeting of the senate. It was moved by P. Servilius that the citizens should lay aside the military garb, and that a public thanksgiving should be celebrated in honour of the victory. Cicero followed with the fourteenth and last extant Philippic oration. In respect to the first point he urged that it would be premature to lay aside the garb of war till the siege of Mutina was actually raised; but the second motion he eagerly supported as implying more than it expressed. On no previous occasion had a thanksgiving been decreed for a victory over citizens, and therefore in voting for its celebration now, the senate really was pronouncing Antony a public enemy. He accordingly moved that the time should be extended to the unprecedented length of fifty days, and that the three generals, Hirtius, Pansa, and Octavianus, should be included in the honour; though even according to his own account, Octavianus had taken no part in the actual battle. He concluded with a glowing eulogy of those who had fallen in the battle, consoling their surviving friends with the thoughts of the glory which they had won, and which would be made imperishable by the public monument which he proposed should be erected to their memory.

It is probable that Cicero delivered further orations on the subject of the contest with Antony, and we might especially expect to find one on the occasion of the second battle before Mutina, in which Hirtius was killed and Antony decisively defeated; but there is no trace of any later speech preserved, except two short fragments quoted by Arusianus (p. 225, Lindem.) as from a sixteenth Philippic oration.

For this oration Halm obtained the collation of an additional MS., but without any valuable results, as it has given rise to no improvement in the text, and appears to be carelessly written. It is in the Vatican library, and is pronounced by Halm (who quotes it as 'v.') to be 'ex vetustioribus Italicis.'

M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER QUARTUS DECIMUS.

- 1 SI, ut ex litteris, quae recitatae sunt, patres conscripti, sce-
1 leratissimorum hostium exercitum caesum fustumque cognovi,
sic id, quod et omnes maxime optamus et ex ea victoria, quae
parta est, consecutum arbitramur, D. Brutum egressum iam
Mutina esse cognovissem: propter cuius periculum ad saga 5
issemus, propter eiusdem salutem redeundum ad pristinum ves-
titum sine ulla dubitatione censerem. Ante vero quam sit ea
res, quam avidissime civitas exspectat, allata, laetitia frui satis
est maximae praeclarissimaeque pugnae; reditum ad vestitum
confectae victoriae reservate. Confectio autem huius belli est 10
2 D. Bruti salus. Quae autem est ista sententia, ut in hodiernum
diem vestitus mutetur, deinde cras sagati prodeamus? Nos
vero cum semel ad eum, quem cupimus optamusque, vestitum
redierimus, id agamus ut eum in perpetuum retineamus. Nam
hoc quidem cum turpe est, tum ne dis quidem immortalibus 15
gratum, ab eorum aris, ad quas togati adierimus, ad saga sumenda
3 discedere. Atque animadverto, patres conscripti, quosdam huic
favere sententiae: quorum ea mens idque consilium est, ut,

cc. 1, 2. Cicero warns the senate that it was premature to assume the garb of peace before D. Brutus should be extricated from Mutina, both because the war could not be yet considered finished, and because they would be failing in due respect to Brutus. It was for his deliverance that they had witnessed such gallant exertions on the part of the envoys, the Consuls, Octavianus, and the Roman people; and therefore it was right to wait for the issue on which so much had been staked before commencing their rejoicings.

8. Laetitia frui. So Halm from the MSS. The old reading was 'laetitiae usus,' which gives rather an awkward double genitive.

15. Cum turpe est, &c.: the shame of the action consisting in the mockery which it involved, both of their sorrow and of their religion, that they should put on the toga, so as to mark rejoicing and triumph, while they knew that their anxiety was not yet over, and that the gods had granted only half their prayers.

cum videant gloriosissimum illum D. Bruto futurum diem, quo die propter eius salutem redierimus, hunc ei fructum eripere cupiant, ne memoriae posteritatis prodatur propter unius civis periculum populum Romanum ad saga isse, propter eiusdem salutem redisse ad togas. Tollite hanc: nullam tam pravae sententiae causam reperietis. Vos vero, patres conscripti, conservate auctoritatem vestram, manete in sententia, tenete vestra memoria, quod saepe ostendistis, huius totius belli in unius viri fortissimi et maximi vita positum esse discrimen. Ad 2
 10 D. Brutum liberandum legati missi principes civitatis, qui illi 4
 hosti ac parricidae denuntiarent ut a Mutina discederet: eiusdem D. Bruti conservandi gratia consul sortitu ad bellum profectus A. Hirtius, cuius imbecillitatem valetudinis animi virtus et spes victoriae confirmavit: Caesar, cum exercitu per se comparato †
 15 cum primis pestibus rem publicam liberasset, ne quid postea sceleris oriretur, profectus est ad eundem Brutum liberandum vicitque dolorem aliquem domesticum patriae caritate. // Quid 8
 C. Pansa egit aliud dilectibus habendis, pecuniis comparandis, senatus consultis faciendis gravissimis in Antonium, nobis co-
 20 hortandis, populo Romano ad causam libertatis vocando, nisi ut D. Brutus liberaretur? A quo populus Romanus frequens ita salutem D. Bruti una voce deposcit, ut eam non solum commodis suis, sed etiam necessitati victus anteferebat. Quod sperare nos quidem debemus, patres conscripti, aut inibi esse

2. Redierimus, sc. 'ad pristinum vestitum;' an ellipse easily supplied from the preceding section. One MS. however inserts 'ad vestitum;' and in another 'ad togam' is added as a gloss.

5. Hanc, sc. 'sententiam.'

10. Legati missi. See fifth and sixth orations.

12. Sortitu. So Halm from two MSS. The old reading was 'consules sortiti;' but the form 'sortitu' occurs also de Dom. 19, 50 'Pluribus de rebus uno sortitu rettulisti.'

13. Imbecillitatem. Cp. 7. 4, 12 'Quid igitur profectus est vir fortissimus, meus collega et familiaris, A. Hirtius Consul? at qua imbecillitate! qua macie! sed animi vires corporis infirmitas non retardavit.'

15. Cum primis pestibus. Halm thinks that under this obviously corrupt reading underlies some such expression as 'compressis pestibus.' Kayser reads 'cum primum,' apparently taking the first 'cum'

as a preposition; and this inverted order of the words would suit the artificial arrangement of the whole of these two opening chapters. One MS. has 'a primis pestibus,' and Manutius defends the reading in the text, referring the 'primae pestes' to Antony's return from Brundisium, and joining 'cum exercitu a se comparato' to 'profectus est.'

17. Dolorem aliquem domesticum, 'what natural affection lingered in his breast.' Cicero seems rather to imply that Octavianus was too true a patriot to entertain much love for such a tyrant as the dictator.

23. Quod, sc. the deliverance of D. Brutus.

24. Inibi, in reference to time, does not occur again in Cicero. It signifies, 'on the point of being achieved.' Cp. Caecil. ap. Non. 2. 427 'Liberne es? non sum, verum inibi est.'

aut iam esse confectum: sed spei fructum rei convenit et evento reservari, ne aut deorum immortalium beneficium festinatione praeripuisse aut vim fortunae stultitia contempsisse videamur.

- 6 Sed quoniam significatio vestra satis declarat quid hac de re sentiatis, ad litteras veniam, quae sunt a consulibus et a pro praetore missae, si pauca ante, quae ad ipsas litteras pertineant, 3 dixero. Imbuti gladii sunt, patres conscripti, legionum exercituumque nostrorum vel madefacti potius duobus duorum consulum, tertio Caesaris proelio. Si hostium fuit ille sanguis, summa militum pietas: nefarium scelus, si civium. Quousque 10 igitur is, qui omnes hostes scelere superavit, nomine hostis carebit? nisi mucrones etiam nostrorum militum tremere vultis 7 dubitantes, utrum in cive an in hoste figantur. Supplicationem decernitis: hostem non appellatis. Gratae vero nostrae dis immortalibus gratulationes erunt, gratae victimae, cum interfecta 15 sit civium multitudo! De improbis, inquit, et audacibus; nam sic eos appellat clarissimus vir: quae sunt urbanarum maledicta litium, non inustae belli internecivi notae. Testamenta, credo,

1. Evento. So Halm from one MS. Most of the MSS. have 'eventui,' which is the commoner form in the singular number, but cp. Att. 3. 8, 4 'poenam eventui.' Cicero's meaning is that they must not be too hasty in triumphing over the victory, lest they should seem to presume on the continued favour of the gods, or to have put out of sight reverses with which fortune still might persecute them. He attributes all the good which they might receive to the favour of heaven, and all reverses to the accidents of fortune, with an inconsistency commonly to be found in all who adopt the phraseology of fatalism.

cc. 3, 4. *The senate still hesitated to call Antony an enemy, though they waged war against him, and entertained the question of a 'supplication' for his defeat. Yet he did not hesitate to carry on open war with his country, to praise the enormities of Dolabella, to sanction the outrages of his brother, to treat the colonies with most rapacious violence, and to threaten equal violence against Rome itself. Cicero therefore declares in favour of a 'supplication' for fifty days in honour of the three generals, who would thus acquire for themselves the name of Imperator, whilst Antony would be thereby branded as an enemy to the state.*

4. Vestra significatio, 'your gestures of assent;' cp. pro Sest. 59, 125 'Haec

populi Romani tanta significatio.'

5. A pro praetore, by Octavianus. Cp. c. 8, 22.

7. Imbuti. One MS. adds 'sanguine,' which is apparently a gloss.

8. Madefacti. Manutius, followed by Forcellini, says 'Minus est "madefacti" quam "imbuti,"' as though Cicero corrected himself, putting a weaker word for a stronger one. The mention of the three battles, however, seems to point rather to a climax in the use of 'madefacti;' and this is confirmed by the use of 'imbuo,' referring to the beginning of bloodshed in 5. 7, 20 'Cum semel gladium scelere imbuisset.'

Duobus. See the introduction.

10. Pietas, 'loyal devotion.'

11. Nominis hostis. He had in all respects been treated as a foe, since the day when the people assumed the military dress, but had never yet been formally declared a public enemy.

16. Civium: as the soldiers of Antony must be deemed, if they were not considered enemies.

17. Clarissimus vir: the proposer of the 'supplicatio,' P. Servilius.

18. Internecivi. So Halm, with whom Facciolati agrees, for the common reading 'internecini.' The MSS. are hopelessly confused in this clause, and all corrupt.

subiiciunt aut eiiciunt vicinos aut adolescentulos circumscribunt; his enim vitiis affectos et talibus malos aut audaces appellare consuetudo solet. Bellum inexpiabile infert quattuor consulibus unus omnium latronum taeterrimus; gerit idem bellum cum
 5 senatu populoque Romano; omnibus—quamquam ruit ipse suis cladibus—pestem, vastitatem, cruciatum, tormenta denuntiat; Dolabellae ferum et immane facinus, quod nulla barbaria posset agnoscere, id suo consilio factum esse testatur; quaeque esset facturus in hac urbe, nisi cum hic ipse Iuppiter ab hoc templo
 10 atque moenibus reppulisset, declaravit in Parmensium calamitate, quos optimos viros honestissimosque homines, maxime cum auctoritate huius ordinis populique Romani dignitate coniunctos, crudelissimis exemplis interemit propudium illud et portentum, L. Antonius, insigne odium omnium hominum vel, si etiam di
 15 oderunt quos oportet, deorum. Refugit animus, patres conscripti, eaque dicere reformidat, quae L. Antonius in Parmensium liberis et coniugibus effecerit. Quas enim turpitudines Antonii libenter cum dedecore subierunt, easdem per vim laetantur aliis se intulisse. Sed vis calamitosa est, quam illis obtulerunt: libido
 20 flagitiosa, qua Antoniorum oblita est vita. Est igitur quisquam, qui hostes appellare non audeat, quorum scelere crudelitatem Karthaginensium victam esse fateatur? Qua enim in urbe tam immanis Hannibal capta quam in Parma surrepta Antonius? nisi forte huius coloniae et ceterarum, in quas eodem est animo,
 25 non est hostis putandus. Si vero coloniarum et municipiorum sine ulla dubitatione hostis est, quid tandem huius censetis

1. Subiiciunt, 'they exhibit counterfeited wills.' Cp. Quint. 9. 2, 73 'Ream tuebar, quae subiecisse dicebatur mariti testamentum.'

3. Quattuor consulibus. See on 13. 7, 16.

5. Ruit ipse, &c. Cp. Hor. Epod. 16, 2 'Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.'

9. Ab hoc templo. From this passage it would appear that the senate met on this occasion in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. Cp. c. 10, 27.

10. In Parmensium calamitate. We have already seen (10. 5, 10) that Parma was one of the cities in Antony's occupation (cp. Fam. 12. 5, 2); but of the particulars of its seizure we have nowhere else so much information as in this passage. Cp. Fam. 10. 33, 4; *ib.* 11. 13 A.

13. Propudium et portentum, 'that prodigy of vileness.' 'Propudium,' as a concrete term, appears, except in this passage, to be confined to the writings of the comedians. It here rests on the authority of one MS., the others having 'proludium,' or 'praeludium.'

15. Refugit, &c. Halm compares Virg. Aen. 2. 12

'Animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit.'

24. Nisi forte, &c. Cicero's argument depends on the general acknowledgment that Antony was an *enemy* to Parma and the other municipal towns; and this he shows him to have been, in that he treated them worse than any recognised enemy ever did.

26. Quid . . . huius urbis, 'what is his relation to this city? is he its enemy? or

urbis, quam ille ad explendas egestates latrocinii sui concupivit? quam iam peritus metator et callidus decempeda sua Saxa diviserat? Recordamini, per deos immortales! patres conscripti, quid hoc biduo timuerimus, a domesticis hostibus rumoribus improbissimis dissipatis. Quis liberos, quis coniugem adspicere poterat sine fletu? quis domum? quis tecta? quis larem familiarem. Aut foedissimam mortem omnes aut miserabilem fugam cogitabant. Haec a quibus timebantur, eos hostes appellare dubitamus? Gravius si quis attulerit nomen, libenter assentiar: hoc vulgari contentus vix sum, levio-¹⁰re non utar.

- 11 Itaque cum supplicationes iustissimas ex iis litteris, quae recitatae sunt, discernere debeamus, Serviliusque decreverit, augebo omnino numerum dierum, praesertim cum non uni, sed tribus ducibus sint discernendae. Sed hoc primum faciam, ut imperatores appellem eos, quorum virtute, consilio, felicitate¹⁵ maximis periculis servitutis atque interitus liberati sumus. Et enim cui viginti his annis supplicatio decreta est, ut non imperator appellaretur, aut minimis rebus gestis aut plerumque nullis? Quam ob rem aut supplicatio ab eo, qui ante dixit, discernenda non fuit, aut usitatus honos pervulgatusque tribu-²⁰endus iis, quibus etiam novi singularesque debentur. An si quis¹²

what?' 'quid' standing for the word which should bear the same relation to 'urbis' that 'hostis' does to 'coloniarius.'

1. Latrocinii, 'of his band of robbers.' Cp. Cat. 1. 13, 31 'Si ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur.'

2. Decempeda sua. Cp. 11. 5, 12; and see on 13. 18, 37.

4. Hoc biduo. The rumour of Antony's success and its consequences are set forth at length in c. 6.

A domesticis hostibus, 'by enemies within the walls.' The MSS. add 'id est qui intra moenia hostes sunt,' which Ferrarius deservedly expunged as a gloss.

10. Hoc vulgari, &c. Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 2. 66, 170 'Verbo satis digno tam nefaria res dici non potest,' de Leg. Agr. 2. 14, 35 'Verbum mihi deest, Quirites, cum ego hanc potestatem regiam appello, sed profecto maior est quaedam.'

12. Decernere is to give one's decision in favour of any question, and hence either of the senate, 'to pass a decree,' or, as here, of an individual senator, 'to vote for a motion,' not necessarily implying that he was the original proposer of it. Mr. Long

compares de Prov. Cons. cc. 10 and 11, in which the word occurs repeatedly in both applications; and which also illustrate the custom of proposing a 'supplicatio' on the receipt of despatches from a general in the field.

13. Cum non uni sed tribus. So Halm, from the very confused readings of the MSS. The old reading was 'sed communiter tribus,' but 'communiter' seems to have sprung out of 'cum non uni.'

17. Viginti his annis. See on 2. 1, 1.

19. Ab eo. This rare construction with the gerundive, showing that it had come to be looked on as a passive form, seems mainly to occur when there is already a dative depending on it in another relation. Cp. de Imp. Ca. Pomp. 2, 6 'Quibus est a vobis consulendum.' See however *ib.* 12, 34 'Haec a me in dicendo praeterenda non sunt;' and Zumpt, § 651.

cc. 5, 6. The generals would rejoice that their honours should be associated with the name of Cicero, when they entered the temple which had recently been the scene of an ovation in his honour. An attempt had been made

Hispanorum aut Gallorum aut Threcum mille aut duo milia occidisset, eum hac consuetudine, quae increbuit, imperatorem appellaret senatus: tot legionibus caesis, tanta multitudo hostium interfecta—hostium dico? ita, inquam, hostium, quamvis
 5 hoc isti hostes domestici nolint—clarissimis ducibus supplicationum honorem tribuamus, imperatorium nomen adimemus? Quanto enim honore, laetitia, gratulatione in hoc templum ingredi debent illi ipsi huius urbis liberatores, cum hesterno die propter eorum res gestas me ovantem et prope triumphantem
 10 populus Romanus in Capitolium domo tulerit, domum inde reduxit? Is enim demum est meā quidem sententiā iustus triumphus ac verus, cum bene de re publica meritis testimonium a consensu civitatis datur. Nam sive in communi gaudio populi Romani unī gratulabantur, magnum iudicium, sive uni gratias
 15 agebant, eo maius, sive utrumque, nihil magnificentius cogitari potest.

Tu igitur ipse de te? dixerit quispiam. Equidem invitus, sed iniuriæ dolor facit me præter consuetudinem gloriosum. Nonne satis est ab hominibus virtutis ignaris gratiam bene merentibus
 20 non referri? Etiam in eos, qui omnes suas curas in rei publicæ salute defigunt, † impetus crimen [invidiaque] quaeretur? Scitis enim per hos dies creberrimum fuisse sermonem, me Parilibus,

to spread a rumour that he, of all men, was aiming at sovereign power, and designs had even been formed against his life: but the plot had been frustrated by a speech of P. Apuleius, and the conspirators confounded by the news of Antony's defeat.

2. Imperatorem. Cicero seems to imply that the custom of giving the title of 'imperator' so easily was of recent growth.

7. Quanto enim honore, &c. Mr. Forsyth (2. 248) draws attention to the adroitness with which Cicero manages 'to bring in his own name and speak at some length of himself by alluding to the proud delight with which the victorious generals would enter as imperatores that temple where they were then sitting, when they recollected that it was on account of their exploits that the people had the day before conducted him in triumph to the Capitol.'

8. Hesterno die, the 20th of April, the day on which the news arrived. See on § 14.

21. Impetus crimen [invidiaque].

So Halm in his text, though in his notes he suggests 'impietatis crimen,' 'the charge of disloyalty.' He thinks 'invidia' a gloss, 'que' not being found in the MSS. Kayser reads 'impietatis crimine invidia.' The older editors omit 'impetus,' and read 'crimen invidiaque quaeretur,' 'shall it be sought to stir up prejudice against them, by bringing a charge against them:' but the expression of the nature of the charge seems to be required.

22. Parilibus. So Halm from one MS. The rest have 'per Idus Quintiles,' a reading opposed both to chronology and grammar. The feast of the Parilia, or birthday of Romulus and Remus (otherwise called Palilia, as though it were the festival of Pales), was celebrated on the 21st of April, and as the battles which gave occasion to this speech were fought on the 15th, the news might very well have reached Rome on the 20th of that month. This is the date given in one of the so-called letters to Brutus (ad Brut. 1. 3, 2), and as that letter bears evident traces of reference to this passage, and was

qui dies hodie est, cum fascibus descensurum. In aliquem credo hoc gladiatorem aut latronem aut Catilinam esse collatum, non in eum, qui ne quid tale in re publica fieri posset effecerit. An ego, qui Catilinam haec molientem sustulerim, everterim, affixerim, ipse exsisterem repente Catilina? Quibus auspiciis istos fasces augur acciperem? quatenus haberem? cui traderem? Quemquamne fuisse tam sceleratum qui hoc fingeret, tam furiosum qui crederet? Unde igitur ista suspicio vel potius unde iste sermo? Cum, ut scitis, hoc triduo vel quadriduo tristis a Mutina fama manaret, inflati laetitia atque insolentia impii cives unum se in locum, ad illam curiam, partibus potius suis quam rei publicae infelicem, congregabant. Ibi cum consilia inirent de caede nostra partirenturque inter se, qui Capitolium, qui rostra, qui urbis portas occuparent, ad me concursum futurum civitatis putabant. Quod ut cum invidia mea fieret et ut cum vitae etiam periculo, famam istam fascium dissipaverunt; fasces ipsi ad me delaturi fuerunt. Quod cum esset quasi mea voluntate factum, tum in me impetus conductorum hominum quasi in tyrannum parabatur; ex quo caedes esset vestrum omnium consecuta. Quae res patefecit, patres conscripti, sed suo tempore totius huius sceleris fons aperietur. Itaque P. Apuleius tribunus pl., meorum omnium consiliorum periculorumque iam inde a consulatu meo testis, conscius, adiutor, dolorem ferre non potuit doloris mei: contionem habuit maximam populo Romano unum atque idem

probably written within twenty or thirty years of Cicero's death, its authority on this point is considerable. Orelli, following a conjecture of Ferrarius, reads 'pridie Vinalia,' which would be the 22nd of April; but the reading in the text is further confirmed by a scholium on Pers. i. 72, which quotes Cicero as mentioning the Palilia in the Philippics.

1. Cum fascibus, 'with the ensigns of sovereign power;' probably as dictator, or even as king. For 'descensurum' see on 2. 6, 15.

4. Ut... everterim; sc. 'an id effeci ut,' &c.

9. Sermo. He implies that the rumour was not even founded on honest suspicion, but was wilfully spread abroad to bring him into odium.

11. Partibus. So Halm from a conjecture by Klotz. The MSS. have 'viribus,' or 'iuris,' from the latter of which Madvig

(Jahn's Jahrb. for 1856, p. 127) suggests 'furiis,' 'ut furiosos homines eo congregari solitos significet.' This conjecture is adopted by Kayser, and has the advantage of making 'suis' refer to 'curiam.' Other conjectures are 'civibus,' 'victoribus,' 'rebus.' The allusion is probably to the Curia Pompeii, which, as being the scene of Caesar's murder would naturally be deemed by his adherents to be a place of evil destiny to the state.

13. Rostra is the emendation of Faernus for 'hostia,' and has been adopted by almost all subsequent editors.

20. Patefecit. So the MSS. The older editors have 'patescit,' a mistake caused probably by their not observing that 'quae' is the accusative plural. The treasonable designs were brought to light by the course of events, but their origin yet remained to be disclosed.

21. P. Apuleius. See on 6. i, 1.

sentiente. In qua contione cum me pro summa nostra conjunctione et familiaritate liberare suspicione fascium vellet, una voce cuncta contio declaravit nihil esse a me umquam de re publica nisi optime cogitatum. Post hanc habitam contionem
 5 duabus tribusve horis optatissimi nuntii et litterae venerunt: ut idem dies non modo iniquissima me invidia liberarit, sed etiam celeberrima populi Romani gratulatione auxerit. ||

Haec interposui, patres conscripti, non tam ut pro me dicerem 17
 —male enim mecum ageretur, si parum vobis essem sine defensione purgatus—, quam ut quosdam nimis ieiuno animo et angusto monerem, id quod semper ipse fecissem, uti excellentium civium virtutem imitatione dignam, non invidia putarent. Magnus est in re publica campus, ut sapienter dicere Crassus solebat, multis apertus cursus ad laudem. Utinam quidem illi 7
 15 principes viverent, qui me post meum consulatum, cum iis ipse cederem, principem non inviti videbant! Hoc vero tempore in tanta inopia constantium et fortium consularium quo me dolore affici creditis, cum alios male sentire, alios nihil omnino curare videam, alios parum constanter in suscepta causa per-
 20 manere sententiamque suam non semper utilitate rei publicae, sed tum spe, tum timore moderari? Quod si quis de contentione 18
 principatus laborat, quae nulla esse debet, stultissime facit, si vitiis cum virtute contendit: ut enim cursu cursus, sic in viris fortibus virtus virtute superatur. Tu, si ego de re publica
 25 optime sentiam, ut me vincas, ipse pessime senties? aut, si ad me bonorum concursus fieri videbis, ad te improbos invitabis? Nollem, primum rei publicae causa; deinde etiam dignitatis tuae. Sed si principatus ageretur, quem numquam expetivi, quid

6. Sed etiam, &c., 'but has also conferred on me the honour of most unanimous congratulations from the Roman people.'

c. 7. *He himself was not desirous of acquiring undue prominence in the state; and so far as he aimed at distinction among his fellow-citizens, he confined himself to honourable means; being conscious that any use of disloyal measures must necessarily result in discomfiture. Hence he had been constant in his efforts for the freedom of the state, and had persevered in urging war, only because a peace with Antony would involve the slavery of them all.*

11. Fecissem. We should rather have expected 'feci,' but Cicero represents this as

part of the wording of his advice to his adversaries, instead of expressing it as a parenthetic explanation to the senate.

13. Crassus, L. Licinius Crassus, Consul 95 B.C., and pronounced by Cicero to dispute the palm for oratory with M. Antonius. See Brut. 36, 138; and 86, 296.

15. Principes, 'leaders in the state,' and especially men of consular rank.

28. Quid tandem, &c. As the protasis of this clause contains the opposite suggestion to that of the preceding one, supposing Cicero to be actuated by the unworthy motive of personal ambition, instead of anxiety for the good of the state, and the character of his rivals, so the apodosis

tandem mihi esset optatius? ego enim malis sententiis vinci
 10 non possum, bonis forsitan possim et libenter. Haec populum
 Romanum videre, animadvertere, iudicare quidam moleste ferunt.
 Poteratne fieri ut non proinde homines de quoque, ut quisque
 mereretur, iudicaret? Ut enim de universo senatu populus
 Romanus verissime iudicat, nullis rei publicae temporibus hunc
 ordinem firmiorem aut fortiorem fuisse, sic de uno quoque
 nostrum et maxime, qui hoc loco sententias dicimus, sciscitantur
 omnes, avent audire quid quisque senserit: ita de quoque, ut
 20 quemque meritum arbitrantur, existimant. Memoria tenent me
 ante diem XIII Kalendas Ianuarias principem revocandae liber-
 tatis fuisse; me ex Kalendis Ianuariis ad hanc horam invigilasse
 rei publicae; meam domum measque aures dies noctesque
 omnium praeceptis monitisque patuisse; meis litteris, meis
 nuntiis, meis cohortationibus omnes, qui ubique essent, ad patriae
 praesidium excitatos; meis sententiis a Kalendis Ianuariis num-
 quam legatos ad Antonium; semper illum hostem, semper hoc
 bellum, ut ego, qui omni tempore verae pacis auctor fuisset, huic
 21 essem nomini pestiferae pacis inimicus. Idem P. Ventidium, cum
 alii † tr. pl. uolusenum, ego semper hostem. Has in sententias 20

contains an opposite result. Patriotism and generous rivalry would make him most unwilling that his opponents should descend to unworthy means for gaining success, personal ambition would make him welcome eagerly such conduct on their part. The 'res optatissima' therefore, in such a case, would be that his opponent should entertain disloyal thoughts, and seek the aid of reproaches, 'vitiis cum virtute contendens.' The following clause confirms this view, in which Cicero declares that he fears nothing from disloyal stratagems, but if any one can devise a better policy than his own for the state, he, in the interests of the state, would be the first to welcome it.

2. Possim. One MS. has 'possum,' but see *Madv.* § 350 b. *Obs.* 3.

4. Proinde. One MS. here has 'perinde,' and some critics deny that Cicero ever uses 'proinde' in this sense; but in *Tusc.* 5. 2, 6 'proinde' is found in all the extant MSS., and in *pro Quinct.* 14. 45, as here, the balance of authority is greatly in its favour. Its occurrence in *Lucretius* (see 3. 1035 and 1053) admits of no question. See also *Zumpt*, § 282.

De quoque ut quisque. See on 2. 46, 119.

8. Hoc loco, sc. 'consulari loco.'

11. Ante diem xiii: the day on which the third and fourth orations were spoken. The MSS. have 'xiii;' but the date is proved both by the occurrence of the right figures in 6. 1, 1 and *Fam.* 12. 22, 3; and by the expression which he used respecting it on the 1st of January, 'qui dies nudius tertius decimus est' 5. 1, 2.

12. Ex Kalendis Ianuariis: when in the fifth oration he proposed that Antony should be declared an enemy.

16. Meis sententiis. It is to be noticed in this sentence how, as Cicero advances to his climax, his expressions become more elliptical: in the opening clauses the grammar is complete, then the substantive verb disappears, and at last he omits the whole verbs 'missos esse legatos,' 'iudicatum esse illum hostem.'

18. Ut ego, &c., 'so that I, the consistent adviser of real peace on all occasions, opposed this ruinous peace, which existed but in name. Cp. 7. 3, 7 foll.; 8. 4, 11, &c.

19. Ventidium. Cp. 12. 8, 20; 13. 21, 48.

20. Tr. pl. uolusenum. The reading here is hopelessly corrupt, and probably a portion has been lost, as there seems no

meas si consules discessionem facere voluissent, omnibus istis latronibus auctoritate ipsa senatus iam pridem de manibus arma cecidissent. Sed, quod tum non licuit, patres conscripti, id hoc 8 tempore non solum licet, verum etiam necesse est, eos, qui res sunt hostes, verbis notari, sententiis nostris hostes iudicari. Antea cum hostem ac bellum nominassem, semel et saepius 22 sententiam meam de numero sententiarum sustulerunt: quod in hac causa iam fieri non potest. Ex litteris enim C. Pansa A. Hirtii consulum, C. Caesaris pro praetore, de honore dis 10 immortalibus habendo, sententias dicimus. Supplicationem modo qui decrevit, idem imprudens hostes iudicavit: numquam enim in civili bello supplicatio decreta est. Decretam dico? ne victoris quidem litteris postulata est. Civile bellum consul Sulla gessit; 23 legionibus in urbem adductis quos voluit expulit, quos potuit 15 occidit: supplicationis mentio nulla. Grave bellum Octavianum insecutum est: supplicatio Cinnae nulla victori. Cinnae victoriam imperator ultus est Sulla: nulla supplicatio decreta a senatu. Ad te ipsum, P. Servili, num misit ullas collega litteras

reason for mentioning Ventidius alone in such a connection. Moreover he was one of the praetors for this year. Hence Orelli reads 'cum alii praetorem, tribunum Volusienum, ego,' &c., on which Halm remarks with justice, 'huic coniecturae iam verborum ordo ratioque rhetorica refragatur.' Another reading, found in two MSS., is 'cum alii tr. pl. voluissent num ego,' &c. Volusenus is not elsewhere mentioned by Cicero as one of the followers of Antony, though we hear of one C. Volusenus Quadratus, 'vir et consilii magni et virtutis,' being 'praefectus equitum' under Caesar. (Caes. Bell. Gall. 3. 5; Bell. Civ. 3. 60.)

1. Si consules. The MSS. add 'designati,' probably the injudicious interpolation of an early copyist, as the Consuls had already entered on their office.

Discessionem facere. See on 3. 9, 24.

cc. 8-10. *He now had the authority of the Consuls for proposing to declare Antony an enemy: for in no case had a 'supplication' been decreed for victory over citizens. He himself proposed to make the matter even less ambiguous, by giving the title of Imperator to both the Consuls and to Octavianus, for their noble prowess in the war. Hirtius and Pansa in the field, as gallant leaders of gallant armies, and Octavianus for his*

promptitude in opposing Antony and his valour in defending the camp, had well deserved this honour in addition to a 'supplication' of fifty days.

7. Sustulerunt, &c., 'would not allow the question to be put to the House.' This explains 'non licuit' above, as the Consuls were the lawful authorities on the subject of what motions should be allowed. In the present instance, the question which they had brought before the senate in their despatches involved, if Cicero's reasoning is correct, the previous decision that Antony was a public enemy.

11. Imprudens, 'unconsciously,' without being aware what his proposal involved.

12. Decretam dico? Cp. 2. 27, 67 'Quae Charybdis tam vorax? Charybdis dico?'

15. Octavianum. Cp. 8. 2, 7 note.

16. Victori. So Halm from one MS., comparing § 24, and c. 3, 11. The common reading 'victoris' seems to have arisen from copyists not observing that the construction really depends on 'decreta est.' Madvig thinks 'Cinnae' an interpolation, as being itself out of place, and destroying the symmetry of the three clauses, 'supplicationis mentio nulla;' 'supplicatio nulla victori;' 'nulla supplicatio decreta.'

18. Collega. P. Servilius Vatia was

de illa calamitosissima pugna Pharsalia? num te de supplicatione voluit referre? Profecto noluit. || At misit postea de Alexandria, de Pharnace: Pharsaliae vero pugnae ne triumphum quidem egit. Eos enim cives pugna illa sustulerat, quibus non modo vivis, sed etiam victoribus incolumis et florens civitas esse posset. ⁵

24 Quod idem contigerat superioribus bellis civilibus. Nam mihi consuli supplicatio nullis armis sumptis non ob caedem hostium, sed ob conservationem civium novo et inaudito genere decreta est. Quam ob rem aut supplicatio re publica pulcherrime gesta postulantibus nostris imperatoribus deneganda est, quod praeter ¹⁰

A. Gabinium contigit nemini, aut supplicatione decernenda

9 hostes eos, de quibus decernitis, iudicetis necesse est. Quod ergo ille re, id ego etiam verbo, cum imperatores eos appello: hoc ipso nomine et eos, qui iam devicti sunt, et eos, qui super-

25 sunt, hostes iudico, cum victores appello imperatores. || Quo modo ¹⁵

enim potius Pansam appellem? etsi habet honoris nomen amplissimi. Quo Hirtium? Est ille quidem consul, sed alterum nomen beneficii populi Romani est, alterum virtutis atque victoriae. Quid? Caesarem, deorum beneficio rei publicae pro-

creatum, dubitemne appellare imperatorem? qui primus Antonii ²⁰

immanem et foedam crudelitatem non solum a iugulis nostris, sed etiam a membris et visceribus avertit. Unius autem diei

26 quot et quantae virtutes, di immortales, fuerunt! || Princeps enim

Consul with Caesar in 48 B.C., and remained at home while Caesar was in Greece.

2. De Alexandria. Alexandria was reduced by Caesar early in the following year, after which he proceeded to attack Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, whom he utterly defeated at Zela, in Pontus, on the 2nd of August.

4. Eos enim cives. In this sentence Cicero is rather representing his own views of the party of Pompey, than those which Caesar would have entertained. The fact however of their being citizens was probably what deterred Caesar from claiming a triumph.

6. Nam mihi consuli, &c. See 2. 1, 2. For the use of 'nam' introducing by anticipation the answer to a supposed objection, cp. 11. 8, 18 note.

10. Praeter A. Gabinium. Cp. ad Q. Fr. 2. 8, 1 'Id. Malis (56 B.C.) senatus frequens divinus fuit in supplicatione Gabinio deneganda. Adiurat Proculus hoc nemini accidisse.' Cicero himself was not present on the occasion. The ground of his

claim to a 'supplicatio' is commonly stated to have been some successes in his province of Judaea: but Drumann (Gesch. Rom. 3. 47, note 35) shows from the dates that it was rather a defeat of some Arabs who had been making incursions into Syria.

13. Ille, sc. P. Servilius. Another reading is 'illi,' referring to the Consuls and Octavianus, but the more recent reference has been to the proposer of the decree.

15. Cum victores appello imperatores. These words are supposed by some editors to be a gloss; but such repetitions are not unfrequent with Cicero, and unless the words in question be retained, the connection of the following clause is very awkward.

16. Nomen, that of Consul.

22. A membris et visceribus, 'from our limbs and flesh.' 'A iugulis' simply points to the dangers to their lives, the following words to the probability that Antony would torture them, following the example set by Dolabella.

omnium Pansa proelii faciendi et cum Antonio configendi fuit: dignus imperator legione Martia, digna legio imperatore. Cuius si acerrimum impetum cohibere. Pansa potuisset, uno proelio confecta res esset. Sed cum libertatis avida legio effrenatius in
 5 aciem hostium irrupisset ipseque in primis Pansa pugnaret, duobus periculosus vulneribus acceptis sublatus e proelio rei publicae vitam reservavit. Ego vero hunc non solum imperatorem, sed etiam clarissimum imperatorem iudico: qui cum aut morte aut victoria se satis facturum rei publicae spondisset, alterum
 10 fecit, alterius di immortales omen avertant! Quid dicam de 10
 Hirtio? qui re audita e castris duas legiones eduxit incredibili 27
 studio atque virtute, quartam illam, quae relicto Antonio se olim cum Martia legione coniunxit, et septimam, quae constituta ex veteranis docuit hoc proelio militibus iis, qui Caesaris beneficia
 15 servassent, senatus populi que Romani carum nomen esse. His viginti cohortibus, nullo equitatu, Hirtius ipse aquilam quartae legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem speciem imperatoris accepimus, cum tribus Antonii legionibus equitatuque conflixit hostesque nefarios, huic Iovis optimi maximi ceterisque deorum

3. Si . . . potuisset. According to Galba (Cic. Fam. 10. 30), the uncontrollable impetuosity of the Martian legion led Pansa into considerable difficulty, and ultimately gave to Antony a temporary advantage in the battle. This letter Cicero could not yet have received, as it was only written the day before he delivered this oration. See the introduction.

7. Vitam reservavit. He was mortally wounded, but was apparently still alive when Galba wrote.

13. Septimam. This legion has been already mentioned with praise (7. 14, 37, note), as having remained loyal, in opposition to those followers of Antony, 'qui, postquam beneficia Caesaris comederunt, consulem designatum obsident.'

16. Viginti cohortibus, forming the two legions. Cp. Cinc. Alim. quoted by Gell. 16. 4 'In legione sunt centuriae sexaginta, manipuli triginta, cohortes decem.'

17. Qua nullius, &c., 'the noblest show of devotion of which we have ever heard in any general;' lit. 'the noblest type of generalship on record.' Cp. Off. 2. 11, 39 'Nisi speciem prae de boni viri feras.' We find a similar exploit recorded of Octavianus in the subsequent battle, by

Sueton. Aug. 10 'In media dimicatione, aquilifero legionis suae graviter saucio, [constat eum] aquilam humeris subiisse, dinque portasse.'

18. Cum tribus. In the letter of Galba Antony is said to have brought only two legions, the second and thirty-fifth, into action; but we know that he had with him also the fifth, the famous Alauda legion, which certainly took part in the second action (Fam. 10. 33, 4): and as Galba's letter had not yet arrived, Cicero might naturally conclude that all three legions were engaged on the first day. It seems more simple to suppose that the despatches did not contain precise information on this point, than to imagine with Drumann that Cicero purposely exaggerated the number of Antony's forces, or with Garatonius that he reckoned as a legion the two praetorian cohorts and veteran volunteers ('evocati') whom Galba mentions as engaged in the fight.

19. Huic Iovis optimi maximi. So Halm, after Muretus. The old reading is 'huic Iovi maximo,' combining the name of Iuppiter awkwardly with the temples of the other gods. Huic, 'this temple where we are now sitting.' See c. 3, 8 note.

immortalium templis, urbis tectis, libertati populi Romani, nostrae vitae sanguinique imminentes prostravit, fudit, occidit, ut cum admodum paucis nocte tectus, metu perterritus, princeps latronum duxque fugerit. O solem ipsum beatissimum, qui, antequam se abderet, stratis cadaveribus parricidarum cum paucis 5
 28 fugientem vidit Antonium! // An vero quisquam dubitabit appellare Caesarem imperatorem? Aetas eius certe ab hac sententia neminem deterrebit, quando quidem virtute superavit aetatem. Ac mihi semper eo maiora beneficia C. Caesaris visa sunt, quo minus erant ab aetate illa postulanda: cui cum imperium dabamus, eodem tempore etiam spem eius nominis deferebamus; quod cum est consecutus, auctoritatem decreti nostri rebus gestis suis comprobavit. Hic ergo adolescens maximi animi, ut verissime scribit Hirtius, castra multarum legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus est secundumque proelium fecit. Ita 15
 11 trium imperatorum virtute, consilio, felicitate uno die locis pluribus res publica est conservata. // Decerno igitur eorum trium
 29 nomine quinquaginta dierum supplicationes: causas, ut honorificentissimis verbis consequi potuero, complectar ipsa sententia.

Est autem fidei pietatisque nostrae declarare fortissimis militibus quam memores simus quamque grati. Quam ob rem pro-

10. Imperium dabamus: by the decree passed on the 1st of January, wherein he was invested with the title of proprætor (5. 17, 46).

11. Spem eius nominis, 'the hope implied in that name.'

12. Est consecutus. Halm suggests, and Kayser reads, 'esset consecutus,' but this would necessitate an aorist rather than a perfect sense for 'comprobavit.' 'In achieving all that the word "imperium" implies, he has justified our decree by his exploits.'

13. Maximi animi. The genitive is much less frequently used by Cicero to express quality than the ablative, and almost exclusively to denote the quality of some portion of the subject which cannot be separated from it even in idea. Cp. Fam. 4. 8, 1 'Neque monere te audeo præstanti prudentia virum nec confirmare maximi animi hominem;' and see Madv. § 287. Obs. 2.

14. Castra multarum legionum, the camp of Hirtius, constructed to accommodate a large body of troops, and therefore requiring a large force for its defence. Antony had attacked this camp in the morning,

before proceeding against Pansa, and had left a portion of his troops to continue the assault.

18. Quinquaginta dierum. This was an unprecedented number of days for a 'supplicatio,' ten having been an extreme number in honour of Pompey's victory over Mithridates, and only fifteen having been granted even in honour of Caesar's conquest of the Belgæ. See de Prov. Cons. 11, 26 and 27.

cc. 11-13. It was right to recognize also the valour of the soldiers; and therefore Cicero proposes that all the promises made to them should be confirmed in favour of the survivors; and that the dead, who had given a portion of their life to their country, should receive the imperishable memorial of a public monument. This unparalleled honour would mark the people's sense of the unparalleled distinctions of the legions engaged; and it would be some consolation to their mourning relations, to feel that those whom they had lost were acknowledged to be worthy of such a monument, as being the saviours of their country.

missa nostra atque ea, quae legionibus bello confecto tributuros nos spondimus, hodierno senatus consulto renovanda censeo; aequum est enim militum, talium praesertim, honorem coniungi. Atque utinam, patres conscripti, civibus omnibus solvere nobis 30
 5 praemia liceret! quamquam nos ea, quae promisimus, studiose cumulata reddemus. Sed id quidem restat, ut spero, victoribus, quibus senatus fides praestabitur: quam quoniam difficillimo rei publicae tempore secuti sunt, eos numquam oportebit consilii sui paenitere. Sed facile est bene agere cum his, a quibus etiam
 10 tacentibus flagitari videmur: illud admirabilius et maius maximeque proprium senatus sapientis est, grata eorum virtutem memoria prosequi, qui pro patria vitam profuderunt. 'Quorum de honore 31
 utinam mihi plura in mentem venirent! duo certe non praeteribo, quae maxime occurrunt: quorum alterum pertinet ad virorum
 15 fortissimorum gloriam sempiternam, alterum ad leniendum maerorem et luctum proximorum. Placet igitur mihi, patres con- 12
 scripti, legionis Martiae militibus et eis, qui una pugnantes occiderint, monumentum fieri quam amplissimum. Magna atque incredibilia sunt in rem publicam huius merita legionis. Haec
 20 se prima latrocinio abruptit Antonii, haec tenuit Albam, haec se ad Caesarem contulit; hanc imitata quarta legio parem virtutis gloriam consecuta est. Quarta victrix desiderat neminem: ex Martia nonnulli in ipsa victoria conciderunt. O fortunata mors, quae naturae debita pro patria est potissimum
 25 reddita! Vos vero patriae natos iudico: quorum etiam nomen 32

3. Coniungi, 'be associated with that of their generals.'

6. Cumulata, 'a hundredfold.' This is the emendation of Naugerius for 'quam multa,' adopted by most subsequent editors, though Halm suggests 'atque cumulate,' comparing c. 13, 35. Cp. Virg. Aen. 4. 436.

'Quam (veniam) mihi cum dederis, cumulatam morte remittam.'

7. Praestabitur, 'the senate's pledged word will be fulfilled.' Another reading, found in two MSS., is 'praestatur'; 'the senate's word is pledged.'

15. Maerorem et luctum, 'the distress and mourning of their relatives.' He does not say 'dolorem,' that deeper reasonable grief which is beyond the power of outward consolation. See on 9, 5, 12.

16. Placet igitur mihi, &c. The conclusion of this oration is apparently an

imitation of the funeral orations, so commonly delivered by the Athenians over those who had fallen in war. This custom seems never to have prevailed at Rome, the duty of celebrating the praises of the dead having been there left in the hands of their private friends and relations.

21. Hanc imitata, &c., 'it was by following the example which this legion set,' &c. This special theme of praise seems to be introduced for the sake of including the fourth legion in his eulogy. As it had lost no men (cp. Fam. 10. 30, 5) it did not naturally come within the scope of what is practically a funeral oration.

24. Naturae debita. Cp. 10. 10, 20 'Non est viri minimeque Romani dubitare eum spiritum, quem naturae debeat, patriae reddere.'

a Marte est, ut idem deus urbem hanc gentibus, vos huic urbi genuisse videatur. In fuga foeda mors est, in victoria gloriosa: etenim Mars ipse ex acie fortissimum quemque pignerari solet. Illi igitur impii, quos cecidistis, etiam ad inferos poenas parricidii luent: vos vero, qui extremum spiritum in victoria effudistis, 5

piorum estis sedem et locum consecuti. Brevis a natura vita vobis data est, at memoria bene redditae vitae sempiterna. Quae si non esset longior quam haec vita, quis esset tam amens qui maximis laboribus et periculis ad summam laudem gloriamque 33 contenderet? Actum igitur praecclare vobiscum, fortissimi, 10 dum vixistis, nunc vero etiam sanctissimi milites, quod vestra virtus neque oblivione eorum, qui nunc sunt, nec reticentia posterorum sepulta esse poterit, cum vobis immortale moni-

1. Idem deus, &c. Cario compares the funeral oration ascribed to Demosthenes, p. 1397, 11 foll., where the valour of the several tribes is traced back to the influence of their founders, as here the valour of the Martian legion is ascribed directly to the inspiration of the founder of the Roman people.

3. Pignerari, 'to claim as his own;' as his pledge, or share of the wealth of brave men with which he has endowed the state. Cp. de Rep. I. 4, 8 'Hac nos patria lege genuit . . . ut plurimas et maximas nostri animi, ingenii, consilii partes ipsa sibi ad utilitatem suam pigneraretur, tantumque nobis in nostrum privatum usum quantum ipsi superesse posset remitteret.' The expression about Mars is apparently proverbial, perhaps translated from Aesch. fr. 52

ἀλλ' Ἀρης φιλεῖ

ἀεὶ τὰ λῶστα πάντ' ἀπαυθίζειν σπράτον: cp. Soph. fr. 649; Eur. fr. 721.

4. Etiam ad inferos. Cp. Cat. I. 13, 33 'Tu, Iuppiter, . . . huic et huius socios, . . . scelorum foedere inter se ac nefaria societate coniunctos, aeternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.' For the use of 'ad,' as equivalent to 'apud,' cp. Caes. B. G. 3. 9 'Nomen ad omnes nationes sanctum fuisse.'

6. Piorum sedem. Cp. de Rep. 6. 13, 13 (Somn. Scip. 3, 4) 'Sic habeto: omnibus qui patriam conservaverint, adiuvverint, auxerint, certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aeterno sempiterno fruantur.' The idea is perhaps taken from Pseudo-Demosth. Epitaph. p. 1399, 27 πῶς οὐ καὶ τοὺς εὐδαίμονας νομίζουσι; οὐς παρότρους εὐκρίτως ἂν τις φῆσαι τοῖς κατὰ θεοὺς εἶναι, τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἔχοντας τοῖς

προτέροις ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν μακρῶν ῥήσοις.

Brevis a natura, &c. Cp. 'Lys. Epitaph. p. 198, 8 ἀγῆρατοι μὲν αὐτῶν αἱ μνήμαι, ζηλωταὶ δὲ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων αἱ τιμαί: οἱ περθούνται μὲν διὰ τὴν φύσιν ὡς θνητοί, ὁμοιοῦνται δὲ ὡς ἀθάνατοι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν; ib. p. 198, 15 ἐπειδὴ θνητῶν σωματικῶν ἔτυχον, ἀθάνατον μνήμην διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν κατέλιπον. We must remember that, according to Cicero's philosophy, these men gave up part of the short life allowed them by nature in dying for their country. See I. 4, 10 note.

8. Quis esset tam amens, &c. Cp. Tusc. I. 15, 33 'Inhaeret in mentibus quasi saeculorum quoddam augurium futurorum, . . . quo quidem adempto quis tam esset demens qui semper in laboribus et periculis viveret?'

11. Sanctissimi. Cp. Virg. Aen. II. 158

'Tuque, o sanctissima coniux,

Felix morte tua;'

and Tib. 2. 6, 31

'Illa mihi sancta est; illius dona sepulcro,

Et madefacta meis sarta feram lacrimis.'

13. Sepulta. So Halm from two MSS. 'Inasmuch as your prowess cannot be buried in obscurity either through the forgetfulness of the present generation, or by the silence of posterity.' The other reading is 'insepulta,' which some interpret as an intensified form of 'sepulta,' from 'insepelio;' but which is more commonly taken to mean, 'shall not be deprived of funeral honours,' a strange and seemingly unparalleled sense for the adjective to convey.

Immortale monumentum. Cp. Thuc.

mentum suis paene manibus senatus populusque Romanus extruxerit. Multi saepe exercitus Punicis, Gallicis, Italicis bellis clari et magni fuerunt, nec tamen ullis tale genus honoris tributum est. Atque utinam maiora possemus, quando quidem
5 a vobis maxima accepimus! Vos ab urbe furem Antonium avertistis; vos redire molientem repulistis. Erit igitur exstructa moles opere magnifico incisaque litterae, divinae virtutis testes sempiternae, numquamque de vobis eorum, qui aut videbunt vestrum monumentum aut audient, gratissimus sermo conticescet.
10 Ita pro mortali conditione vitae immortalitatem estis consecuti.

Sed quoniam, patres conscripti, gloriae munus optimis et 13 fortissimis civibus monimenti honore persolvitur, consolemur 34 eorum proximos, quibus optima est haec quidem consolatio: 15 parentibus, quod tanta rei publicae praesidia genuerunt; liberis, quod habebunt domestica exempla virtutis; coniugibus, quod iis viris carebunt, quos laudare quam lugere praestabit; fratribus, quod in se ut corporum, sic virtutis similitudinem esse confident. Atque utinam his omnibus abstergere fletum sententiis nostris
20 consultisque possemus vel aliqua talis iis adhiberi publice posset oratio, qua deponerent maerorem atque luctum gauderentque potius, cum multa et varia impenderent hominibus genera mortis, id genus, quod esset pulcherrimum, suis obtigisse, eosque nec inhumatos esse nec desertos, quod tamen ipsum pro patria non
25 miserandum putatur, nec dispersis bustis humili sepultura crematos, sed conectos publicis operibus atque muneribus eaque exstrukione, quae sit ad memoriam aeternitatis ara Virtutis. Quam ob rem maximum quidem solacium erit propinquorum, 35

2. 43 κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σέματα δίδόντες, ἰδίᾳ τὸν ἀγῆρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπισημώτατον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κεῖνται μᾶλλον ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι δαί καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ καιρῷ δεικνύμενος καταλείπεται· ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος, καὶ οὐ στήλων μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφὴ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἀγραφῷ μνήμη παρ' ἐκδόσῃ τῆς γνῶμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδicia τῶνται.

13. Consolemur: following the example in the speech of Pericles, Thuc. 2. 44 and 45.

22. Cum multa et varia, &c. The

idea is perhaps taken from Hom. Il. 12. 326 foll.

νῦν δ' (ἐμπης γὰρ Κῆρες ἐφεστῶσιν θανάτῳ μῦραι, ἅς οὐκ ἔστι φρυγῶν βροτῶν, οὐδ' ὑπαλύξαι) ἴομεν, ἡὲ τῃ εὐχῇ δρέξομεν, ἡὲ τις ἡμῶν.

23. Quod est pulcherrimum. Cp. Plat. Menex. p. 234 C. καὶ μὴν, ὃ Μενέξενε, πολλαχῇ κωδωνοῦει καλὸν εἶναι τὸ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀποθῆσκειν καὶ γὰρ ταφῆς καλῆς τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς τυγχάνει.

24. Quod tamen ipsum, &c. Cp. Virg. Aë. 2. 646 'Facilis iactura sepulcri.'

eodem monimento declarari et virtutem suorum et populi Romani pietatem et senatus fidem et crudelissimi memoriam belli: in quo nisi tanta militum virtus exstisset, parricidio M. Antonii nomen populi Romani occidisset. Atque etiam censeo, patres conscripti, quae praemia militibus promisimus nos re publica recuperata 5 tributuros, ea vivis victoribusque cumulate, cum tempus venerit, persolvenda: qui autem ex iis, quibus illa promissa sunt, pro patria occiderunt, eorum parentibus, liberis, coniugibus, fratribus eadem tribuenda censeo.

- 14 Sed, ut aliquando sententia complectar, ita censeo: Cum 10
 36 C. Pansa, consul, imperator, initium cum hostibus configendi fecerit, quo proelio legio Martia admirabili incredibilique virtute libertatem populi Romani defenderit, quod idem legiones tironum fecerint, ipseque C. Pansa, consul, imperator, cum inter media hostium tela versaretur, vulnera acceperit: cumque A. Hirtius, consul, 15 imperator, proelio audito, re cognita, fortissimo praestantissimoque animo exercitum castris eduxerit impetumque in M. Antonium exercitumque hostium fecerit eiusque copias occisione occiderit, suo exercitu ita incolumi, ut ne unum quidem militem desiderarit: 20
 37 cumque C. Caesar, pro praetore, imperator, consilio diligentiaque 20 sua castra feliciter defenderit copiasque hostium, quae ad castra accesserant, profligarit, occiderit: ob eas res senatum existimare et iudicare eorum trium imperatorum virtute, imperio, consilio, gravitate, constantia, magnitudine animi, felicitate populum Romanum foedissima crudelissimaque servitute liberatum; cum- 25
 25 que rem publicam, urbem, templa deorum immortalium, bona fortunasque omnium liberosque conservarint dimicatione et periculo vitae suae, uti ob eas res bene, fortiter feliciterque gestas C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, imperatores, alter ambove, aut, si aberunt, M. Cornutus praetor urbanus supplicationes per dies 30

c. 14. *He concludes by a formal vote, that the three generals should receive the thanks of the senate, and that a 'supplication' of fifty days should be held in their honour; that the rewards promised to the soldiers should be confirmed; that a monument should be raised at the public expense in honour of the dead; and that the rewards and honours due to them should be bestowed on their surviving relatives.*

10. *Sententia, 'to sum up what I have been urging in a formal vote.'* Halm suggests 'sententiam,' but what has gone before

was not the substance of his vote, but the reasons for it.

13. *Legiones tironum.* Two legions of recruits, out of four which the Consuls apparently had with them, were engaged in the battle. See Fam. 14. 30, 2.

28. *Vitae suae.* The genitive belongs to 'dimicatione' as well as to 'periculo'; cp. de Prov. Cons. 9, 23 'Impendentibus periculis maximis cum dimicatione capitis;' pro Planc. 32, 77 'Vitae dimicationes.'

30. *M. Cornutus.* As city praetor it was his official duty to take the place of

quinquaginta ad omnia pulvinaria constituat: cumque virtus²⁸
 legionum digna clarissimis imperatoribus exstiterit, senatum, quae
 sit antea pollicitus legionibus exercitibusque nostris, ea summo
 studio re publica recuperata soluturum: cumque legio Martia
 5 princeps cum hostibus conflixerit, atque ita cum maiore numero
 hostium contenderit, ut, cum plurimos caederent, caderent non-
 nulli, cumque sine ulla retractatione pro patria vitam profuderint;
 cumque simili virtute reliquarum legionum milites pro salute et
 libertate populi Romani mortem oppetiverint: senatui placere
 10 ut C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, imperatores, alter ambove, si
 eis videatur, iis, qui sanguinem pro vita, libertate, fortunis populi
 Romani, pro urbe, templis deorum immortalium profudissent,
 monumentum quam amplissimum locandum faciendumque curent
 quaestoresque urbanos ad eam rem pecuniam dare, attribuere,
 15 solvere iubeant, ut exstet ad memoriam posteritatis sempiternam
 scelus crudelissimorum hostium militumque divina virtus; utique,
 quae praemia senatus militibus ante constituit, ea solvantur
 eorum, qui hoc bello pro patria occiderunt, parentibus, liberis,
 coniugibus, fratribus, iisque tribuantur, quae militibus ipsis tribui
 20 oporteret, si vivi vicissent, qui morte vicerunt.

the Consuls in their absence. Cp. Fam. 10. 12, 3 'Placuit nobis ut statim ad Cornutum praetorem urbanum litteras deferremus, qui, quod consules aberant, consulare munus sustinebat more maiorum.'

4. Soluturum. So Halm from one MS. The others have 'resoluturum,' 're-' having the force of 'paying as a debt due,' as in 'reddo' c. 12, 32. Plautus uses the word in the same sense, Menaech. 5. 5, 30 'Obdormisco si resolvi argentum quoui ego debeo.' Cp. id. Amph. 2. 2, 81; Epid. 1. 2, 39; Cat. R. R. 144, 3. Manutius reads 'persoluturum,' which would be suitable enough, but rests on no authority.

7. Sine ulla retractatione, 'without any hesitation;' cp. Att. 13. 25, 1 'Sine ulla dubitatione aut retractatione.' The word, which is rare, is only found in combination with 'sine.'

13. Curent, quaestoresque urbanos. So Ferrarius, correcting the reading of the MSS., 'locandum faciendumque urbem ad

eam rem,' which is wholly untenable. Cp. the wording of the decree in 9. 7, 16.

16. Divina virtus. So Halm from one MS. The others have 'ad scelus . . . divinam virtutem.'

Utique. So Halm, following the suggestion of Manutius ('malim *utique*, magis enim redolet antiquitatem'), fortified by the reading of one MS.

19. Iisque tribuantur. So Halm, following Ferrarius. The MSS. repeat 'fratribus' after 'iisque,' probably by mistake, as there is no trace of a custom such as some commentators have suggested, that the brothers of those who had fallen in war should succeed to their military rank and privileges.

20. Si vivi vicissent. So Halm and Kayser, following Ernesti. The MSS. have 'si illi vicissent,' which is much less forcible. Another emendation, adopted by Orelli, is 'si illi vixissent.'

*Loci qui a grammaticis ex Philippicis afferuntur
nec in iis exstant.*

1. Nonius p. 373 ed. Merc. Proiectum, *subtractum*. *M. Tullius in Philippicis lib. IIII.* quid? hoc senatus consultum fecit ut clam te ex urbe proiceret?

2. Arusianus Messius p. 225 Lind. Deflexit de proposito. *Cic. Philipp. XVI.* Laterensis ne vestigium quidem deflexit.

3. Arusianus Messius p. 225 Lind. Disceptata lis est. *Cic. Philipp. XVI.* Non est illa dissensio disceptata bello.

4. Schol. Bob. ad or. p. Mil., c. 10, vol. 2, p. 286, ed. Or. *Quos nunc vulgo muliones dicimus, eos scilicet, qui iumenta vehiculis subiuncta moderantur et regunt, eos veteres, ut animadvertis, redarios dicebant, muliones autem proprie eos, qui negotiationem lucri sui causa in huius modi iumentis exercebant: quamvis et in Philippicis mulionem Ventidium dixerit eapropter, quod de publico redemerat iumentorum praebitionem, quae esset apud exercitum necessaria.*—Schol. ad Iuven. 7. 199, p. 287, ed. Iahn. *Ventidius ex mulione Caesaris dictatoris, ut Tullius in epistolis [ad Fam. 10. 18, 3] et in Philippicis loquitur, opitulante Antonio et Augusto usque eo provectus est, ut ei crederetur Parthicum bellum.*

1. This passage is supposed by August Krause ('über Ciceros vierte Philippische Rede,' p. 6) to be the sole surviving fragment of the genuine fourth oration, which had been replaced by a spurious composition of later date. (See the introduction to the fourth oration.) The reading 'fecit ut . . . proiceret' is a conjecture by C. L. Roth for the reading of the MSS. 'facit clam te ex urbe proiceret.'

2. M. Iuventius Laterensis was legatus in the army of M. Lepidus, and used all his influence to deter him from joining Antony after the battle of Mutina. Hence it seems probable that this sixteenth

oration was delivered after the news of the alliance between Antony and Lepidus had been received at Rome.

4. Aulus Gellius tells us (15. 4) that Ventidius Bassus obtained a precarious livelihood in his younger days by furnishing mules and carriages to magistrates who were setting out for their provinces; and quotes three lines composed in allusion to this when Ventidius was made Consul—

'Concurrite omnes augures, haruspices:
Portentum inusitatum conflatum est
recens,
Nam mulos qui fricabat, consul factus
est.'

APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE LIFE OF CICERO.

Life of Cicero.	B.C.	
1	106	Coss. C. ATILIUS SERRANUS, Q. SERVILIUS CAEPIO. M. Tullius Cicero, son of M. Tullius Cicero by Helvia, was born at Arpinum, on the 3rd of January, in the last year of the war with Jugurtha; which was also marked by the birth of Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
2	105	Coss. P. RUTILIUS RUFUS, CN. MALLIUS MAXIMUS.
3	104	Coss. C. MARIUS II., C. FLAVIUS FIMBERIA. Marius celebrated his triumph over Jugurtha on the 1st of January; and shortly afterwards war was declared against the Cimbri and Teutones. The 'Lex Domitia de sacerdotiis' was passed, transferring the election of priests from their respective colleges to the people.
4	103	Coss. C. MARIUS III., L. AURELIUS ORESTES. Q. Cicero, the brother of the orator, was probably born in this year.
5	102	Coss. C. MARIUS IV., Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS. Marius utterly defeated the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae. M. Antonius the orator gained a triumph over the Cilician pirates. Archias, the instructor of Cicero, came to Rome.
6	101	Coss. C. MARIUS V., M'. AQUILIUS. Marius and Catulus defeated the Cimbri on the Athesis near Verona.
7	100	Coss. C. MARIUS VI., L. VALERIUS FLACCUS. L. Apuleius Saturninus and C. Servilius Glaucia, tribunes of the commons, were put to death in a seditious riot which they had excited against the aristocracy.
8	99	Coss. M. ANTONIUS (the orator), A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

<i>Life of Cicero.</i>	<i>B.C.</i>	
		The Servile war in Sicily was brought to an end by M'. Aquilius.
9	98	Coss. Q. CAECILIUS METELLUS NEPOS, T. DIDIUS. The 'Lex Caecilia et Didia' was passed, requiring the promulgation of all laws for three 'nundinae' before they could be passed (Phil. 5. 3, 8), and forbidding laws on different subjects to be tacked together.
10	97	Coss. CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
11	96	Coss. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
12	95	Coss. L. LICINIUS CRASSUS, Q. MUCIUS SCAEVOLE. The 'Lex Licinia Mucia,' attaching severe penalties to the unauthorized assumption of citizenship, proved one of the chief exciting causes of the Social war.
		Birth of Lucretius.
13	94	Coss. C. CORNELIUS CALPURNIUS, L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.
14	93	Coss. C. VALERIUS FLACCUS, M. HERENNIVS.
15	92	Coss. C. CLAUDIVS PVLCHER, M. PERPERNA.
16	91	Coss. L. MARCIUS PHILIPPVS, SEX. IVLIVS CAESAR. Cicero assumed the 'toga virilis,' and Schütz refers to this year his boyish poems of Pontius Glaucus, and Marius.
		M. Livius Drusus, tribune of the commons, having brought forward laws for the transference of the 'iudicium' to the senate, and for the assignment of the public land, was murdered by the equestrian party.
17	90	Coss. L. IULIVS CAESAR, P. RVTILIVS LVPVS. About this time Cicero translated the Phaenomena and Prognostica of Aratus.
		The Marsic or Social war broke out in consequence of the civic disabilities and wrongs of the allies. A 'Lex Iulia' conferred the franchise on all the Italians who did not join in the outbreak.
18	89	Coss. CN. POMPEIVS STRABO, L. PORCIVS CATO. Cicero served his first and only campaign under Pompey (Phil. 12. 11, 27).
		The Marsic war was prosecuted with success by Pompey and Sulla, and the outbreak virtually quelled.
19	88	Coss. L. CORNELIVS SULLA, Q. POMPEIVS RVFVS. Cicero began the study of philosophy under Phaedrus the Epicurean, and afterwards under Philo the Academic. Having been a pupil of Q. Mucius Scaevola the augur, in the study of

Life of Cicero.	B.C.	
		civil law, on his death, probably in this year, he transferred himself to his cousin, Q. Mucius Scaevola the pontifex maximus.
		The Marsic war was brought to an end by Pompey. War was declared against Mithridates, and disputes about the command in it gave rise to the civil war between Marius and Sulla. Marius was driven from Rome.
		P. Sulpicius Rufus passed a law for equalizing the old and new citizens, which Sulla declared null, as being passed by violence (Phil. 8. 2, 7). Sulla himself passed laws confirming the legislative powers of the senate, and placing the elections more exclusively in the hands of the wealthier citizens.
20	87	COSS. CN. OCTAVIUS, L. CORNELIUS CINNA. Sulla having gone to Asia to conduct the war against Mithridates, Cinna and Marius excited a counter-revolution, and, taking forcible possession of the city, massacred great numbers of their political opponents.
		Birth of Catullus.
21	86	COSS. L. CORNELIUS CINNA II., C. MARIUS VII. Cicero wrote his books <i>de Rhetorica</i> , of which the two <i>de Inventione</i> are extant, about this time.
		Marius died on the 13th of January, and was succeeded in the consulship by L. Valerius Flaccus. Cinna was left in undisputed supremacy at Rome.
		Birth of Sallust.
22	85	COSS. L. CORNELIUS CINNA III., CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.
23	84	COSS. CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO II., L. CORNELIUS CINNA IV. Cicero, now a pupil of Diodotus the Stoic, began the practice of public declamations, and translated various dialogues of Plato and the <i>Oeconomicus</i> of Xenophon.
		Peace was concluded with Mithridates: and Cinna was slain in a mutiny of his soldiers at Ancona.
24	83	COSS. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASIATICUS, C. NORBANUS. Sulla returned to Italy, and having defeated Norbanus, who fell in the battle, made terms with Scipio (Phil. 12. 11, 27).
25	82	COSS. C. MARIUS, CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO III. Sulla finally defeated the Marian party in Italy, both Consuls were killed, and Sulla was appointed perpetual dictator.
		Birth of Terence.

Life of Cicero.	B.C.	
26	81	Coss. M. TULLIUS DECULA, CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA. Cicero delivered his first oration, <i>pro P. Quinctio</i> . Sulla reorganized the constitution.
27	80	Coss. L. CORNELIUS SULLA II., Q. CAECILIUS METELLUS PIUS. Cicero spoke <i>pro Sex. Roscio Amerino</i> .
28	79	Coss. P. SERVILIUS VATIA, APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. Cicero spoke <i>* pro muliere Arretina</i> ¹ , and shortly afterwards went to Athens, where he studied under Antiochus of Ascalon, the Academic, and Phaedrus and Zeno the Stoics. Sulla resigned the dictatorship.
29	78	Coss. M. AEMILIUS LEPIDUS, Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS. Cicero took lessons in rhetoric at Athens from Demetrius the Syrian. Later in the year he travelled in Asia Minor, gaining instruction from all the leading professors of rhetoric. Sulla died, and Lepidus tried to overthrow his constitution, but was successfully opposed by Catulus, and died an exile in Sardinia.
30	77	Coss. D. IUNIUS BRUTUS, MAM. AEMILIUS LEPIDUS LIVIANUS. Cicero returned to Rome and married Terentia. Cn. Pompeius was sent to take the command in Spain against Q. Sertorius.
31	76	Coss. CN. OCTAVIUS, C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO. Cicero, among other causes, pleaded <i>pro Q. Roscio Comoedo</i> . He was elected quaestor.
32	75	Coss. L. OCTAVIUS, C. AURELIUS COTTA. Cicero was quaestor in Sicily under the pro-praetor Sex. Peducaeus, and delivered a speech <i>* pro Siculis adolescentibus</i> . P. Servilius Vatia gained the agnomen of Isauricus for his victories over the pirates.
33	74	Coss. L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS, M. AURELIUS COTTA. Cicero returned to Rome and spoke <i>* pro Scamandro</i> . War was renewed with Mithridates under L. Lucullus.
34	73	Coss. M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUCULLUS, C. CASSIUS VARUS. The war with the gladiators under Spartacus broke out.
35	72	Coss. L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA, CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CLODIANUS. Sertorius was murdered, and the war in Spain concluded.
36	71	Coss. CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES, P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS

¹ Orations marked thus * are wholly lost, or with very slight exceptions.

Life of Cicero.	B.C.	
		SURA. Cicero spoke <i>pro M. Tullio</i> , and probably <i>*pro L. Vareno</i> and <i>*pro C. Mustio</i> .
		Spartacus was defeated and slain by M. Licinius Crassus, and Cn. Pompeius celebrated a triumph for his victories in Spain.
37	70	COSS. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, M. LICINIUS CRASSUS. The Sicilians having indicted C. Verres for extortion and malversation in his province, Cicero on their behalf delivered the <i>Divinatio in Q. Caecilium</i> , and the <i>Actio Prima in C. Verrem</i> . The <i>Actio Secunda</i> was never delivered. He was elected curule aedile.
		L. Aurelius Cotta passed a law, giving the 'iudicium' to the senate, equites, and tribuni aerarii, in equal portions. Cn. Pompeius restored the power of the tribunes of the commons.
		Birth of Virgil.
38	69	COSS. Q. HORTENSIVS, Q. CAECILIUS METELLUS CRETICUS. As aedile Cicero exhibited three sets of games. He delivered the speeches <i>pro M. Fonteio</i> , and <i>pro A. Caecina</i> .
39	68	COSS. L. CAECILIUS METELLUS, Q. MARCIUS REX. In this year begin Cicero's letters to Atticus. His cousin and constant travelling companion, L. Cicero, died.
40	67	COSS. C. CALPURNIUS PISO, M. ACILIUS GLABRIO. Cicero spoke <i>*pro P. Oppio</i> . He betrothed his daughter to C. Piso Frugi. He was elected praetor at the head of the poll.
		The 'Lex Gabinia' gave the command in the war against the pirates to Cn. Pompeius. A law of Sex. Roscius Otho assigned the seats in the theatre immediately behind the senators to the equites.
		The 'Lex Acilia Calpurnia' was passed against bribery and treating at elections.
41	66	COSS. M. AEMILIUS LEPIDUS, L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS. Cicero, as praetor urbanus, presided with marked integrity in the criminal courts. He delivered his speech <i>de imperio Cn. Pompeii</i> , in behalf of the law of C. Manilius for giving the command of the Mithridatic war to Cn. Pompeius: and spoke <i>pro A. Cluentio</i> and <i>*pro C. Fundanio</i> .
		Cn. Pompeius assumed the command against Mithridates, and made a treaty with Tigranes.
42	65	COSS. L. AURELIUS COTTA, L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Life of
Cicero.

B.C.

Cicero spoke * *pro C. Manilio* and * *pro L. Cornelio Gallo*, and began his canvass for the consulship.

L. Catiline formed his first conspiracy to murder the Consuls.

Birth of Horace.

43

64

Coss. L. IULIUS CAESAR, C. MARCIUS FIGULUS. Cicero delivered his speech, * *in toga candida*, against the coalition of Catiline and C. Antonius. His son Marcus was born, and his daughter married to C. Piso. He was elected Consul by all the centuries.

44

63

Coss. M. TULLIUS CICERO, C. ANTONIUS. Cicero delivered his orations *de lege agraria contra P. Servilium Rullum*, one in the senate and two before the people; * *pro L. Roscio Othone*; *pro C. Rabirio Postumo*; * *de proscriptionum filiis*, maintaining the law of Sulla, whereby the sons of those who fell in his proscription were excluded from public offices; * *cum provinciam deponeret*; *in Catilinam*; and *pro Murena*. The great event of his consulship was crushing the second conspiracy of Catiline.

Mithridates died, and the war in the East was brought to a close.

Birth of Augustus.

45

62

Coss. D. IUNIUS SILANUS, L. LICINIUS MURENA. Cicero, having refused a province, remained at Rome, and delivered the speeches, * *contra concionem Q. Metelli*, and *pro P. Cornelio Sulla*.

Catiline was defeated and slain: Cn. Pompeius returned to Italy.

P. Clodius violated the mysteries of the Bona Dea.

46

61

Coss. M. PUPPIUS PISO, M. VALERIUS MESSALA NIGER. Cicero spoke * *in Clodium et Curionem*, and *pro A. Licinio Archia*.

47

60

Coss. L. AFRANIUS, Q. CAECILIUS METELLUS CELER. Cicero wrote a commentary in Greek, * *περὶ τῆς ἰσχυρίας*, and the poem *de rebus in consulatu gestis*, of which about eighty lines remain. He spoke * *pro P. Scipione Nasica*.

Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus formed the coalition commonly called the first triumvirate.

48

59

Coss. C. IULIUS CAESAR, M. CALPURNIUS BIBULUS. Cicero spoke * *pro C. Antonio*; * *pro A. Minucio Thermo*

Life of
Cicero.

B.C.

(twice); and *pro L. Valerio Flacco*. He refused the overtures of Caesar, who offered him first a place at the board of twenty for dividing lands in Campania, and then an embassy to Egypt. He began his letters to his brother Quintus, with an excellent essay on the duties of a provincial governor.

Caesar received the command in both Gauls for five years; and P. Clodius was elected tribune of the commons, having been adopted into a plebeian family through the influence of Caesar.

Birth of Livy.

49 58 COSS. L. CALPURNIUS PISO CAESONINUS, A. GABINIUS. Cicero was exiled in consequence of a law of P. Clodius, imposing exile on any person who had killed a Roman citizen uncondemned. His house and villas at Tusculum and Formiæ were destroyed; and he himself went abroad to Thessalonica, but returned in November as far as Dyrhachium.

50 57 COSS. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CAECILIUS METELLUS NEPOS. Cicero was recalled from exile in August, and in September delivered the speeches *Post Reditum in Senatu* and *ad Quirites*, and *pro domo sua*.

51 56 COSS. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. Cicero delivered the speeches * *pro L. Calpurnio Pisone Bestia*, *pro P. Sestio*, in *P. Vatinius interrogatio*; *de haruspicum responsis*; *pro L. Cornelio Balbo*; *de provinciis consularibus*; *pro M. Caelio*. He married his daughter Tullia for the second time, to Furius Crassipes.

52 55 COSS. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS II., M. LICINIUS CRASSUS II. Cicero spoke in *Pisonem*; * in *A. Gabinium*; *pro Cn. Planco*; * *pro Caninio Gallo*; and wrote his treatise *de Oratore*.

Caesar's command in Gaul was extended for a second period of five years; Pompey received the provinces of Spain; and Crassus that of Syria.

53 54 COSS. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. Cicero spoke *pro C. Rabirio Postumo*; * *pro P. Vatinius*; *pro M. Aemilio Scauro*; * *pro M. Crasso*, in *senatu*; *pro C. Messio*; * *pro Druso*; and * *de Reatinorum causa*. He was also engaged in writing his treatise *de Republica*.

54 53 COSS. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS, M. VALERIUS MESSALA.

Life of Cicero.	B.C.	
		Cicero was elected augur, on the death of Crassus in a battle against the Parthians.
55	52	Coss. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS III., Q. CAECILIUS METELLUS PIUS SCIPIO, from the 1st of August. Cicero defended Milo on the charge of killing <i>P. Clodius</i> , and afterwards wrote the extant speech <i>pro Milone</i> . He also spoke * <i>pro M. Sauscio</i> (twice); and * <i>in T. Munatium Plancum</i> . He probably wrote his work <i>de Legibus</i> . Great riots took place at Rome between the factions of Milo and P. Clodius.
56	51	Coss. SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. Cicero was appointed proconsul in Cilicia.
57	50	Coss. L. AEMILIUS PAULUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. A supplication was decreed in honour of Cicero, for his conduct in his province. He came as far as Brundisium on his return to Rome. Tullia married her third husband, P. Cornelius Dolabella.
58	49	Coss. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS. Cicero returned to Rome, where he found civil war on the point of breaking out between Caesar and Pompey. When Caesar crossed the Rubicon, Cicero, despairing of peace, retired first into Campania, and about the beginning of June to Greece. Caesar was made dictator.
59	48	Coss. C. IULIUS CAESAR II., P. SERVILIUS VATTIA ISAVRICUS. Caesar crossed into Greece, and defeated Pompey at the battle of Pharsalus, Aug. 9. Cicero returned to Italy after the battle. Pompey was murdered before Alexandria. Caesar went to Egypt, and commenced the Alexandrine war.
60	47	Coss. Q. FUFIVS CALENUS, P. VATINIUS. They only entered on office in October. Cicero remained at Brundisium till September, when he was reconciled to Caesar, and came to Tusculum, and ultimately to Rome. Caesar, as dictator, finished the Alexandrine war; and having returned to Italy in September, crossed again to Africa at the end of the year, to carry on the war against the Pompeian party.
61	46	Coss. C. IULIUS CAESAR III., M. AEMILIUS LEPIDUS. Cicero wrote the <i>Partitiones Oratoriae</i> , * <i>Laus Catonis</i> , and <i>Orator</i> ; and at the close of the year delivered the speeches

Life of
Cicero.

B.C.

pro M. Marcello and *pro Q. Ligario*. About the same time he divorced his wife Terentia.

Caesar finally defeated the Pompeian party in Africa at Thapsus. M. Cato killed himself at Utica. Returning to Rome Caesar occupied himself in correcting abuses in the state, and in reforming the calendar. At the end of the year he went to Spain.

62

45

Coss. C. IULIUS CAESAR IV., without a colleague till October, then Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS, C. TREBONIUS. Cicero married Publilia, whom he divorced the same year. Tullia died, after giving birth to a son. Cicero wrote his treatise *de Consolatione*, *de Finibus*, *Academicæ quaestiones*, and delivered the speech *pro rege Deiotaro*.

Caesar defeated the sons of Pompey at Munda. He was made Consul for ten years, dictator and censor for life.

63

44

Coss. C. IULIUS CAESAR V., M. ANTONIUS. On Caesar's death, P. CORN. DOLABELLA.

Cicero finished the Tusculan Disputations. On the 15th of March Caesar was assassinated, and two days afterwards Cicero delivered a speech in the senate, recommending peace. Antony getting the upper hand, Cicero retired into the country, where he wrote his treatises *de Natura Deorum*, *de Divinatione*, *de Fato*, *Laelius*, *Cato Maior*, * *de Gloria*, *Topica*. On the 31st of August he returned to Rome, and on the 2nd of September delivered the *first Philippic oration*. Shortly afterwards he wrote the *second Philippic*, and also the treatise *de Officiis*. On the 18th of December, Antony having abandoned the city in consequence of the defection of the Fourth and Martian legions, Cicero delivered the *third and fourth Philippic orations*.

64

43

Coss. C. VIBIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS. Cicero delivered the remaining Philippic orations. (See the several Introductions.) After the battles before Mutina, Antony combined with M. Lepidus, and subsequently they were both invited to Rome by Octavianus, who had been elected Consul with Q. PEDIUS. The second triumvirate was formed, a general proscription followed, and Cicero was murdered by order of Antony, on the 7th of December, in the grounds of his Formian villa.

INDEX.

(The first figure refers to the Oration, the second to the smaller subdivision into sections.)

- ABHINC**, 2. 119.
Abstract for concrete, 14. 10.
Accedere, to bid at an auction, 2. 64;
 play on the word, 13. 46.
Accusative, in exclamations, 3. 26;
 limiting intransitive verb, 2. 21.
Achaicum bellum, 11. 17.
Actio, 4. 1.
Ad, equivalent to 'apud,' 14. 32.
Ad, to the vicinity of, 12. 22.
Addicere, 2. 52; 7. 15.
Additi quaestores, 2. 31.
Adolescens, 2. 52, 113.
Adspectus, 2. 73.
Advocatus, 1. 16.
Aequitas, 9. 10.
Aerarium, the depository of laws, 5. 12.
Afflictus, 3. 25.
Afranius, L., 13. 29.
Agere, to negotiate, 2. 52.
Agmen quadratum, 13. 18.
Agrarius, desirous of land, 7. 18.
Ahala, C. Servilius, 2. 26, 27; 10. 14.
Alba Longa, occupation of, 3. 6.
Albus aterne, 2. 41.
Alea, 2. 56.
Alexander, 5. 48.
Alexandrea, 2. 64.
Alio die, 2. 83.
Allegare, 5. 14.
Allienus, A., 11. 30, 32.
ἄλλο τι ᾗ, 1. 22.
Alpes, 5. 37.
Alter . . . alter, 10. 13.
Amantia, 11. 26.
Amatius, the pseudo-Marius, 1. 5.
Ambitio, 5. 47.
ἀμνηστία, 1. 1.
Anacolouthon, 5. 40.
Anagnia, 2. 106.
Ancona, 12. 23.
Animi causa, 7. 17.
Annius, L., 3. 26.
Annona, 8. 26.
Anser, 13. 11.
Anteire with acc., 9. 1.
ἀντιμεταβολή, 4. 8.
Antiochus Epiphanes, 8. 23; 9. 4.
Antiochus the Great, 11. 17.
Antiqua, 1. 25; 5. 47.
Antius, Sp., 9. 5.
Antonia, 2. 99.
Antonius, C., brother of the triumvir,
 3. 26; 7. 3; 8. 26; 10. 6, 9 foll.
Antonius, L., conduct towards Parma,
 14. 8; cruelty in Gaul, 3. 30; 'myr-
 millo,' 3. 31; 5. 20, 30; 6. 10; 7. 17;
 'patronus' of all Rome, 7. 16 foll.;
 worst of the three brothers, 10. 22;
 11. 10.
Antonius, M., the orator, 1. 27; 2. 42,
 70.
Antonius, M., the triumvir, acts of,
 annulled, 5. 10; at Alexandria, 2.
 48; answers the first Philippic, 5.
 19; 'augur verecundus,' 5. 7; augur
 through Curio's influence, 2. 4; body-
 guard of, 1. 27; Caesar's death caused
 by, 13. 41; Caesar's fate a warning
 to, 2. 116; Caesar's memory neg-
 lected by, 2. 110; Caesar's murder
 attempted by, 2. 34, 74; Caesar's
 nominee in the consulship, 2. 10;
 Caesar's treason caused by, 2. 53;
 Campania, his progress through, 1. 5;
 2. 100; Capua, his exclusion from,
 12. 7; Capua, his proceedings at,
 2. 92; Cicero's benefactor, 1. 11;
 2. 59; Cicero's enemy, 2. 2; Cicero's
 friend, 2. 3; Cisalpine Gaul appro-

- priated by, 1. 8; Cisalpine Gaul occupied by, 5. 24; Cisalpine Gaul resigned by, 8. 26; Clodius' tool, 2. 48; constitutional conduct of, after Caesar's death, 1. 2; consulship obtained by, 2. 79; 'consulatus urbanus,' 7. 15; counter-propositions of, 8. introd.; crew of, described, 5. 12 foll.; 13. 26 foll.; cruelty of, 2. 61; defeated by A. Hirtius, 14. introd.; dictatorship abolished by, 1. 4; 2. 115; discourtesy of, 2. 7, 105 foll.; Dolabella defended by, 13. 25; Dolabella's election stopped by, 1. 31; 2. 82; drinks in Scipio's villa, 5. 19; embassy voted to, 6. 3; exorbitant demands of, 12. 12; falsifies the auspices, 2. 82; finds fault with Cicero's consulship, 2. 11; finds fault with Hirtius and Octavianus, 13. 24; 'flamen Caesaris,' 13. 41; flight before Octavianus, 3. 1, 24; 5. 24, 30; flight to Gaul, 3. 6; flight on Caesar's death, 2. 88; forges 'acta Caesaris,' 2. 97; forges laws, 1. 25; 2. 8; forges 'senatus consulta,' 12. 12; friend of traitors, 2. 2; gambler, 2. 56; gluttonous, 2. 63; grandfathers of, 1. 27; 'heres secundus' to Caesar, 2. 71; 'hostis Populi Romani,' 3. 15; 4. 5; 5. 28 foll.; 14. 6, 22; ingratitude of, towards Calenus, 8. 18; insolent, 2. 58; jobbery of, 2. 35, 62, 92, 115; 3. 10, 30; joins Caesar in Gaul, 2. 48; joins Caesar at Ravenna, 2. 51; Italy entrusted to, by Caesar, 2. 57, 58; 'iudicium' bestowed on foreigners by, 5. 12; Latinity of, 2. 95; 3. 22; 13. 43; laws of, invalid, 5. 10; legislation of, 2. 72; letter of, 13. 22; life of, reviewed, 2. 44 foll.; Lupercalia, conduct at the, 2. 86; 3. 12; 13. 31; Macedonia claimed by, 7. 3; 'magister equitum,' 2. 62; massacres of, 3. 4; 4. 4; 5. 15; 13. 18; Mutina besieged by, 5. 24; Narbo, expedition to, 2. 75; Narbo, return from, 2. 76; 'non sordidus,' 1. 32; occupied the forum with soldiery, 2. 19, 96; 5. 9; 13. 18; peace with, impossible, 7. 7; 13. 21; Pharsalus, conduct at, 13. 33; Pompey's goods bought by, 2. 64, 100, 103; profligate, 2. 57, 104; promised Italy to his soldiery, 8. 9; quaestor, 2. 49; seeks to avenge Caesar's death, 13. 46; senate blockaded by, 2. 19, 112; senate insulted by, 3. 20; senate of, 13. 26; sons of, 1. 2; 2. 90; subservience to Caesar, 13. 17; summons legions from Macedonia, 4. 6; 6. 3; suppliant to Cicero, 2. 7; temperate when necessary, 3. 12; threatens Cicero, 1. 11; Trebonius' death a cause for rejoicing to, 13. 22; tribune, 2. 51; tries to kill P. Clodius, 2. 21, 49; tries to corrupt the veterans, 13. 34; tyrant of the worst kind, 2. 108; 7. 15; uncle of, 1. 27; unconstitutional conduct of, after 1st of June, 1. 6; unnatural conduct of, 2. 55; unsupported in the senate, 5. 32; untrustworthy, 13. 4; venal, 2. 97; villa of, at Misenum, 2. 48, 73; violates 'Lex Iulia de provinciis,' 8. 26; wishes to crown Caesar, 2. 85; 5. 38; wishes to declare Octavianus a public enemy, 5. 23; wishes to divide Italy among his followers, 5. 7.
- Antonius Hybrida, C., uncle of the triumvir, 2. 56, 70, 98.
 Apertus in dicendo, 2. 111.
 Apollinares ludi, 1. 36; 2. 31; 10. 7.
 Apollonia, 10. 11; 11. 26.
 Apothecae, 2. 67; 3. 31.
 Apparatus, 7. 27.
 Appellare, to summon for debt, 2. 71.
 Appellari, 1. 6.
 Appia via, 7. 1.
 Apuleius, M., 10. 24; 13. 32.
 Apuleius, P., 6. 1; 14. 16.
 Aquae, 8. 9.
 Aquila, 12. 20.
 Aquila, L. Pontius, 11. 14; 13. 27.
 Aquinum, 2. 106.
 Arationes, 2. 101.
 Archipirata, 13. 18.
 Argentum, plate, 2. 66.
 Aricia, 3. 15.
 Aristicus, 11. 17.
 Armenia Minor, 2. 94.
 Armenta, 3. 31.
 Asyndeton, 1. 1; 2. 75, 89, 94; 10. 3.
 Atia, 3. 15.
 Atius, M., 3. 16.
 Atquin, 10. 17.
 Atrocitas, 6. 7.
 Attius quoted, 1. 34, 36.
 Attraction from finite verb after 'quam,' 5. 21; of demonstrative, 3. 13; of relative, 2. 54; 5. 39; of verb into plural, 4. 9.

- Attribuere, to give money on account, 5. 6; 9. 16; 14. 38.
 Auctor, representative, 9. 7.
 Aversa lectica, 2. 82.
 Avertere, 5. 11.
 Augurs, College of, 2. 4, 81.
 Auspices invented, 2. 83, 88; 3. 9.
 Auspices violated, 6. 3.
 Baiae, 8. 9.
 Bambalio, M. Fulvius, 2. 90; 3. 16.
 Barbaria, 2. 108.
 Basilus, 2. 107.
 Bassus, P. Ventidius, 12. 20.
 Bassus, Q. Caecilius, 11. 32.
 Bellienus, L., 2. 91.
 Belua, 3. 28.
 Bestia, L. Calpurnius, 11. 11; 13. 26.
 Bibulus, M., 2. 23; 11. 34; 13. 29.
 Bodyguard of tyrants, 1. 27; 5. 17.
 Brundisium, massacres at, 3. 4; 13. 18.
 Brutus, D. Iunius, blockaded in Mutina, 10. 4; 'consul designatus,' 3. 37; checked Antony's entrance into Gaul, 4. 8; 13. 20; decree in honour of, 5. 35; edict of, 3. 8; favourite with Caesar, 10. 15; praetor in Cisalpine Gaul, 1. 8.
 Brutus, L. Iunius, 1. 13; 2. 26; 10. 14.
 Brutus, M. Iunius, anxious for peace, 10. 8; at Athens, 10. introd.; Crete given to, instead of Macedonia, 2. 31; decree in honour of, 10. 23; exempted from penalties, 2. 31; farewell edict of, 1. 8; 'ius non dixit,' 10. 7; letter of, 10. 1; Macedonia occupied by, 11. 27; not descended from L. Brutus, 1. 13; 2. 26; Pansa's esteem for, 10. 17; 'praetor urbis,' 10. 7; proconsul in Crete, 2. 31; resists C. Antonius, 10. 9 foll.; self-abnegation of, 10. 8.
 Bustum Caesaris, 1. 5; 2. 107.
 Byllis, 11. 26.
 Cadere in aliquem, 10. 14.
 Caducae hereditates, 10. 11.
 Caelius, Q., 13. 3, 26.
 Caelo, detrahare de, 2. 107.
 Caepio, a name of M. Brutus, 10. 24.
 Caesar, C. Iulius, acts of, ratified, 1. 17; Alexandria reduced by, 14. 23; called Antony to account for his debts, 2. 71; careless about loyalty when young, 5. 49; Cicero's benefactor, 2. 1; civil wars of, 2. 75; civil war, pretext for, 2. 53; column in his honour, 1. 5; 'commentarii,' 1. 2; Consul, 2. 24; decorated by the senate, 2. 85; Deiotarus defended by, 2. 94; diadem rejected by, 2. 87; expels Caesetius and Marullus from the senate, 13. 31; flamen of, 2. 110; funeral of, 2. 90; gardens of, 2. 109; goes to Spain, 2. 74; grasping, 10. 2; inscription to, 3. 1; laws of, see 'leges Iuliae'; life attempted by Antony, 2. 74; literary powers of, 2. 116; magnificence of, 2. 116; Massiliots, conduct towards, 8. 19; miserable, 1. 35; opposed by the consuls, 2. 54; Parthian campaign, 2. 80; Pompey alienated from Cicero by, 2. 23; Pompey's goods sold by, 2. 64; Pompey's negotiations with, 2. 37; Pompey reconciled to, 2. 33; province of Gaul retained by, 2. 24; provinces allotted by, 2. 31; public works of, 2. 116; recalls the exiles, 11. 11; refuge of the abandoned, 2. 50, 78; returns to Rome from Egypt, 2. 64; seeks no 'supplicatio' after Pharsalus, 14. 23; temple of, 2. 110; tyranny premeditated, 2. 116.
 Caesar, L. Iulius, 1. 27; 2. 14; 3. 22; 6. 14; 8. 1.
 Caesar Vopiscus, C. Iulius, 11. 11.
 Cafo, 8. 9, 26; 10. 22; 11. 12, 37.
 Calcei, 2. 76.
 Calceos mutare, 13. 28.
 Calenus, Q. Fufius, the elder, 8. 13.
 Calenus, Q. Fufius, 5. 1; 8. 11, 16; 10. 2; 12. 1; his son, 10. 4.
 Calvinus Sabinus, 3. 26.
 Canutius, Ti., 3. 23.
 Capital punishment abolished, 1. 21.
 Capitalis homo, 5. 33.
 Capua, 2. 100; 12. 7.
 Carbo, Cn. Papirius, 8. 7.
 Carfulenus, D., 3. 23.
 Casca, P. Servilius, 13. 31.
 Cascae, Servillii, 2. 27.
 Casilinum, 2. 102.
 Cassius, Q., 3. 26.
 Cassius, Sp., 1. 1; 2. 26, 87.
 Cassius Barba, 5. 18; 13. 3.
 Cassius Longinus, C., attempts Caesar's life, 2. 26; farewell edict of, 1. 8; fit general against Dolabella, 11. 28; Parthian campaign of, 11. 35; popular in Phoenicia, 11. 35; propraetor in Syria, 11. 28.
 Cassius Longinus, L., 3. 23.

- Catiline, 2. 12; 4. 15; 8. 15; 14. 14.
 Cato, M. Porcius, 2. 12.
 Cavere ab aliquo, 2. 117.
 Cautio, genitive with, 7. 3.
 Celare, 2. 32.
 Cellae servorum, 2. 67.
 Cellae vinariae, 2. 67.
 Censeo, 1. 11; 3. 24, 37; 5. 10.
 Censorinus, L., 11. 11, 36; 12. 20.
 Charybdis, 2. 67.
 Cicero, M. Tullius, addresses the people, 4. 1; 6. 1; Antony's bitterest enemy, 12. 15; Antony's interests opposed by, 2. 3; Antony's style criticised by, 13. 22; Arpinas, 3. 15; 12. 20; augur, 2. 4; benefactor of the knights, 6. 13; Brundisium avoided by, 1. 7; Caesar estranged from Pompey by, 2. 23; Caesar's death contrived by, 2. 25, 28; care for himself, 12. 25; Cilician campaign of, 11. 34; Clodius' death contrived by, 2. 22; consented to send a second embassy to Antony, 12. 1; Deiotarus defended by, 2. 95; departs from Rome after Caesar's death, 1. 1; Dolabella disowned by, 11. 10; enemy to all traitors, 2. 1; exile of, 13. 30; fell to rise again, 12. 24; foresight of, 6. 17; funeral oration of, 14. 29 foll.; house rebuilt by senate, 1. 12; leaves Italy, 1. 6; legacies to, 2. 40; letter to Antony, 2. 7; Marsic campaign of, 11. 27; modesty in praising himself, 2. 10; not bound to Antony, 2. 3; objects to go on the second embassy to Antony, 12. 17 foll.; Octavianus acknowledged by, 3. 3; opposes the mission of envoys to Antony, 13. 20; 'pacies auctor,' 2. 37; 7. 7; 8. 11; poetry of, 2. 20; Pompey joined by, 2. 37; prompt action urged by, 3. 1; proposes thanks to Sex. Pompeius, 13. 50; prosecutor only twice, 7. 7; province declined by, 11. 23; ready to die, 1. 38; 2. 119; returns to Italy after Pharsalus, 2. 59; returns to Italy, Aug. 31, 44 B.C., 1. 7; returns to Rome after Antony's flight, 3. 1; saviour of the state, 2. 2, 51; Sicilian connection of, 1. 7; 7. 7; sole supporter of the senate's honour, 8. 22; sovereign power sought by, 14. 14; special pleading, 8. 4; upright in his ambition, 14. 17; urges a declaration of war, 5. 31; urges M. Lepidus to be neutral, 13. 49; views of a future life, 4. 32; 9. 10, 18; villa near Anagnia, 2. 106; zeal of, 6. 18.
 Cicero, M. Tullius, the younger, 13. 13.
 Cicero, Q. Tullius, the younger, 3. 18.
 Cimber, C. Annius, 11. 14; 13. 26.
 Cimber, L. Tullius, 2. 27, 116.
 Cinna, L. Cornelius, 1. 35; 2. 108; 3. 26; 5. 17; 8. 7; 11. 1; 13. 2; 14. 23.
 Circumscribere, 2. 53; 6. 5; 13. 19.
 Cisium, 2. 77.
 Citius, 2. 25.
 Civi (ablative), 3. 39; 5. 52; 7. 20.
 Civil wars, 8. 7.
 Claterna, 8. 6.
 Claudius Pulcher, App., 13. 29.
 Clementia, 1. 27.
 Climax, 2. 44.
 Clivus Capitolinus, 2. 16, 19.
 Clodius, P., 2. 21; 8. 16.
 Clodius, Sex., client of P. Clodius, 1. 3; 2. 9, 96.
 Clodius, Sex., the Sicilian rhetorician, 2. 9, 42, 101.
 Cluvius Tullus, 9. 5.
 Coagmentor, 7. 21.
 Coena, time of, 2. 104.
 Cognatus, 5. 6.
 Cognito, 2. 100.
 Colligare, 11. 4, 26.
 Colligere se, to recover, 10. 6; 13. 44.
 Coloniae, 2. 100; 3. 13.
 Comata Gallia, 8. 27.
 Comitia centuriata, 2. 82.
 Commendatus, 2. 32.
 Commentarii mimos, 11. 13.
 Commentarii, 1. 2.
 Commissioners to Antony enumerated, 12. 28; not plenipotentiary, 12. 28.
 Committere ut, 6. 6; 8. 15.
 Compellare, 3. 17; 2. 94.
 Compilare, 3. 30.
 Concidere, 2. 107; 5. 23, 28.
 Conclave, 2. 69.
 Concord, Temple of, 2. 15.
 Conficere, absolute, 11. 26; to get together, 13. 16.
 Congiaria, 2. 116.
 Coniungere, with ablative, 5. 20.
 Conscendere, 1. 7.
 Consentire, 2. 17.
 Constringere, 2. 97.
 Constructio κατὰ ἔνταυρον, 2. 58.

- Consuls invested with absolute power, 2. 52; limitation of power of, 4. 9.
 Contio, 4. 1.
 Contra dicere, 2. 18.
 Contumeliam facere, 3. 22.
 Convellere, 2. 83.
 Conventuram rem, 1. 8.
 Coram, 12. 11.
 Cornificius, Q., 3. 26.
 Cornua tenere, 13. 47.
 Cornutus, M., 14. 37.
 Corvinus, 5. 48.
 Corycus, 13. 26.
 Cotta, L. Aurelius, 2. 13.
 Cotyla, L. Varius, 5. 5; 8. 24, 28, 32; 13. 26.
 Crassus, L. Licinius, 14. 17.
 Crassus, M. Licinius, 2. 7, 12.
 Crassus Mucianus Dives, P. Licinius, 11. 18.
 Cretans a cruel nation, 5. 14.
 Crispus, Q. Marcius, 11. 30.
 Crurifragium, 13. 27.
 Cui bono, 2. 35.
 Cumulatus, 14. 30.
 Cuniculum Gallorum, 3. 20.
 Cupidus, 6. 17.
 Curia Hostilia, 6. 10.
 Curia Pompeii, 14. 15.
 Curio, C., 2. 3, 44, 50.
 Curius, M., 5. 13; 8. 27.
 Cusinus, M., 3. 26.
 Cydas, 5. 12.
 Cydnus, 2. 26.
 Cytheris, 2. 20, 56, 58, 69.
 Dative after passive verbs, 6. 1.
 Debere, 2. 99.
 Decempeda, 14. 10.
 Decempedator, 13. 37.
 Decernere, 14. 11.
 Decii Mures, 13. 27.
 Decius Mus, P., 5. 18.
 Decoquere, 2. 44.
 Decuriae iudicum, 1. 19, 20; 5. 15; 13. 3.
 Decuriare, 7. 18.
 De die in diem, 2. 87.
 Deductis, 2. 62.
 Deferre, 2. 83.
 Deferre in aerarium, 13. 19; 14. 5.
 Deferre res ad senatum, 1. 2.
 Definition by etymology, 8. 3.
 Deinceps, 5. 35; 4. 9.
 Deiotarus, 2. 93, 95; 3. 31, 33.
 Deiotarus the younger, 3. 31, 33.
 Deliciae, 6. 12.
 Demetrius of Gadara, 13. 12.
 Denique, 13. 35, 49.
 Denticula, Licinius, 2. 56.
 Deplorare, 11. 6.
 Derivare, 11. 22.
 Descendere in curiam, 8. 4.
 Descendere in senatum, 2. 15; 8. 6.
 Describere, to copy, 7. 5.
 Describere, to divide, 5. 22.
 Desiderare, 5. 35; 7. 14.
 Detestari, 4. 9.
 Devius, 5. 37.
 Devoluti, 7. 14.
 Devorare, 6. 17.
 Diadema, 2. 85; 5. 38; 10. 7.
 Dicta, 2. 42.
 Dictatorship, tenure of, 1. 4; 2. 91.
 Dignus, absolutely, 3. 22.
 Diiunctio, 2. 18, 32.
 Di meliora, 8. 9; 10. 5.
 Dimicatio with genitive, 14. 37.
 Dissessio, 1. 3; 3. 24; 8. 1; 14. 21.
 Disciplinam, tradere in, 2. 3.
 Discribere, 13. 12.
 Dispersio, 3. 30.
 Displceeo mihi, 1. 12.
 Dissolute, 6. 1, 7.
 Distinere, 11. 6; 12. 28.
 Distribuire, 5. 32.
 Divendere, 7. 15.
 Divorce, ceremonies of, 2. 69.
 Dolabella, P. Cornelius, adopted by Cn. Lentulus, 1. 30; Antony's colleague, 1. 5, 29; 3. 9; Asia occupied by, 11. 4; consulship declared invalid, 2. 82, 83; 5. 8; enemy of the state, 11. 16; profligacy of, 2. 99; purifies the forum, 1. 30; relations with Cicero, 11. 10; treachery, 10. 5; 'tribunus plebis,' 1. 30; Trebonius murdered by, 11. 1; upright, 1. 29.
 Dolere, 9. 11; 11. 1.
 Dominatus, 1. 34; 2. 26; 7. 16.
 Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cn., 2. 27; 10. 13.
 Domitius Ahenobarbus, L., 2. 71; 13. 29.
 Domitius Apulus, 11. 13.
 Domu, 2. 45.
 Domus or 'domi,' 2. 11.
 Donare, constructions of, 12. 19.
 Dyrrachium, 10. 11.
 Eculeus, 11. 7.
 Edere nomina, 5. 53.
 Edicta aedilium, 9. 17.
 Efferre, 9. 16.

- Effrenatio, 5. 22.
 Egnatuleius, L., 3. 7, 39; 4. 6; 5. 52.
 Elerare, 12. 18.
 Elegans, 13. 38.
 Elephants, 5. 46.
 Ellipse of verb, 2. 74; 5. 31; 6. 7.
 Emancipatus, 2. 51.
 Emendator et corrector, 2. 43.
 Eniti, 2. 23; 4. 16.
 Epirus, 11. 26.
 Equi vectigales, 2. 62.
 Equis viris, 8. 21.
 Equites equo publico, 1. 20; 6. 13.
 Equites join the senate against Catiline, 2. 19.
 Equitum centuriae, 2. 82.
 Esquilius campus, 9. 17.
 Essedum, 2. 58.
 Et . . . neque, 11. 6.
 Eventus, 14. 5.
 Exalare, 2. 30.
 Exardere ad spem, 4. 16; 11. 3.
 Exaudire, 11. 20, 36.
 Excusatio, 5. 14; 9. 8.
 Excutere, 2. 73; 12. 16.
 Exhibere, 6. 7.
 Existimare, to express opinion, 2. 9; 8. 22.
 Expendere pecuniam, 2. 98.
 Exsilium, 2. 33; 6. 10.
 Extimescere, 13. 5.
 Extorquere with dative, 13. 15.
 Extraordinarium imperium, 11. 17.

 Faces admovendae sunt, 2. 30.
 Facilitas, 1. 27; 9. 11.
 Facinerosus, 8. 16.
 Facio ut, 4. 11.
 Fadia, Antony's second wife, 2. 3; 3. 17.
 Fadius, Q., 2. 3.
 Familiam ducere, 5. 30.
 Familiaris, 6. 13; 7. 17.
 Fasti, 2. 87.
 Fastigium, 2. 110.
 Fatalis, 6. 19.
 Fatalism, inconsistency of, 14. 5.
 Fatum, power of, 1. 10.
 Faveo, 2. 10.
 Fax, 7. 3.
 Fax incendiorum, 2. 48.
 Feminine, contemptuous use of, 13. 25.
 Ferre, to bear in effigy, 8. 18.
 Firmum, 7. 23.
 Flaccus, L. Valerius, 11. 18.
 Flaccus, M. Fulvius, 8. 14.
 Flamines, 2. 110.
 Flaminium, 13. 41.
 Flaminius, T. Quinctius, 5. 48.
 Foris, 2. 26.
 Fortunatus, 13. 16.
 Forum Iulium, 2. 116.
 Foveam, incidere in, 4. 11.
 Fourth oration genuine, 4. introd.
 Fraus, 5. 34.
 Frigere, 6. 14.
 Fufius, Q., 2. 41.
 Fulmen sinistrum, 2. 99.
 Fulvia, Antony's third wife, 1. 2; avaricious, 1. 33; 2. 113; 5. 11; 6. 4; fatal to her husbands, 2. 11, 113; 5. 11.
 Funeral oration, 14. 31.
 Fustuarium, 3. 14.
 Future, equivalent to English present, 2. 113, 118.

 Gabinius, A., proposed Cicero's exile, 2. 48; was refused a 'supplicatio,' 14. 24.
 Galba, Serv. Sulpicius, 13. 33; his letter to Cicero, 14. introd.
 Gallia Comata and Togata, 8. 27.
 Gallia ultima, 5. 5; 7. 3.
 Gallicae, 2. 76.
 Gallius, M., 13. 26.
 Gambling illegal, 2. 56.
 Gaul, enfranchisement of, 12. 10.
 Gauls, capture of Rome by, 3. 20.
 Gauls, loyalty of, 4. 9.
 Gauls, votes of, 2. 76.
 Genitive after genera, 6. 4; double, 5. 35; of quality, 14. 28; plur. in 'ium,' 2. 28; plur. in 'um,' 2. 43.
 Genitives accumulated, 4. 4.
 Gerundive, construction with 'ab' and ablative, 14. 11; various constructions of, 2. 4; 5. 6.
 Gladiatoribus, 1. 36.
 Gladiators, pride of, 3. 34.
 Gracchi, 8. 14.
 Grandiferae, 2. 101.
 Gravitas, 2. 24; 13. 2.
 Greek construction, 5. 14.
 Gynaecium, 2. 95.

 Habebat hoc Caesar, 2. 78.
 Habere cognitum, 5. 50, 52; 10. 22.
 Habere with abstract nouns, 1. 7.
 Haerere, 2. 36.
 Hannibal, 5. 37; 6. 4.
 Hasta, the sign of an auction, 2. 64; 8. 9.
 Hasta Caesaris, 4. 9; 8. 9.

- Hereditates adire, 2. 41.
 Hereditates, a mark of respect, 2. 40.
 Herophilus, 1. 5.
 Hic redundant, 2. 101; 3. 7; 7. 15.
 Hippias, 2. 62, 63.
 Hirtius, A., augur, 7. 12; bad health of, 1. 37; 7. 12; 10. 16; Caesar's supporter, 10. 16; Cicero's pupil, 7. 12; 'consul designatus,' 1. 6; 3. 2; distrusted by Cicero, 5. introd.; killed before Mutina, 1. 9; 'novus homo,' 13. 24; sent to Gaul, 7. 12; 'supplicatio' of, 14. 36; victory of, over Antony, 8. 6; 14. introd.
 Hiscere, 2. 111.
 Honoris causa nominare, 2. 30, 113.
 Hortensius, Q., 2. 4, 12.
 Hortensius, Q., the younger, 10. 11, 24.
 Horti, 2. 67.
 Humanitas, 1. 10.

 Iacere, 6. 14.
 Ianus, 6. 15.
 Id aetatis, 11. 17.
 Idem, followed by personal pronoun, 2. 32.
 Igitur beginning clause, 2. 94.
 Ille redundant, 13. 44.
 Illim, 2. 77; 4. 11.
 Illyrium, 10. 11.
 Imbutus, 14. 6.
 Immunes agri, 2. 43.
 Immunitates, 1. 3; 2. 92; 5. 11.
 Imperfect subjunctive expressing duty, 2. 86.
 Imperium, 1. 18; 3. 27; 5. 45.
 Impotens, 11. 16.
 Improba, 12. 11.
 Impulsus, 2. 79.
 In, expressing final cause, 2. 50.
 In ante diem, 3. 20.
 In die vivere, 2. 87; 5. 25.
 In hoste, 11. 9.
 Incidere, 2. 47.
 Incolumis, 2. 4.
 Increbescere, 14. 12.
 Incredibilis, 4. 1.
 Index, 1. 20.
 Indicative for English subjunctive, 2. 27.
 Indicative in conditional sentence, 6. 2.
 Indigni, 8. 7.
 Indormire, 3. 34.
 Infinitives in exclamations, 5. 16.
 Infudit venenum, 11. 13.
 Ingurgitare, 2. 65.
 Inibi, 14. 5.
 Injustice worst for the doer, 11. 9.
 Inquilinus, 2. 105.
 Insepultus, 14. 33.
 Insinuare, 5. 8.
 Insolentia, 9. 13.
 Insteius, 12. 20; 13. 26.
 Institor, 2. 97.
 Instituire, 11. 33.
 Instruere, 6. 14.
 Integer, 5. 2, 33; 7. 26; 8. 10; 13. 34.
 Intempesta nox, 1. 8.
 Interagnum, 2. 105.
 Intercedere, to become security, 2. 45.
 Interest, construction of, 2. 99.
 Internecivus, 14. 7.
 Invadere in provinciam, 2. 41; 3. 11; 11. 4.
 Inveteratus, 13. 48.
 Invisitatus, 11. 1.
 Involutus, 7. 19.
 Inurere, 2. 117.
 Ire in sententiam, 11. 15.
 Ita restrictive, 2. 85; 6. 6; 8. 18.
 Ita, 'nec ita multi,' 2. 108.
 Italy, final subjugation of, 4. 13.
 Ityraei, 2. 19, 96, 112; 5. 18.
 Iubere consulem, 2. 79, 80.
 Iudicia, 1. 19, 20.
 Iugum, 11. 6.
 Iunia, wife of M. Lepidus, 13. 8.
 Iuppiter Capitolinus, 14. 8.
 Iuppiter Stator, 2. 64.
 Iure consultus, 2. 96; 9. 10.
 Ius and 'lex,' 8. 7.
 Ius libertatis, 13. 1.
 Ius postulare, 2. 72.

 καὶ δὲ, 12. 26.
 Kalendae, 2. 13; 5. 31.
 Karthago, 4. 13.

 Lacerna, 2. 76.
 Laco, 2. 106.
 Laedat an laudet, 3. 18.
 Laelius, C., 2. 83; 11. 17.
 Languere e via, 1. 12.
 Lanista, 13. 40.
 Lars Tolumnius, 9. 4.
 Laterensis, M. Iuventus, Frag. 2.
 Latine loqui, 7. 17.
 Latus tegere, 13. 4.
 Laudium, 2. 28.
 Lecticae scutorum, 2. 108; 5. 18.
 Legatio libera, 1. 6.
 Legibus solutus, 2. 31.
 Legio Alauda, 1. 20; 14. 27.
 Legio Martia, 3. 4; 4. 5; 5. 53; 10. 21; 12. 8; 14. 26, 27, 31.

- Legio quarta, 4. 5; 14. 27, 31.
 Legio secunda, 14. 27.
 Legio septima, 14. 27, 31.
 Lemonia tribus, 9. 15.
 Lenire with dative, 7. 25.
 Lento Caesennius, 11. 13; 12. 23; 13. 2, 26.
 Lentulus, L. Cornelius, 3. 25.
 Lentulus, P. Cornelius, 8. 14.
 Lentulus Crus, L. Cornelius, 2. 51; 13. 29.
 Lentulus Spinther, P. Cornelius, 13. 29.
 Lentulus Sura, P. Cornelius, 2. 14, 18; 8. 1.
 Leontini, 2. 43, 84, 101; 8. 26.
 Lepidus, M. Aemilius, advises peace, 13. 7, 49; conduct on Caesar's death, 1. 2; 'imperator bis,' 13. 7; left in charge of Rome by Caesar, 2. 57; loyal, 5. 38; loyalty of, mistrusted, 13. 16, 43; made peace with Sex. Pompeius, 11. 8; 'pontifex maximus,' 13. 7; 'supplicatio' to, 3. 23.
 Levitas, 2. 77; 7. 4, 9.
 Lex defined, 11. 28.
 Lex Aelia et Fufia, 2. 81; 'agraria' of M. Antonius, 2. 6; 'agraria' of C. Julius Caesar, 2. 53; 'annalis,' 5. 47; 'Antonia de iudiciis,' 5. 12; 'Antonia (of L. Antonius) de magistratibus,' 7. 16; 'Atinia,' 3. 16; 'Aurelia de iudiciis,' 1. 92; 8. 26; 'Caecilia et Didia,' 5. 8; 'Clodia de auspiciis,' 2. 81; 'Domitia de sacerdotiis,' 2. 4; Hirtia, 13. 22; 'Iulia de civitate,' 13. 22; 'Iulia de iudiciis,' 1. 19; 8. 26; 'Iulia de provinciis,' 1. 19; 2. 109; 3. 12; 5. 7; 'Iunia et Licinia,' 5. 8; 'Licinia et Arbutia,' 2. 6; 'Manilia,' 11. 16; 'municipalis,' 3. 13; 'Pompeia de iudiciis,' 1. 20; 'Pompeia de vi,' 1. 19; 2. 22; 'Roscia,' 2. 44; 'Vatinia,' 2. 24; 'Viconia,' 3. 16.
 Libelli, 2. 97.
 Liberare, 3. 30; 5. 12.
 Libertatis ius, 13. 1.
 Libertinus and 'libertus,' 2. 3.
 Liberty the birthright of Romans, 3. 29; 4. 13; 6. 19.
 Licet, meaning of, 13. 14.
 Lineae, 8. 17.
 Locative forms, 12. 25; 13. 19.
 Loco, 4. 5.
 Loco consulari dicere, 1. 15; 5. 46; 14. 19.
 Locuntur, 1. 27.
 Longum, 5. 1.
 Lubrica, 2. 59.
 Luci, 12. 25.
 Luctus, 14. 31.
 Luculentus, 7. 17.
 Lucullus, L. Licinius, 2. 12; 10. 8; 11. 33.
 Ludi Romani, 2. 110.
 Lupercalia, 2. 84; 3. 12; 7. 1.
 Luperci Iulii, 13. 31.
 Lupus custos ovium, 3. 27.
 Macedonia, allotment of, 10. introd.
 Madefactus, 14. 6.
 Maelius, Sp., 2. 26, 87.
 Maerere, 9. 11; 11. 1.
 Maeror, 14. 31.
 Maestas, 1. 21.
 Malum used interjectionally, 1. 15; 10. 18.
 Mancipatus, 2. 51.
 Mancipia, 2. 73.
 Manere alicui, 2. 11.
 Manere, to be permanent, 1. 22.
 Manicae, 11. 26.
 Manlius Capitolinus, M., 1. 32; 2. 111.
 Marcellus, C. Claudius, 3. 17; 13. 29.
 Marcellus, M. Claudius, 13. 29.
 Marius, C., 8. 15; 11. 1.
 Marius, C., the younger, 8. 7; 13. 1.
 Marius, the pseudo, 1. 5.
 Marrucini, 7. 23.
 Mars communis, 10. 20.
 Mars selects the noblest victims, 14. 32.
 Martial law, 5. 34.
 Massilia, 2. 94; 8. 18.
 Massiliots hated by Antony, 13. 32.
 Medius Fidius, 2. 67.
 Melioris, 7. 8.
 Menedemus, 13. 33.
 Mensum, 12. 22.
 Mercenarius, 5. 5, 46.
 Meritum distinguished from 'officium,' 13. 8.
 Meritus passive, 7. 10.
 Messius, Arusianus, frag. 2, 3.
 Metator castrorum, 11. 12; 14. 10.
 Metellus Macedonicus, Q. Caecilius, 8. 14.
 Metuere with dative, 2. 99.
 Milo, T. Annius, 2. 21.
 Minitor, construction of, 11. 37; 13. 47.
 Minucia porticus, 2. 84.
 Mithridates of Pergamus, 2. 94.
 Moneta, 7. 1.
 Morem gerere, 12. 18.
 Movere admirationem alicui, 10. 3.

- Munda, 2. 37.
 Municipia, 3. 13.
 Munus, 9. 1.
 Murcus, L. Statius, 11. 30.
 Murena, L. Licinius, 2. 12; 11. 33.
 Mustela Tamisius, 2. 8, 106; 5. 18;
 8. 26; 12. 14; 13. 3.
 Mutina, 5. 24; 6. 4 foll.; 7. 15; 8. 5.
 Myrmillo, 5. 20, 30; 6. 10; 7. 17;
 12. 20.
 Naevius quoted, 2. 65.
 Narbo, 2. 75.
 Natalicia, 2. 15.
 Nationes, 10. 20.
 Natura pater, 3. 15.
 Naufragia, 11. 36; 13. 2.
 Ne with personal pronouns, 2. 3, 76;
 13. 6.
 Ne quid detrimenti capiat respublica,
 5. 34.
 Ne (not 'nec') . . . quidem, 3. 3.
 Necesse est with subjunctive, 4. 5.
 Neque . . . que, 2. 109.
 Nesis, 10. 8.
 Nisi si, 2. 70.
 Nobilis, 1. 29; 2. 16.
 Nomina dare, 2. 16.
 Non modo followed by an interrogative,
 6. 12; for 'non modo non,' 5. 25.
 Non quia, non quo, &c., 1. 9; 5. 18;
 9. 1.
 Nonius, frag. 1.
 Notarii, 9. 4.
 Novitas, 1. 8.
 Nucula, 6. 14; 8. 26; 11. 13.
 Nudius tertius, 5. 2.
 Numantia, 4. 13; 11. 18.
 Numen, 3. 32.
 Numero esse, 2. 71; 3. 16.
 Numerus vini, 2. 65.
 Numisius Tiro, 2. 8; 5. 18; 8. 26;
 12. 14.
 Numitoria Fregellana, 3. 17.
 Nuncupare vota, 3. 11; 5. 24.
 Nundinae domesticae, 2. 35, 92, 115;
 3. 10, 30.
 Nuntiatio, 2. 80.
 Nuntii pacis, 12. 11.
 Nutriculae, 11. 12.
 O, construction with, 2. 16, 54; 13. 34.
 Obire diem, 3. 20.
 Obnuntiatio, 2. 80.
 Obrogare legem, 1. 22.
 Observatus, 2. 49.
 Obtineri, 2. 109.
 Obtrektare, 10. 6.
 Octavianus, C. Iulius Caesar, Antony
 driven from Rome by, 3. 27; Caesar's
 adopted son, 10. 16; called Caesar,
 3. 5; consulted Cicero, 5. 23; 'dux
 praestantissimus,' 5. 23; extraordi-
 nary honours to, 5. 47; extraordinary
 promise in, 5. 48 foll.; 'imperium'
 given to, 5. 45; 14. 28; paid Caesar's
 legacies, 11. 37; patriotism of, 4. 4
 foll.; personal gallantry of, 14. 27;
 propractor, 5. 46; 14. 6; saved the
 state, 3. 3; 'supplicatio' to, 14. 36;
 wins the veterans, 3. 3.
 Octavius, C., 3. 15.
 Octavius, Cn., 9. 4.
 Octavius, Cn., the younger, 8. 7; 13.
 1, 2; 14. 23.
 Oderint dum metuant, 1. 34.
 Odivi, 13. 42.
 Officium, 9. 1; 13. 8.
 Omnes: qui omnes, 2. 13.
 Onerare laudibus, 2. 25.
 Operae, 1. 12, 22.
 Opimius, L., 8. 14.
 Opinio, 5. 32.
 Ops, temple of, 1. 17; 2. 34, 93; 6. 3;
 8. 26; 13. 12.
 Ora, 10. 10.
 Oricum, 11. 26.
 Ornamenta, 13. 40.
 Ortus a se, 4. 17.
 Pacificatorius, 11. 11.
 Pacorus, 11. 35.
 Palladium, 11. 24.
 Palma urbana, 12. 3.
 Palmaris, 6. 15.
 Paludatus, 3. 24.
 Paludes Pomptinae, 5. 7.
 Pansa, C. Vibius, 'consul designatus,'
 1. 6; 3. 1; 'consul praestantissi-
 mus,' 7. 6; did not seek the command
 against Dolabella, 11. 23; distrusted,
 5. introd; killed before Mutina, 1. 8;
 promptitude of, 10. 1; son-in-law of
 Calenus, 8. 18; 10. 6; 'supplicatio'
 to, 14. 36.
 Paphus, 2. 37.
 Par, 1. 34.
 Parataxis, 2. 110.
 Parens = 'mater,' masculine, 2. 49.
 Parentalia, 1. 13.
 Parentare, 13. 35.
 Parilia, 14. 14.
 Parma, 14. 8.
 Parricidium, 2. 17; 4. 5; 8. 8; 11. 29.

- Pater conscriptus, 13. 28.
 Patres conscripti, 1. 1.
 Patronus, 2. 107.
 Paulus Macedonicus, L. Aemilius, 13. 9.
 Pax ipsa, 12. 17.
 Peculatus, 12. 12.
 Pecus, 2. 30; 8. 9.
 Pedem ponere in possessionem, 3. 28.
 Pensio, 2. 113.
 Perditor, 10. 8.
 Perfect subjunctive, concessive use of, 1. 13, 17; 2. 75; distinguished from imperfect, 1. 36; 3. 30; 4. 3; for pluperfect, 1. 8.
 Perficere, to organise, 10. 4.
 Perscriptio, 5. 11.
 Persona, 6. 2; 8. 29.
 Persuadere, 13. 35.
 Petissius Urbinas, 13. 3.
 Petrus, 13. 32.
 Phaedrus, 5. 13.
 Pharnaces, 14. 23.
 Pharsalus, 2. 37; 14. 23.
 Philip V of Macedon, 11. 17.
 Philippic orations, origin of the name, 2. introd.
 Philippus, L. Marcius, 11. 18.
 Philippus, L. Marcius the son, 3. 17; 8. 28; 9. 1.
 Philippus, L. Marcius the grandson, 3. 25.
 Phoenician fleet, 11. 35.
 Piceni, 7. 23.
 Pietas, 5. 31.
 Pignerari, 14. 32.
 Pignora iniuriae, 13. 6.
 Pignoris capio, 1. 11.
 Piissimus, 13. 43.
 Piso, L. Calpurnius, 10. 13; 12. 1.
 Piso Caesoninus, L. Calpurnius, 1. 10, 14; 5. 19; 8. 28; 9. 1; 12. 14.
 Piso, M. Calpurnius, 3. 25.
 Piso, M. Pupius, 2. 62.
 Plancus, L. Munatius, 1. 8; 2. 78; 3. 38; 5. 5; 13. 44.
 Plancus Bursa, T. Munatius, 6. 10; 10. 22; 11. 14; 12. 20.
 Plebi, 5. 7.
 Plus quam, 2. 31.
 Poenior, deponent, 8. 7.
 Pollentia, 11. 14.
 Pompeius Magnus, Cn., Caesar's friendship for, 2. 23; camp of, 13. 26; Cicero's consulship approved by, 2. 12; Cicero nominated augur by, 2. 4; conduct after Catiline's conspiracy, 2. 12; consulship of, 1. 18; extraordinary commands of, 11. 18; flight from Rome, 2. 54; flight to Egypt, 2. 39; house of, 1. 1; 2. 6, 62, 102; lost campaign in Epirus, 2. 37; laws of, 1. 18; 2. 22; Mithridatic war entrusted to, 11. 16; praises of, 2. 69; property of, sold, 2. 64; 4. 9; property of, to be recovered, 13. 10; Sertorian war given to, 11. 18; Sulla's main support, 5. 43.
 Pompeius Magnus, Cn., the younger, 5. 39.
 Pompeius Magnus, Sex., 2. 75; 5. 38, 39; 13. 8-13, 50.
 Pompeius Strabo, Cn., 12. 27.
 Ponere edictum, 3. 19; 4. 9.
 Popilius Laenas, C., 8. 23.
 Popularis, 1. 21, 37; 7. 4; 8. 19.
 Possessor, 6. 14.
 Possidere, 11. 15.
 Post diem tertium, 2. 89.
 Postulare, 1. 27; 2. 72.
 Potuisset with pres. inf., 2. 67.
 Praecipere, 10. 2; 13. 45.
 Praedes, 2. 78.
 Praenomen, use of, 2. 77.
 Praerogativa, 2. 82.
 Praesertim cum, 2. 60, 64, 106; 7. 2, 17; 8. 5.
 Praesidere, 5. 37.
 Praestringere, 12. 3.
 Praetextatus, 2. 43.
 Praetor urbanus, duties of, 14. 37.
 Praetoriana cohors, 8. 25.
 Praevicator, 2. 25.
 Praeverti, 2. 88.
 Preposition omitted, 2. 27.
 Pridie and 'postridie' correlative, 7. 14.
 Primae partes, 8. 13.
 Primas, ante Idus, 8. 33.
 Primi pili, 12. 20.
 Primum, 2. 114.
 Principes, 8. 22.
 Procurator, 2. 104; 11. 13.
προδύσθωρος, 7. 8.
 Proinde, 14. 10.
 Pronepos, 13. 15.
 Pronoun, demonstrative for relative, 1. 24.
 Pronoun, use of reflexive, 1. 16.
 Pronuntiare, 1. 24.
 Propagare, 12. 13.
 Propudium, 14. 8.
 Propugnaculum, 5. 27.
 Proquaestor, 10. 26.
 Prosequi, 9. 9.
 Providere, 2. 24.

Provinces, government of, 4. 9.
 Provinces, tenure of, limited, 1. 19.
 Provocatio, 1. 21.
 Proxime with accusative, 10. 26.
 Pudet, 2. 61; 12. 8.
 Pudor, 2. 15; 3. 28.
 Pulvinar, 2. 110.
 Puteoli, 2. 107.
 Pyrrhus, 1. 11.

Quadratum agmen, 13. 18.
 Quaestiones perpetuae, 1. 21.
 Quaestorships, allotment of, 2. 50.
 Quam omitted, 6. 5.
 Quam volent, 2. 113.
 Quantuscumque = 'quantuluscumque,'
 7. 8.
 Quasillum, 3. 10.
 Que after -8, 10. 25.
 Qui and 'quis' distinguished, 1. 13; 12. 2.
 Qui duo, 2. 13.
 Quia with subjunctive, 2. 19.
 Quicunque = 'quivis,' 12. 13.
 Quid es, 2. 75.
 Quid est aliud? 1. 22; 2. 7; 3. 21; 10.
 5; 12. 13.
 Quidem, 2. 6, 39; 12. 18.
 Quidquid virium, 10. 16.
 Quin = 'quia non,' 7. 6.
 Quisnam indefinite, 6. 12.
 Quisquam in affirmative sentences, 1.
 22; 9. 2.
 Quisque repeated, 14. 19; 2. 119; 3.
 24.
 Quisque with superlatives, 1. 29; 3. 19;
 5. 49; 13. 42.
 Quoad, 6. 8; 11. 25.
 Quod, whereas, 7. 22.
 Quod qui, 10. 9.
 Quoquo versus, 9. 15, 17.
 Quotus quisque, 3. 15.
 Quousque in two words, 3. 3.

Rationem conficere, 5. 15.
 Rationem habere alicuius, 5. 46.
 Receptaculum, 10. 9.
 Recipere in fidem, 6. 12.
 Recipere, to undertake, 2. 79; 5. 51.
 Recitare, 1. 24.
 Reckoning, Roman mode of, 2. 89.
 Reclamare, reclamatio, 4. 5; 5. 22;
 6. 12.
 Recusare, 4. 12.
 Reda, 2. 58.
 Referre acceptum, 2. 12, 40, 55; 6. 15.
 Referre ad senatum, 1. 2.
 Referre in tabulas, 5. 12.

Refricare, 3. 18.
 Refugere, 14. 9.
 Regnare, 2. 29, 34; 3. 8; 5. 44.
 Regulus, 11. 9.
 Relative agreeing with predicate, 2.
 54.
 Relative, neuter with masc. and fem.
 antecedents, 2. 75.
 Remissior, 6. 3.
 Removere, 13. 31.
 Renuntiare, 8. 23; 9. 1.
 Repraesentare, 2. 118.
 Reserare, 7. 2.
 Resolvere, 14. 38.
 Respectus, 10. 9; 11. 26.
 Restituere, 2. 56.
 Retexere, 2. 32.
 Retractatio, 14. 38.
 Reversio, 1. 1.
 Revertere, active form of the perfect,
 8. 28.
 Revirescere, 7. 1.
 Rogare consulatum, 2. 76.
 Romanorum propria libertas, 3. 29; 6.
 19; 10. 19.
 Romans early risers, 8. 31.
 Rome, 'the eternal city,' 2. 51.
 Roscia lex, 2. 44.
 Roscius, L., 9. 4, 5.
 Rubicon, 6. 5.
 Rubrius, L., 2. 40, 62, 74, 103.
 Rudis, 2. 74.
 Rullus, Q. Fabius Maximus, 5. 48.
 Saga, 5. 32; 6. 9; 10. 19; 12. 12.
 Saguntum, 5. 27.
 Salvius, 5. introd.; 6. introd.; 7. 14.
 Salutare, 2. 41.
 Samiarius, 11. 5.
 Sanctus, 14. 33.
 Sanus, 2. 51, 88; 11. 37; 13. 2.
 Sapere nihil, 2. 8, 43.
 Sasernae, 13. 28.
 Saturninus, L. Apuleius, 8. 15.
 Saxa, L. Decidius, 8. 9, 26; 10. 22;
 11. 12, 37; 12. 20; 13. 27; 14. 10.
 Saxa rubra, 2. 77.
 Scaevola, Q. Mucius, 'pontifex maxi-
 mus,' 8. 31.
 Scaevola, Q. Mucius, the augur, 8.
 31.
 Scalae, 2. 21.
 Scato, Vettius, 12. 27.
 Scipio, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, 2.
 37, 42; 5. 19; 13. 29.
 Scipio Aemilianus (Africanus Minor),
 P. Cornelius, 5. 48; 11. 17, 18.

- Scipio Africanus (Maior), P. Cornelius.
 5. 48; 11. 17; 13. 9.
 Scipio Asiagenes, L. Cornelius, 11. 17.
 Scipio Asiaticus, L. Cornelius, 12. 27;
 13. 2.
 Scipio Nasica Serapis, P. Cornelius,
 8. 13.
 Second thoughts, 12. 5.
 Sector, 2. 39, 64; 11. 36; 13. 30.
 Sed, resuming the sentence, 1. 27; 2.
 5, 8, 80.
 Seducere, 8. 29; 9. 9; 13. 22.
 Semen, 2. 25.
 Seminarium, 13. 3.
 Semurium, 6. 14.
 Semustulatus, 2. 91.
 Senate, crushed under Antony's policy,
 1. 6; diminution of power of, 1. 9;
 order of voting in, 3. 24; 5. 1, 35;
 6. 8; written speeches unusual in, 10. 5.
 Senati, genitive, 3. 38.
 Senators obliged to attend, 1. 11.
 Septemviri agris dividendis, 2. 99; 5. 7,
 21, 33; 8. 26; 11. 13.
 Sepulchrum, 9. 14.
 Sertorius, Q., 8. 7; 11. 18.
 Servare de caelo, 2. 80, 83.
 Servi armati, 2. 16.
 Servilius, M., 4. 16.
 Servilius Vatia Isauricus, P., 2. 12.
 Servilius Vatia Isauricus, P., the younger,
 7. 27; 9. 14; 11. 19; 12. 5, 18;
 14. 7, 11, 23.
 Sestertium, 2. 93, 95.
 Si in dependent questions, 9. 2.
 Si omitted, 11. 19; 13. 25.
 Sicarios, inter, 2. 8.
 Sicca, 2. 3.
 Sicilians attached to Cicero, 1. 7; re-
 ceived immunities, 1. 23.
 Significare, 1. 36.
 Significatio, 14. 6.
 Silere transitive, 9. 10.
 Simulacrum, 2. 110.
 Sisapo, 2. 48.
 Sitim quaerens, 5. 19.
 Solvendo esse, 2. 4.
 Solutus legibus, 2. 31; 11. 11.
 Spartacus, 3. 21; 4. 15; 13. 22.
 Species, a phantom, 2. 68.
 Species imperatoris, 14. 27.
 Spectio, 2. 80.
 Statua equestris, 5. 40; 9. 13.
 Statua pedestris, 9. 13.
 Statuere, 6. 14.
 Stilus, 2. 34.
 Stimuli, 2. 86.
- Strenuus, 2. 78.
 Stupor, 8. 24.
 Subiicere, to forge, 14. 7.
 Subjunctive mood, attracted, 6. 3;
 causal, 3. 14; concessive, 1. 13, 17;
 2. 75; 10. 19; epexegetic, 6. 2;
 expressing duty, 2. 86; implying
 oratio obliqua, 8. 14; introducing
 oratio obliqua, 2. 7; marking cha-
 racter, 5. 16; of a class, 2. 7; of a
 general case, 11. 20; subjective,
 2. 96.
 Sublævatum, 8. 32.
 Subsecivae operae, 2. 20.
 Substantives of motion govern cases,
 2. 48, 76.
 Subterfugere, 7. 23.
 Suessa, massacre at, 3. 10; 4. 4; 13. 18.
 Suffragia, sex, 2. 82.
 Sulla Felix, L. Cornelius, aided by
 Pompey, 5. 44; civil war of, 14. 23;
 conquers Cinna, 14. 23; conquers
 Mithridates, 11. 23; equestrian statue
 of, 9. 13; negotiations with Scipio,
 12. 27; 13. 2; opposed Sulpicius,
 Marius, and Carbo, 8. 7; perpetual
 dictator, 1. 4; political reforms of,
 12. 27; tyranny of, 5. 17; 'vehe-
 mens,' 11. 1.
 Sulpicius Galba, Serv., ambassador to
 Antony, 5. introd.; conduct after
 Caesar's death, 1. 3; death on his
 embassy, 9. 1 foll.; death regretted,
 8. 22; eminence as a lawyer, 9. 10;
 funeral of, 9. 15; statue to, 9. 1;
 temperance of, 9. 13.
 Sulpicius Rufus, P., 8. 7.
 Sulpicius Rufus, Serv., 9. 12.
 Supplicatio, 1. 13; 2. 110.
 Suspicio, construction with, 1. 15.
 Sustinere, 8. 1.
 Syngrapha, 2. 95; 5. 11.
 Tabula auctionaria, 2. 73.
 Tabulae novae, 11. 14.
 Tabulam figere, 1. 3.
 Tam with superlatives, 12. 11.
 Tam quam, of degree, 13. 14.
 Tamen, force of, 1. 7, 10, 34; 2. 75.
 Tarquinius Superbus, 3. 8.
 Tectus, 13. 6.
 Tegulas, demitti per, 2. 44.
 Tellus, temple of, 1. 1; 2. 89.
 Tempestas, 7. 22.
 Terminalia, 12. 24.
 Tertius, 13. 49.
 Testata est, passive, 10. 7.

- Thapsus, 2. 37.
 Theopompus, 13. 33.
 Thrax, 3. 31; 7. 17.
 Thunder, 5. 7.
 Tibur, 6. 10.
 Tiburi, locative, 13. 19.
 Tiro, see Numisius.
 Toga, as full dress, 2. 76.
 Togata Gallia, 8. 27.
 Togatae meretrices, 2. 44.
 Togatus hostis, 2. 51.
 Tollere diem, 2. 88.
 Tollere liberos, 13. 23.
 Tollere sententiam, 14. 22.
 Trahere, = 'protrahere,' 5-30.
 Trames, 12. 26.
 Trebellius, L., 6. 10, 11; 10. 22; 11. 14; 13. 2, 26.
 Trebonius, C., 13. 23.
 Trebonius, C., the younger, 2. 27, 34, 116; 11. 1, 5, 8, 9; 12. 25; 13. 22, 23.
 Tremulus, Q. Marcius, 6. 13.
 Tribunes, veto of, 2. 3.
 Tribunicium ius, 2. 53.
 Tribuo, 5. 6.
 Tribus xxxv., 6. 12.
 Tributum, 2. 93.
 Trinum nundinum, 5. 8.
 Trojan horse, 3. 32.
 Tuditanus, Sempronius, 3. 16.
 Tullus Hostilius tr. pl., 12. 20; 13. 26.
 Tumultus, 5. 31, 53; 8. 2, 3.
 Turranius, C., 3. 25.
 Tusculana, sc. 'praedia,' 8. 9.
 Tuto esse, 1. 9.
 Vacatio, 5. 31, 53; 8. 3.
 Vaccillo, 3. 31.
 Varro, M. Terentius, 2. 103, 105.
 Varus, P., 13. 30.
 Vatinius, P., 10. 11, 13.
 Vectigales agri, 2. 101.
 Vectigales equi, 2. 62.
 Velia, 1. 9; 10. 8.
 Venditare, 8. 28.
 Venere, with abl. of agent, 12. 12.
 Ventidius Bassus, P., 12. 20, 23; 13. 2, 48; 14. 21; frag. 4.
 Ventosus, 11. 17.
 Verb omitted, 2. 48; 5. 31; 6. 3.
 Verba dare, 13. 33.
 Verecundus, 5. 7; 10. 13.
 Vereri, 12. 29; 5. 48.
 Versus populi, 1. 36.
 Vertens annus, 13. 22.
 Vesperus, 2. 77.
 Vestibulum, 2. 68.
 Vestrum, vestri, 4. 1.
 Veterans, jealousy of, suggested, 10. 15; lands assigned to, 1. 6; 2. 59; too much considered, 10. 18; 11. 37; wished for peace, 1. 31.
 Veto of tribunes, 2. 3.
 Vexillum tollere, 2. 102.
 Via Aurelia, 12. 23.
 Via Cassia, 12. 23.
 Via Flaminia, 12. 23.
 Vicarii, 12. 3.
 Vicem, 10. 6.
 Vineae, 8. 17.
 Virilis pars, 13. 8.
 Visidius, L., 7. 24.
 Vitiosus, 3. 9.
 Unctus, 1. 35.
 Uncus, 1. 5.
 Unus, above all, 2. 84; 12. 19.
 Unus for 'aliquis,' 2. 7.
 Volsinii, 4. 13.
 Volumnia, 2. 20, 58.
 Volumnius Eutrapelus, P., 13. 3.
 Volusenus Quadratus, C., 14. 21.
 Vox, a watchword, 6. 16.
 Urbis praetor, quaestor, 9. 16; 10. 7.
 Ut, after a verb of saying, 2. 25.
 Ut, at the price of, 1. 34.
 Ut concessive, 12. 8; 13. 32.
 Ut ne, 2. 32; 5. 34.
 Uu, 1. 27.
 Zmyrna, 11. 5.

Acme

Braithwaite Co., Inc.
100 West Street
Boston, Mass. U. S. 210

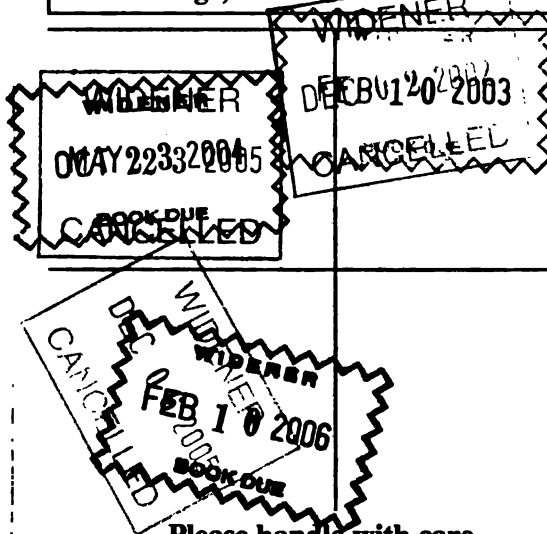


3 2044 021 219 795

The borrower must return this item on or before the last date stamped below. If another user places a recall for this item, the borrower will be notified of the need for an earlier return.

Non-receipt of overdue notices does not exempt the borrower from overdue fines.

Harvard College Widener Library
Cambridge, MA 02138 617-495-2413



Please handle with care.
Thank you for helping to preserve
library collections at Harvard.

